

Ğebel Mūsā beyond the Straits of Gibraltar,
seen from Punta Marroquí.

ORIENTALIA LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA
——— 127 ———

STUDIA PHOENICIA
XVIII

ITINERARIA PHOENICIA

by

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PREFACE

Itineraria is a term applied to descriptions of ancient roads and routes of traffic, with the stations or ports and distances. It is not easy, however, to study the land and sea routes of the Phoenicians in their homeland and in their trading Empire. In fact, there are no extant itineraries written in Phoenician and virtually no Phoenician and Carthaginian travel and trade records survive in their original form. Pertinent historiographic information is provided by others, often their enemies. Still, Phoenician alphabetic script was easy to write on papyrus or parchment sheets, but the use of these materials explains why virtually no Phoenician writings — no history, no trading records — have come down to us. In their cities by the sea, the air and soil were damp, and papyrus and leather moldered and rotted away. Thus disappeared the literature of the nation which taught a large portion of the earth's peoples to write. The only documents written in Phoenician are monumental inscriptions on stone, some seal and coin legends, ephemeral epigraphs on pieces of broken pottery, and three fragmentary papyri.

Some information is nevertheless provided by Neo-Assyrian military itineraries, while Phoenician inscriptions on stone and occasional references to Phoenicians in other sources reveal their progressive expansion in Cyprus, southern Anatolia, and the Aegean Sea. Biblical accounts on the expeditions to Ophir and Tarshish contain valuable allusions to the Phoenician seagoing merchants in the Mediterranean, but the chronology of their expeditions must be established on basis of ceramics. Three main Phoenician pottery groups are known from the early Iron Age: their dating is crucial in this debate. The first group, which appeared in the mid-11th century B.C., consists in bichrome ware. This type comprises globular flasks and jugs decorated with concentring circles in red and black. Its presence in limited quantities in Philistia, the northern Negev, Egypt, and Cyprus testifies to the beginnings of Phoenician activity there at about the time in which the story of Wenamon is set. It seems that the first Phoenician settlements on Cyprus were established already in the late 10th or the early 9th century when a second distinct pottery group, known as black-on-red ware and sometimes referred to as Cypro-Phoenician, made its appearance in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Palestine. This delicate, fine ware is reddish with a reddish-brown slip and concentric circles or horizontal lines pointed in black. Further Phoeni-

cian expansion to the West probably started in the 9th century, when the third and dominant group of Phoenician pottery, the red-slip ware, was spreading from Phoenicia proper to Cyprus, North Africa, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. These vessels, mainly jugs with a trefoil mouth or "mushroom" rim, are covered with a perfectly applied red burnished slip. Another Phoenician form, which appears together with the red-slipped vessels from about 800 B.C. on, is the torpedo-shaped storage jar used in mercantile activities.

The inference to be drawn from the distribution of pottery types which are recognized as being distinctly Phoenician is chronological: the particular variety of Phoenician pottery found at sites in the western Mediterranean was apparently not been produced in the Phoenician homeland before the 9th century. Thus, the evidence of pottery leads us to expect no Phoenician presence at such western sites as Tarshish, Carthage, Utica or Cadix before the late 9th century B.C. Of course, this has a bearing on the interpretation of biblical and classical texts dealing with the voyages of the Tarshish fleet of Hiram and Solomon or with the Phoenician foundations of cities in the western Mediterranean.

Merchant adventurers explored the whole coast of the Mediterranean and some portions of the Atlantic coast of Morocco and Portugal. The Greek version of the *Periplus* of Hanno the Carthaginian preserves the account of such a voyage along the Atlantic coast, while portolano guide-books were prepared as early as the mid-first millennium B.C. to assist navigators sailing from port to port, and they were quite accurate with regard to the Mediterranean coasts. The *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax belongs to this category of writings and it has a particular importance for the historical geography of Phoenicia proper and of the trading Empire of the Phoenicians along the African coasts.

The twelve chapters of the present work, two of which are devoted in particular to Byrsa and to Jerusalem, have occupied the writer during many years and some partial or provisional studies of the questions involved have been published previously. They are collected here in a single volume, rewritten in the light of new research, of recently published texts, and of fresh insights, and complemented by several indices.

As a rule, the transcription of place names, in particular modern Arabic toponyms, follows the form generally used in publications, unless it misguides the English reader. Toponyms which have become familiar to him are mentioned with the commonly accepted English form, for instance Algiers.

The writer wishes to thank his wife Małgorzata for editing the manuscript, and to express his gratitude for the technical support provided by Peeters publishers and his appreciation for the work finalized by the Orientaliste typography. He also seizes this opportunity to congratulate Peeters printers, publishers, and booksellers on the 200th anniversary (1804-2004) of their activity.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAAlg	: St. GSELL, *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie*, Alger-Paris 1911.
AA(A)S	: *Annales Archéologiques (Arabes) Syriennes.*
AASOR	: Annuals of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
AATun	: E. BABELON - R. CAGNAT - S. REINACH, *Atlas archéologique de la Tunisie (au 1/100.000)*, Paris 1914-32.
ABEL, *Géographie*	: F.-M. ABEL, *Géographie de .la Palestine* I-II, Paris 1933-38.
AEArq	: *Archivo Español de Arqueología.*
AfO	: *Archiv für Orientforschung.*
AfO, Beih.	: Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft.
AHw	: W. VON SODEN, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* I-III, Wiesbaden 1965-81.
AION	: *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli.*
AIPHOS	: *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves.*
AJA	: *American Journal of Archaeology.*
AJSL	: *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
AKM	: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ALASP	: Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syriens-Palästinas.
AlT	: Alalach Tablets.
AM	: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.*
ANEP	: J.B. PRITCHARD, *The Ancient Near Eastern Pictures relating to the Old Testament,* 2nd ed., Princeton 1969.
ANET	: J.B. PRITCHARD (ed.), *The Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed., Princeton 1969.
AnOr	: Analecta Orientalia.
ANRW	: H. TEMPORINI - W. HAASE (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* Berlin-New York.
AnSt	: *Anatolian Studies.*
AntAfr	: *Antiquités Africaines.*
AO.	: Inventory numbers of the Ancient Near Eastern section in the Louvre Museum.
AOAT	: Alter Orient und Altes Testament.
AOS	: American Oriental Series.
APAW.PH	: Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Berlin.
APN	: K.L. TALLQVIST, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914.
ARES	: Archivi Reali di Ebla. Studi.
ARM(T)	: *Archives royales de Mari* (transcrites et traduites).
ASAtene	: *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente.*
ASOR	: American Schools of Oriental Research.

BAA : *Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne.*
BAC : *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques.*
BAH : Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth.
BaM : *Baghdader Mitteilungen.*
BAM : *Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine.*
BASOR : *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
BCH : *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.*
BE : The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts.
BÉFAR : Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
BÉHÉ : Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études.
BENZ : F.L. BENZ, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Studia Pohl 8), Rome 1972.
BICS : *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London.*
BIFAO : *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.*
BiOr : *Bibliotheca Orientalis.*
BJPES : *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.*
BM. : Inventory numbers of the British Museum.
BMB : *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth.*
BN : *Biblische Notizen.*
BSA : *The Annual of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.*
BSGAO : *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie et d'Archéologie de la province d'Oran, Oran.*
BTAVO : Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.
BTS : Beiruter Texte und Studien.
BZAW : Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

CAD : *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Chicago-Glückstadt 1956 ff.
CAH : *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge.
CBQ : *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly.*
CCCM : Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout.
CCSL : Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina, Turnhout.
CEDAC Carthage : *Centre d'Études et de Documentation Archéologique de la Conservation de Carthage. Bulletin.*
CÉFR : Collection de l'École Française de Rome.
CGC : Catalogue général du Musée du Caire.
CHLI I : J.D. HAWKINS, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* I, Berlin 2000.
CHLI II : W. RÖLLIG, *The Phoenician Inscriptions*, in H. ÇAMBEL, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* II. *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, Berlin 1999, p. 50-81.
CIG : *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1828-77.
CIJ : J.-B. FREY (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* I-II, Roma 1936-52.

CIL : *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
CIS I : *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars I inscriptiones Phoenicias continens*, Paris 1881 ff.
CIS II : *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars II inscriptiones Aramaicas continens*, Paris 1889 ff.
CNSA : *Carte nationale des sites archéologiques et des monuments historiques*, Tunis 1988 ff.
CPJ : V. TCHERIKOVER - A. FUKS - M. STERN, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* I-III, Cambridge, Mass., 1957-64.
CRAI : *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*
CSCO : Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium.
CSHB : Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.

DaM : *Damaszener Mitteilungen.*
DBS : *Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément,* Paris 1928 ff.
DCPP : E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*, Turnhout 1992.
DDD : K. VAN DER TOORN - B. BECKING - P.W. VAN DER HORST (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., Leiden-Grand Rapids 1999.
DEB : *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible*, Turnhout 1987.
DESANGES, *Pline* : J. DESANGES, *Pline l'Ancien: Histoire Naturelle, Livre V, 1-46* (Collection Budé), Paris 1980.
DESANGES, *Recherches* : J. DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* (CÉFR 38), Rome 1978.
DeZ : Inventory numbers of the Dayr az-Zawr Museum.
DJD : Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.
DNWSI : J. HOFTIJZER - K. JONGELING, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, Leiden 1995.
DUSSAUD, *Topographie* : R. DUSSAUD, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (BAH 4), Paris 1927.

EA : The El-Amarna tablets numbered according to J.A. KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (VAB 2), Leipzig 1915; A.F. RAINEY, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379* (AOAT 8), 2nd ed., Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978; W.L. MORAN, *Les lettres d'El Amarna* (LAPO 13), Paris 1987; ID., *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore 1992.
EI : *Encyclopédie de l'Islam.*
EJ : *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1-16, Jerusalem 1971-72.
EM : *'Enṣīqlōpēdīyā miqrā'īt* I-IX, Jerusalem 1950-88.
ÉPRO : Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain.
ErIs : *Eretz-Israel.*
ESI : *Excavations and Surveys in Israel.*

FGH : F. JACOBY (ed.), *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin-Leiden 1923-58.

FHG : C. MÜLLER (ed.), *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Paris 1841-70.

GCS : Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.
GGM : C. MÜLLER (ed.), *Geographi Graeci Minores* I-II, Paris 1855-61.
GLM : A. RIESE, *Geographi Latini Minores,* Heilbronn 1878.
GSELL, *HAAN* : St. GSELL, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* I-VIII, Paris 1913-28.

HARDING, *Arabian Names* : G. LANKESTER HARDING, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Near and Middle East Series 8), Toronto 1971.
HistOr : *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux: Historiens arabes,* Paris 1872-1906.
HSS : Harvard Semitic Series.
HTR : *The Harvard Theological Review.*
HUCA : *Hebrew Union College Annual.*

IAMS : *Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies* (Journal), London.
ICC : The International Critical Commentary.
ICS : O. MASSON, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris 1961; 2nd ed., Paris 1983.
IDAM : Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.
IEJ : *Israel Exploration Journal.*
IG : *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873 ff.; Editio minor (*IG*²), Berlin 1924 ff.
IGHC : M. THOMPSON - O. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York 1973
IGLS : *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie,* Paris 1929 ff.
IJNA : *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration.*
ILAlg I : St. GSELL, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* I, Paris 1922.
ILAlg II : H.-G. PFLAUM, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* II/1, Paris 1957; II/2, Alger 1976.
IOS : *Israel Oriental Studies.*
IRT : J.M. REYNOLDS - J.B. WARD-PERKINS, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, Roma-London 1952, and *PBSR* 23 (1955), p. 124-147.

JANES : *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of the Columbia University.*
JAOS : *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JASTROW : M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* I-II, New York 1886-1903.
JBL : *Journal of Biblical Literature.*

JCS : *Journal of Cuneiform Studies.*
JEA : *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
JEOL : *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux".*
JESHO : *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
JHS : *Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JKF : *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung.*
JNES : *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JONGELING, *Names* : K. JONGELING, *Names in the Neo-Punic Inscriptions*, Groningen 1983.
JPOS : *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.*
JRAS : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JSS : *Journal of Semitic Studies.*

KAI : H. DONNER - W. RÖLLIG, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, Wiesbaden 1962-64 (3rd ed., 1971-76).
KTU : M. DIETRICH - O. LORETZ - J. SANMARTÍN, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition),* Münster 1995.

LÄg : W. HELCK - E. OTTO - W. WESTENDORF (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I-VI, Wiesbaden 1972-86.
LAPO : Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient.
Libyca : *Libyca. Archéologie, épigraphie*, Alger.
LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses* : E. LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique* (OLA 64), Leuven 1995.
LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic* : E. LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar* (OLA 80), 2nd ed., Leuven 2001.

MAIBL : *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.*
MAZARD, *Corpus* : J. MAZARD, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955.
MDAIK : *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo.*
MDAIR : *Mitteilungen des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.*
MEE : Materiali epigrafici di Ebla.
MÉFR(A) : *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. (Antiquité).*
Mél. Fac. Or. : *Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale*, Beyrouth.
MM : *Madrider Mitteilungen.*
MUSJ : *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, Beyrouth.
MVÄG : Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch - Ägyptischen Gesellschaft.

NAA : L. MÜLLER, *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* I-III, Copenhague 1860-61; *Supplément*, Copenhague 1874.
NABU : *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires.*

NEAEHL : E. STERN (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1993.
NESE : *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik.*
NP : Neo-Punic inscriptions according to P. SCHRÖDER, *Die phönizische Sprache,* Halle 1869, p. 63-72, and Z.S. HARRIS, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language,* New Haven 1936, p. 160-161.

ÖAW : Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
OBO : Oriens Biblicus et Orientalis.
OEANE : E.M. MEYERS (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* I-V, New York-Oxford 1997.
OGIS : W. DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae*, Leipzig 1903-05.
OIP : Oriental Institute Publications.
OLA : Orientalia Lovaniensia. Analecta.
OLP : *Orientalia Lovaniensia. Periodica.*
OLZ : *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.*
Orientalia : *Orientalia.* Nova series.

PARPOLA, *Toponyms* : S. PARPOLA, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6), Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970.
PAT : Palmyrene Aramaic Texts.
PBS : University of Pennsylvania, the Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section.
PBSR : *Papers of the British School at Rome.*
PECS : R. STILLWELL - W.L. MACDONALD - M.H. MACALLISTER (eds.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton 1976.
PEQ : *Palestine Exploration Quarterly.*
PG : J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris 1857-68.
PJ : *Palästinajahrbuch.*
PNA : K. RADNER - H.D. BAKER (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* I-III, Helsinki 1998 ff.
PSBA : *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
PW : A. PAULY - G. WISSOWA et al. (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*

QDAP : *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.*

RA : *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.*
RAC : *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.*
RANL : *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche.*
RAO : Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* I-VIII, Paris 1885-1921.
RB : *Revue biblique.*
RDAC : *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.*

RÉG : *Revue des Études Grecques.*
REPPAL : *Revue des Études Phéniciennes-Puniques et des Antiquités Libyques.*
RÉS : *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique,* Paris 1905 ff.
RGTC : Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes, Wiesbaden 1974 ff.
RHA : *Revue hittite et asianique.*
RHR : *Revue de l'histoire des religions.*
RIL : J.-B. CHABOT, *Recueil d'inscriptions libyques*, Paris 1940-41.
RIMA I : A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods 1), Toronto 1987.
RIMA II : A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC* I: *1114-859 BC* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods 2), Toronto 1991.
RIMA III : A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC* II: *858-745 BC* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods 3), Toronto 1996.
RIMB II : G. FRAME, *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination: 1157-612 BC* (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Babylonian Periods 2), Toronto 1995.
RLA : *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie.*
RS. : Inventory numbers of the Ras Shamra - Ugarit excavations.
RSF : *Rivista di Studi Fenici.*
RSO : *Rivista degli Studi Orientali.*

SAA I : S. PARPOLA, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I* (State Archives of Assyria I), Helsinki 1987.
SAA II : S. PARPOLA - K. WATANABE, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (State Archives of Assyria II), Helsinki 1988.
SAA III : A. LIVINGSTONE, *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (State Archives of Assyria III), Helsinki 1989.
SAA IV : I. STARR, *Queries to the Sungod* (State Archives of Assyria IV), Helsinki 1990.
SAA V : G.B. LANFRANCHI - S. PARPOLA, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II* (State Archives of Assyria V), Helsinki 1990.
SAA VI : Th. KWASMAN - S. PARPOLA, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I* (State Archives of Assyria VI), Helsinki 1991.
SAA VII : F.M. FALES - J.N. POSTGATE, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I* (State Archives of Assyria VII), Helsinki 1992.
SAA X : S. PARPOLA, *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (State Archives of Assyria X), Helsinki 1993.
SAA XI : F.M. FALES - J.N. POSTGATE, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II* (State Archives of Assyria XI), Helsinki 1995.

SAA XII : L. KATAJA - R. WHITING, *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period* (State Archives of Assyria XII), Helsinki 1995.
SAA XIII : St.W. COLE - P. MACHINIST, *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal* (State Archives of Assyria XIII), Helsinki 1998.
SAA XIV : R. MATTILA, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part II* (State Archives of Assyria XIV), Helsinki 2002.
SAA XV : A. FUCHS - S. PARPOLA, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III* (State Archives of Assyria XV), Helsinki 2001.
SAA XVI : M. LUUKKO - G. VAN BUYLAERE, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon* (State Archives of Assyria XVI), Helsinki 2002.
SAA XVII : M. DIETRICH, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib* (State Archives of Assyria XVII), Helsinki 2003.
Sabaic Dictionary : A.F.L. BEESTON - M.A. GHUL - W.W. MÜLLER - J. RYCKMANS, *Sabaic Dictionary / Dictionnaire sabéen*, Louvain-la-Neuve - Beyrouth 1982.
SAIO I : E. LIPIŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* I (OLA 1), Leuven 1975.
SAIO II : E. LIPIŃSKI, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* II (OLA 57), Leuven 1994.
SC : Sources Chrétiennes, Paris.
SEG : *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum,* Leiden/Amsterdam 1923 ff.
SÖAW. PH : Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.
SPAW : *Sitzungsberichte der Preussichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*

TAD I-III : B. PORTEN - A. YARDENI, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* I. *Letters*, Jerusalem 1986; II. *Contracts*, Jerusalem 1989; III. *Literature, Accounts, Lists*, Jerusalem 1993.
TGI : K. GALLING (ed.), *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1968.
ThWAT I-VIII : J. BOTTERWECK - H. RINGGREN - H.-J. FABRY (eds.), *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, Stuttgart 1970-95.
Tigl. III : H. TADMOR, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria. Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary,* Jerusalem 1994.
TM. : Inventory numbers of the Tell Mardikh excavations.
TPOA : J. BRIEND - J.-M. SEUX, *Textes du Proche-Orient ancien*, Paris 1977.
TRE : *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin-New York 1977 ff.
TSSI I-III : J.C.L. GIBSON, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* I. *Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1973; II. *Aramaic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1975; III. *Phoenician Inscriptions*, Oxford 1982.

UF : *Ugarit-Forschungen.*

VA. : Inventory numbers of the "Vorderasiatische Abteilung" in the Museum of Berlin.
VAB : Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
VAS : Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen/Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.
VTS : Supplements to Vetus Testamentum.

WA. : Western Asiatic Antiquities, British Museum, London.
WILD, *Ortsnamen* : S. WILD, *Libanesische Ortsnamen* (BTS 9), Beirut 1973.
WO : *Die Welt des Orients.*
WVDOG : Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
WZKM : *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*

YOS : Yale Oriental Series.

ZA : *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.*
ZAH : *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik.*
ZÄS : *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*
ZAW : *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
ZDMG : *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZDPV : *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*
ZPE : *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

CHAPTER I

MOUNT BA'LU-RA'ŠI, RA'ŠU QUDŠI, AND BA'LU

In 841 B.C. according to Shalmaneser III's annals, the king of Assyria erected a stele by the sea upon the Mountain of Ba'lu-ra'ši, *Šadē* (KUR[e]) *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si*, and received then the tribute from Tyre and Sidon, and also from Jehu the Israelite[1]. The Mountain of the Baal of the Promontory, in Phoenician **Hr B'l-r'š*, has successively been identified with the promontory at the mouth of Nahr al-Kelb, the Lycus of classical authors, with Mount Carmel, near Haifa, with Rās an-Nāqūra, at the Lebanese-Israeli border, and with Reshbaal in the Qamwat range, north of Mount Lebanon.

Winckler's old proposal identifying the Mountain of *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* with Rās al-Kelb[2], at the mouth of Nahr al-Kelb, is still accepted by H.J. Katzenstein in his monograph on the history of Tyre[3]. The proposal was prompted by the series of ancient reliefs engraved on the rocky southern bank of the river[4]. There are three Egyptian reliefs from the time of Ramesses II[5], six Neo-Assyrian reliefs, one being Esarhaddon's[6], and one Neo-Babylonian relief from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II[7]. Six reliefs belong to later periods, from Hellenistic times to 1946. Weissbach, the first editor of the inscriptions at Nahr al-Kelb, suggested that

[1] *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.10, p. 54, lines 8-9; text A.0.102.16, p. 78, line 133'.

[2] E. SCHRADER - H. WINCKLER, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1903, p. 43-44, 190; H. WINCKLER, *Das Vorgebirge am Nahr el-Kelb und seine Denkmäler* (Der Alte Orient 10/4), Leipzig 1909, p. 16.

[3] H.J. KATZENSTEIN, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, p. 176-177.

[4] F.H. WEISSBACH, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb*, Berlin-Leipzig 1922; J. BÖRKER-KLÄHN, *Altorientalische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* I-II (Baghdader Forschungen 4), Mainz a/R 1982, Nos. 211-216. See also DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 61; R. MOUTERDE, *Le Nahr el Kelb*, Beyrouth 1932.

[5] K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, Oxford 1979, p. 1 and 149, Nos. 1-2 and 5, as well as *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated* II, *Translations*, Oxford 1996, Nos. 1-2 and 5, p. 1-2 and 27.

[6] Transliteration and translation by R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO, Beih. 9), Graz 1956, p. 101-102.

[7] F.H. WEISSBACH, *Die Inschriften Nebukadnezars II. im Wadi Brissa und am Nahr el-Kelb* (WVDOG 5), Leipzig 1906; E. UNGER - F.H. WEISSBACH, *Ein Fragment der neubabylonischen Inschrift Nebukadnezars vom Nahr el-Kelb*, in *ZA* 29 (1914), p. 181-184. See also *ANET*, p. 307-308.

one of the Assyrian reliefs is Shalmaneser III's[8]. The poor state of most Assyrian reliefs, however, precludes a certain attribution, while the full version of Shalmaneser III's annals for 841/840 B.C., published in 1951[9], excludes the identification of any Assyrian relief with the one engraved upon the Mountain of *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si*, since the text localizes it "in front of the sea, in front of Tyre", *ša pūt tam-di ša pu-ut* [kur]*Ṣur-ri*[10]. Now, the mouth of Nahr al-Kelb lies 15 km north of Beirut and cannot be regarded as being "in front of Tyre", distant 90 km as the crow flies. Besides, it is unlikely that the kings of Israel, Tyre, and Sidon would have paid the tribute only when the Assyrian army had left their territories.

The information provided by Shalmaneser III's text apparently favours A.T. Olmstead's proposal identifying the Mountain of *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* with Mount Carmel[11]. This identification has thus been propounded again by Y. Aharoni[12] and is followed both by historians of the Ancient Near East[13] and by biblical scholars[14]. This view is based on the assumed route of the Assyrian army which supposedly marched from the Hauran mountains to the Phoenician coast by the Jezreel valley. Although the valley provided an easy way from the Beth-shean area to the Mediterranean, it was by no means the shortest way from the Hauran to the seacoast. Besides, if Shalmaneser III had traversed the Jezreel valley, one may wonder why his annals do not mention any of the important cities laying on this route and why the Assyrian king had to receive Jehu's tribute only when he had left the territory of Israel[15]. The most obvious answer is that the Jezreel valley was not traversed by the Assyr-

[8] F.H. Weissbach, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 45. It would be No. 214 from the six Neo-Assyrian steles of the Nahr al-Kelb listed by J. Börker-Klähn, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 211-216, Nos. 211-216.

[9] F. Safar, *A Further Text of Shalmaneser III from Assur*, in *Sumer* 7 (1951), p. 3-21, Pl. I-III = *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.10.

[10] *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.10, p. 54, lines 8-9.

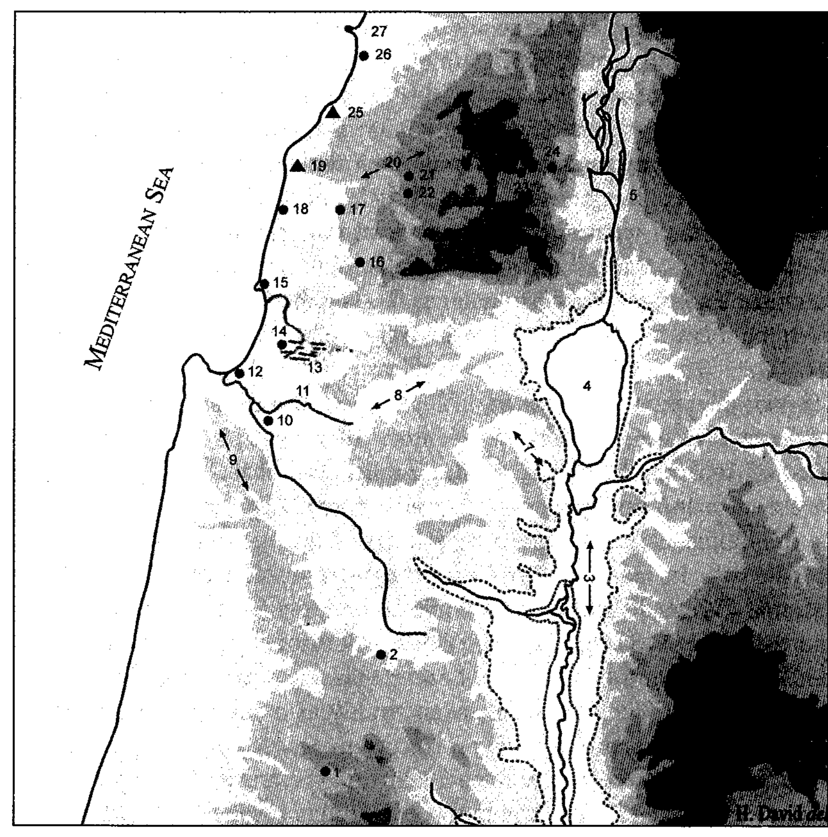
[11] A.T. Olmstead, *Shalmaneser III and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power*, in *JAOS* 41 (1921), p. 345-382 (see p. 372 and n. 58); Id., *History of Assyria*, New York-London 1923, p. 139.

[12] Y. Aharoni, *Western Galilee and the Coast of Galilee* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1965, p. 61-62; Id., *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography*, London 1967, p. 310; Id., *Mount Carmel as Border*, in A. Kuschke - E. Kutsch (eds.), *Archäologie und Altes Testament. Festschrift für Kurt Galling*, Tübingen 1970, p. 1-7 (see p. 6-7).

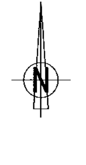
[13] For example, A. Malamat, *The Wars of Israel and Assyria* (in Hebrew), in J. Liver (ed.), *The Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times*, Tel Aviv 1965, p. 241-260 (see p. 259, n. 32); A.K. Grayson, *Assyria: Ashur-dan II to Ashur-nirari V (934-745 B.C.)*, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 238-281 (see p. 263).

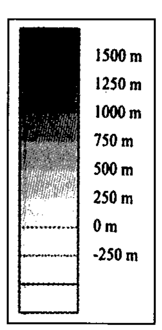
[14] Sh. M. Paul, *Amos*, Minneapolis 1991, p. 278, n. 49.

[15] H.J. Katzenstein, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 177.



Northern Israel.





1) Samaria
2) T. Bel'ame
3) *Jordan*
4) *Sea of Galilee*
5) *L. Huleh*
6) *Hauran*
7) *Sahl al-Aḥma*
8) *Sahl al-Baṭṭof*
9) *Carmel*
10) Ḫ. Harbağ
11) *W. Malik*
12) Achshaph
13) *'Ayūn al-Baṣṣ*
14) T. Kurdāna
15) Akko
16) Yanoah
17) Ḫ. 'Abdeh
18) Achzib
19) *Rās an-Nāqūra*
20) *Ğ. Mušaqqaḥ*
21) T. Balāṭ
22) 'Ikrīt
23) Yārūn
24) Qedesh
25) *Rās al-Abyaḍ*
26) Rās al-'Ayn
27) Tyre

0 50 km

ians. In reality, there was no need for Shalmaneser III to march down to the promontory of Mount Carmel, at Haifa, where — as a matter of fact — no remnants of an Assyrian relief have ever been recorded. The shortest and most convenient route from Damascus and the Hauran to the Mediterranean ran westwards through the Jordan ford at the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters, south of the Huleh Lake, and passed by Qedesh (Ḫirbet Qadas), what explains the special importance of this city in the Bronze and Iron ages[16]. From here a chain of tells discovered in archaeological surveys leads westwards via Yiron (Yārūn), 'Ikrīt[17], and Abdon (Ḫirbet 'Abdeh) to Achzib in the northern Plain of Akko, near Rās an-Nāqūra[18]. The existence of the first part of this route is confirmed by Tiglath-pileser III's campaign in 733/2 B.C., when the Assyrian army conquered Hazor, Qedesh, and Yanoah (II Kings 15, 29), 15 km south-east of Achzib[19], on a route turning southwest and leading to Akko.

At any rate, the very accurate localization of *Šadē* (KUR^{e}) *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* in Shalmaneser III's annals, *ša pūt tam-di ša pu-ut* ^{kur}*Ṣur-ri*, "in front of the sea, in front of Tyre", does not favour its identification with Mount Carmel. The Plain of Akko, bordering Mount Carmel on the north, belonged at that time to the kingdom of Tyre[20] and one would thus expect a phrase like *ina māt Ṣur-ri*. Thus, *ša pūt* ^{kur}*Ṣur-ri* must refer to the Plain of Tyre, if KUR is taken strictly as a country determinative, or to the island and city of Tyre, if KUR is regarded as an equivalent of URU. Now, neither Tyre nor the Plain of Tyre are visible from Mount Carmel. Moreover, the Promontory of Mount Carmel was called *Rō'š hak-Karmel* (I Kings 18, 42; Am. 1, 2; 9, 3) in the biblical period and not Mountain of *Ba'lu Ra'ši*, *Šadē* (KUR^{e}) *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si*. Finally, *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* should be related to a well specified area of the "Solomonic" district of "Asher and *Bə'ālōt*", in I Kings 4, 16[21]. In fact, the suffix *-ōt* can be added to divine names to form toponyms like *'Ănātōt*, from *'Anat*, *Bə'ālōt* in Judah, from *Ba'al*, *'Aštārōt*, from *'Aštar(t)*. Since the connection of an unknown town with a tribal area would be surprising here[22], *Bə'ālōt* in I Kings 4, 16 must refer to a region, most likely to the mountainous district of the present-day Ǧebel Mušaqqaḥ, the western extremity of which ends at Rās an-Nāqūra. The Arabized name of the district, which may have borrowed its name from its main centre, is probably preserved by Tell al-Balāṭ, some 15 km east of Rās an-Nāqūra[23]. It appears to be a large ruin, where important remnants of a temple have been identified, but the site has not yet been examined in an adequate way[24].

Rās an-Nāqūra was not the southern border point of the kingdom of Tyre, but the "Ladder of the Tyrians", the κλῖμαξ Τυρίων[25], was the southern gate to the Plain of Tyre. Gustave Flaubert has expressed the impression, which Rās an-Nāqūra made on him in 1850, on August the 2nd: "... on the summit, where one suddenly sees the immense sea, on which sailed galleys with painted prows, made for her. From there you can see Tyre, there people were probably coming to see the vessels returning from ....?"[26]. One can hardly doubt that the phrase "in front of Tyre" in the annals refers precisely to that site, and not to Rās al-Kelb, to Mount Carmel, or the Reshba'l, in the extreme north of Lebanon[27], at

[16] Grid ref. 1997/2798. Cf. Y. AHARONI, *Kedesh. Tel Kedesh*, and M. TADMOR, *Kedesh. Bronze Age Cultic Cave*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. III, p. 855-857.

[17] Grid ref. 1761/2756. Attested in Rabbinic sources as *Yōqeret:* G. REEG, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur* (BTAVO B/21), Wiesbaden 1989, p. 292-293.

[18] Grid ref. of Ḫ. 'Abdeh 1656/2725. Cf. Y. AHARONI, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1957, p. 6 ff.; ID., *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 57.

[19] The identification with present-day Yānūḥ (grid ref. 1738/2655) was proposed by Y. AHARONI, *Settlement, op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 97-98, 129-132; cf. also S. KLEIN, *Sefer ha-Yishuv* I, Jerusalem 1939, p. 79.

[20] H.J. KATZENSTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 105-107.

[21] It is hard to imagine how this place name could be a corruption of Zebulun, as first suggested by A. KLOSTERMANN, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (Kurzgef. Komm. z. A. u. N.T. A/3), Nördlingen 1887, followed by A. ALT, *Israels Gaue unter Salomo*, in *Alttestamentliche Studien Rudolf Kittel .... dargebracht*, Leipzig 1913, p. 1-19 (see p. 14), reprinted in A. ALT, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel* II, 2nd ed., München 1959, p. 76-89 (see p. 84-85); Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 80 and 279, and others. The Septuagint's misreading or correction Μααλαθ or Μααλοτ, "ascents", apparently alludes to the Ladder of Tyre at Rās an-Nāqūra.

[22] J.A. MONTGOMERY - H.S. GEHMAN, *Books of Kings* (ICC), Edinburgh 1951, p. 126; A. LEMAIRE, *Asher et le royaume de Tyr*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 135-152 (see p. 147-148).

[23] In this case, Tell al-Balāṭ could not be identified with Reḥob (Josh. 19, 30), as proposed by Y. AHARONI, *Settlement, op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 51-52; ID., *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 150. The latter would rather be Tell ar-Raḥib, 5 km east of 'Ikrīt; cf. DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 8-9; ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 433; S. AḤITUV, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, Jerusalem 1984, p. 164.

[24] Y. AHARONI, *Settlement, op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 51-52; S. AḤITUV, *Reḥov*, in *EM* VII, Jerusalem 1976, col. 345-346 (in Hebrew); ID., *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 163-164.

[25] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* XIII, 5, 4, § 147; *The Jewish War* II, 10, 2, §188; Κλῖμαξ Τύρου: I Macc. 11, 59; *Swlmh šl Ṣwr* with variants: G. REEG, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 452-453, with references.

[26] G. FLAUBERT, *Voyage en Orient (1849-1851)* (Édition du Centenaire), Paris 1923, p. 139: "... au haut, d'où l'on a une vue immense de la mer, tout à coup. C'est sur celle-là qu'allaient, faites pour elle, les galères à proues peintes. De là on peut voir Tyr, là sans doute on venait pour voir les vaisseaux qui revenaient de ...?"

[27] This location was proposed by J. ELAYI, *Ba'lira'si, Rêsha, Reshba'l. Étude de toponymie historique*, in *Syria* 58 (1981), p. 331-341.

30 km from the Mediterranean as the crow flies, and with no relation to the route which was followed by the Assyrian army in 841 B.C.[28]

The steps, which in some places impend over the water, form "a narrow pass, impending perpendicularly over the sea, which is proverbially difficult and where camels can make their way only one by one"[29]. They are mentioned already in Papyrus Anastasi I, 21, 3 from the reign of Ramesses II[30], where they are called *Ḏ-r-ʿ-m*, a transcription of *Ṣəlāʿīm*, "stairs" of a hill according to II Sam. 16, 13. This "Crossing of the Stairs" is located in the Papyrus between Tyre and Akko, and therefore it must be identified either with the pass of Rās an-Nāqūra or with both passes of Rās an-Nāqūra and of Rās al-Abyaḍ, a few kilometres to the north. The latter is a cliff of snow-white chalk interspersed with black flints, and raises from the sea to the height of one hundred metres. The ancient road, said by tradition to have been the work of Alexander the Great[31], has been cut through the rock, but previously the ascent was also there by steps, like at Rās an-Nāqūra.

Between Akko and the mountain of Shechem, Papyrus Anastasi I also mentions Mount *W-s-r* and refers to the shape of its "promontory" (*r-s*)[32]. This is obviously Mount Carmel, whose thin end projecting into the sea forms a headland south of the Bay of Akko. The line of its ridge against the sky can be seen from the see and land over a wide radius, and explains the question in Papyrus Anastasi I: "Teach me about Mount *W-s-r*. What is its *r-s* like?"

Since Mount Carmel was called Mount *W-s-r* by the Egyptians, the *R-ỉ-š q-d-š* or *R-š q-d-š* of the Egyptian topographical lists[33] has to be

[28] F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda* (Studia Phoenicia XII; OLA 46), Leuven 1992, p. 114-115, n. 65.

[29] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux* IV, Paris 1898, p. 344.

[30] *ANET*, p. 475-479 (see p. 477b). Cf. Y. Aharoni, *Western Galilee, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 120-121; Id., *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 48, 171; Id., *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 1.

[31] This local tradition is already expressed in the name Alexandroschene of the Roman station at Iskanderūn, between Tyre and Achzib; cf. *Bordeaux Itinerary* 584: 4, in *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, p. 12.

[32] *ANET*, p. 477b; cf. Y. Aharoni, *Western Galilee, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 56-57; Id., *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 99; Id., *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 1-2; S. Aḥituv, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 163.

[33] H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* III, Le Caire 1926, p. 131; J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937, p. 111 and 117 (List I, 48: Tuthmosis III), p. 157 and 158 (List XXIII, 1: Ramesses II), p. 165 and 169 (List XXVII, 108: Ramesses III). Ramesses III's scribes recopied sections of Ramesses II's list; this is why List XXVII does not have any independent value. The spelling *R-š-* simply witnesses

another promontory, despite its frequent identification with Mount Carmel[34]. The reason prompting such an identification is the meaning of *R-(ỉ-)š q-d-š*, "Cape of Holiness" or "Sacred Promontory", which closely parallels [Κάρμηλος] ὄρος ἱερὸν Διός in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax[35], where the restoration "Carmel" is sure, since the mountain is mentioned after Akko and Achshaph[36], while the enumeration runs from the north to the south. "The holy mountain of Zeus", appearing in this text dating probably from the mid-4th century B.C., seems at first sight to favour the identification of Mount Carmel with the "Cape of Holiness" in the Egyptian sources and the "Mountain of the Baal of the Promontory" in the Neo-Assyrian annals, because Zeus is usually the Greek interpretation of Baal. However, many Canaanite names of mountains are formed with the theonym "Baal" followed by a geographic qualification. As stated above, *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* should thus be regarded as a place distinct from Mount Carmel, the more so because the theonym *Baʿlu Ra'ši* is quite different from **Baʿal Karmel*, that underlines the Greek dedication Διὶ Ἡλιοπολείτῃ Καρμήλῳ[37].

The "sacred mountain of Zeus" in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax must be distinguished also from the "Sacred Promontory" of the Egyptian lists

a negligence on the side of the Egyptian scribe and does not reflect a syncopation in spoken Canaanite, as assumed by J. Friedrich, *Semitische Kleinigkeiten*, in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, Paris 1971, p. 195-199 (see p. 196, n. 1). This is quite evident, the more so because List XXVII, 108 with *R-š-q-d-š* was copied from List XXIII, 1, which reads *R-ỉ-š-q-d-š*.

[34] Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 149, No. 48; Id., *art. cit.* (n. 12), p. 2; B. Mazar, *"They shall call peoples to their mountains"*, in *H.L. Ginsberg Volume* (ErIs 14), Jerusalem 1978, p. 39-41(in Hebrew); Id., *Carmel, the Holy Mountain*, in B. Mazar, *Biblical Israel. State and People*, Jerusalem 1992, p. 127-133; S. Aḥituv, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 162-163.

[35] *GGM* I, p. 79, § 104, reprinted in F. Mazza - S. Ribichini - P. Xella, *Fonti classiche per la civiltà fenicia e punica* I (Collezione di Studi Fenici 27), Roma 1988, p. 135, and here below, p. 268 and 315-316.

[36] Ἔξωπη πόλις Τυ[ρίων], misunderstood by C. Müller, *GGM* I, p. 79, §104, and his followers. See here below, p. 309-315.

[37] M. Avi-Yonah, *Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek*, in *IEJ* 2 (1952), p. 118-124 and Pl. VIII. Several authors have dealt with this inscription. Cf. in particular B. Lifshitz, *Études sur l'histoire de la province romaine de Syrie*, in *ANRW* II/8, Berlin 1977, p. 3-30 and Pls. I-II (see p. 13-16); Y. Hajjar, *La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek* (ÉPRO 59), Leiden 1977, Vol. I, p. 266-270, No. 227; Vol. II, Pl. LXXXVI; M.J. Mulder, *Carmel*, in *DDD*, Leiden 1995, col. 348-354; 2nd ed., Leiden-Grand Rapids 1999, p. 182-185; Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 284-288, with earlier literature. An altar dedicated to Ζεὺς ἅγιος Καρμῆλος was found near the Roman camp at Bīr Qaṣab, about 50 km southeast of Damascus. A military unit from Ptolemais/Akko was obviously garrisoned in the camp. Cf. T. Bauzou, *Activité de la mission archéologique "Strata Diocletiana" en 1990 à 1992*, in *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* 1 (1992 [1997]), p. 136-140 (see p. 139).

in consideration of the geographical context. In fact, the earliest attestation of the "Sacred Promontory" occurs in the great list of Tuthmosis III, where *R-š q-d-š* is mentioned between Akko (*'-k-3*) and *K-r-y-m-n*, a transcription of Canaanite *Kār-yamīni*, "Southern Wharf" (Nos. 47-49).

The concerned section of the list runs from the south to the north, as shown at least by *R-t-m-r-k* (No. 45) and *'-y-n* (No. 46). The first locality is rightly interpreted as (')*ltmlk* and identified with Alammelech (*'lmlk*) in Josh. 19, 26[38], Elimelek according to the Greek text, which suggests a place name meaning "King's Oak" or "Terebinth". The toponym might be preserved by the Wādī al-Malik (Naḥal Ṣippōrī), which joins the Nahr al-Muqaṭṭa' (Qishon) just below Ḫirbet al-Harbağ[39], 12 km southeast of Haifa. The stream becomes a perennial river from this point on and Ḫirbet al-Harbağ is thus located in a strategic position. It is the largest mound in this area and was occupied in the Bronze Age and the Iron Age[40]. The site has been identified with several biblical places and might as well be the *R-t-m-r-k* of Tuthmosis III's list, whose sections have the advantage of showing a certain geographical order. In fact, *R-t-m-r-k* is followed by *'-y-n*, which is likely to be Tell al-Kurdāna, close to the 'Ayūn al-Baṣṣ, the springs and swamps from which starts the Nahr Na'mein[41]. This mound is situated half-way between Ḫirbet al-Harbağ and Akko, about 10 km from each of these places, as the crow flies, and it was occupied in the Bronze Age, in Iron Age I, in Hellenistic and later periods[42]. It has also been suggested to identify it with the Apheq of Josh. 19, 30 and Judg. 1, 31 on the basis of the meaning of *'pq*, "spring", a Hebrew equivalent of *'ayn*.

Considering thus the northward direction followed in this section of Tuthmosis III's list, *K-r-y-m-n* must be related to Tyre[43]. The word *kāru* is used in texts from Ugarit with the meaning "wharf"[44], but can also

[38] Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible*, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 148; S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 58.

[39] Tel Regev, grid ref. 1587/2405.

[40] H.-P. KUHNEN, *Studien zur Chronologie und Siedlungsarchäologie des Karmel (Israel) zwischen Hellenismus und Spätantike* (BTAVO B/72), Wiesbaden 1989, p. 343, No. 49a.

[41] Na'aman, grid ref. 160/250.

[42] A. ALT, *Das Institut im Jahre 1927*, in *PJ* 24 (1928), p. 5-74 (see p. 59-60); ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 467; II, p. 246.

[43] According to W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5), 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971, p. 131, regards its location as "unbekannt".

[44] RS. 17.133, line 8, published by J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 119 and Pl. XVII.

designate a quarter of the city[45], probably the harbour. If *Kār-yamīni* is not the southern Port of Tyre, called "Egyptian" by classical authors and distinguished from the northern harbour, known as "Sidonian"[46], it should be a place on the mainland, possibly near the copious springs of Rās al-'Ayn, which supplied water to Tyre[47]. *R-š q-d-š*, "Cape of Holiness" or "Sacred Promontory", should then be identified with Rās an-Nāqūra or Rās al-Abyaḍ, probably with the first one, which is more conspicuous[48].

The Canaanite name appearing in Egyptian sources does not allude to the god, called "Baal of the Cape" or "Promontory", but to the promontory itself. Now, the full name of the deity cannot be "Baal of the Promontory" without further qualification. There are many promontories along the Phoenician coast and this particular one had to be notorious so that "Promontory" was a sufficient qualification. Its full name was then "Sacred Promontory", as mentioned in the Egyptian lists, which must refer to the same site despite the opinion of some authors who identify *R-ỉ-š q-d-š* of Ramesses II's list with Rās aš-Šaqqa (Theouprosopon), between Batrūn and Tripoli[49].

Ramesses II's list begins with *R-ỉ-š q-d-š*, which is followed by *Y-n-ḏ-t* and *'-n n-g-r*, commonly identified with 'Anğar[50], 16 km northeast of Kāmid el-Lōz, ancient Kumidi. *Y-n-ḏ-t* is probably the ancient site corresponding to present-day Yanṭa, 14 km south of 'Anğar and 12 km east

[45] RS. 16.150, line 14, published by J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* III, Paris 1955, p. 47 and Pl. LIII; RS. 16.249, line 5, published *ibid.*, p. 97 and Pl. LXXIV; RS. 17.424C + 397B, line 10, published by J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 219 and Pl. LXXIV; RS. 17.465, line 4, published by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, No. 13, p. 20-21 with n. 2, and p. 375.

[46] ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 488. See also below, p. 296-298.

[47] *Papyrus Anastasi* I, 21, 1-2, alludes to this transport of water by boat, thus implying the existence of a harbour near Rās al-'Ayn. See also below, p. 299-302.

[48] The identification of *R-š q-d-š* in Tuthmosis III's list was already proposed by M. NOTH, *Die Wege der Pharaonenheer in Palästina und Syrien* V. *Ramses II. in Syrien*, in *ZDPV* 64 (1941), p. 39-74 (see p. 62, n. 4), followed by W. HELCK, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 209, and K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments* II, Oxford 1999, p. 66-67. See also E. LIPIŃSKI, *Note de topographie historique: Ba'li-Ra'ši et Ra'šu Qudšu*, in *RB* 78 (1971), p. 84-92, followed by F. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 114-115, n. 65.

[49] M. NOTH, *art. cit.* (n. 48), p. 62, followed by W. HELCK, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 209. K.A. KITCHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 48), leaves the choice between Rās an-Nāqūra and Rās aš-Šaqqa because of the undecided location of *Y-n-ḏ-t*, No. 2 in the list of Ramesses II. Instead, the identification with Rās aš-Šaqqa (Theouprosopon) is the only one proposed in R. HANNIG, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 2nd ed., Mainz 1997, p. 1360b. See here below, p. 28-30 and 287.

[50] W. HELCK, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 210, K.A. KITCHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 67.

of Kāmid el-Lōz. This place controls a secondary road leaving the old Damascus-Beirut highway in the direction Kāmid el-Lōz. Although only ruins of a Roman temple are reported so far at Yanṭa[51], older remains should certainly be found in the area. One may assume that the name of Yanṭa derives from **Yanṯat*[52], as suggested by the Egyptian transcription. Being mentioned before *Y-n-ḏ-t* and *ʿ-n n-g-r* on a south-north route, *R-ỉ-š q-d-š* should thus be located south or southwest of Yanṭa and be identified, not with Rās aš-Šaqqa, but with Rās an-Nāqūra.

Baal of the Promontory is referred to in Palestinian Rabbinic sources, namely in the Talmud Yerushalmi where one can read: *Bʿl r'š gwyyh hyh wk'pwn hyh*[53], "Baal of the Promontory is a carcass and he is like a 'small nose'". The variant reading *h-Bʿl r'š* implies a somewhat different interpretation: "Baal is the head of a carcass and he is like a 'small nose'"[54], apparently an euphemism for "'phallus'". However, the qualification "head of a carcass" is not clear, and one should thus favour the reading *Bʿl r'š* without article. If the interpretation of *'pwn* is correct, the whole sentence must refer to the phallic cult, well attested in Syro-Phoenicia in the Graeco-Roman period, for instance in the Cave of Wasṭa, north of Tyre[55]. The Talmudic pronouncement thus stigmatizes a particular form of worship of the Baal of the Promontory, apparently practised in Palestine.

Baal of the Promontory was worshipped also in other regions of the Phoenician world. East of Byblos, during excavations conducted north of Mār Yaʿqūb, a small limestone altar was found with the Greek inscription Διὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥησᾷ[56]. Ῥησᾶ is obviously a transcription of the Aramaic word *Rēšā*, "cape", "promontory", "summit". The qualification shows that a local "Zeus" was meant, called "Baal" in Phoenician. Nothing indicates that Ῥησᾶ is a reference to Rās an-Nāqūra, and the hill of Qaṣṣūba, where the altar was found, might be the place intended in the

[51] L. MARFOE, *Kāmid el-Lōz* 13. *The Prehistoric and Early Historic Context of the Site* (Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 41), Bonn 1995, p. 207, No. 096.

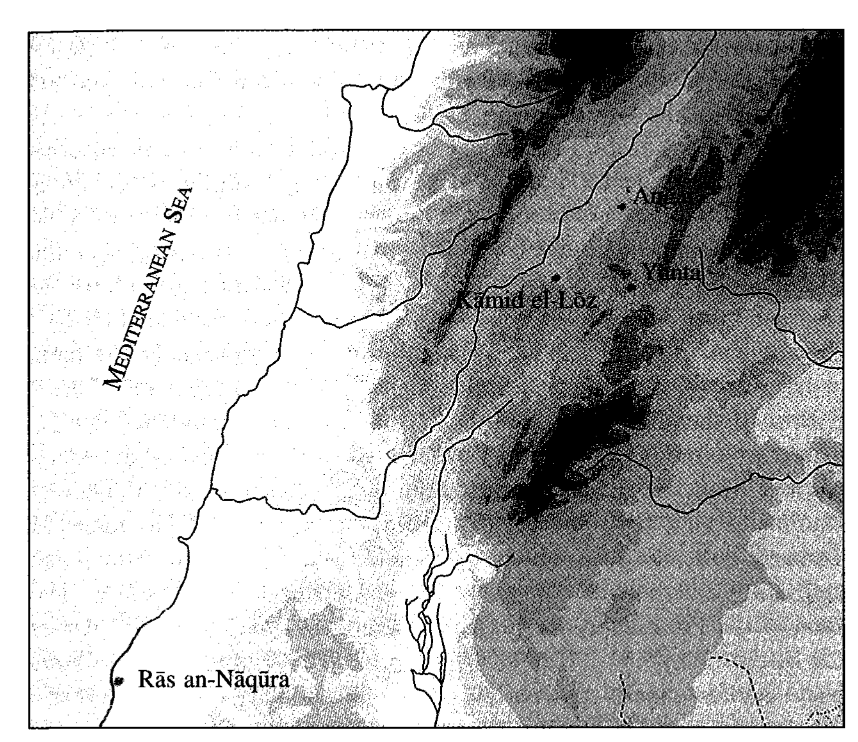
[52] The actual form of the name can be regarded as Aramaic, with the change *ṯ* > *ṭ* instead of Canaanite *ṯ* > *ṣ*, and the loss of the final *t*: *-at* > *-ā* > *-a*.

[53] *Shabbat* IX, 1 (114a); *Abōdā zārā* III, 6 (43a).

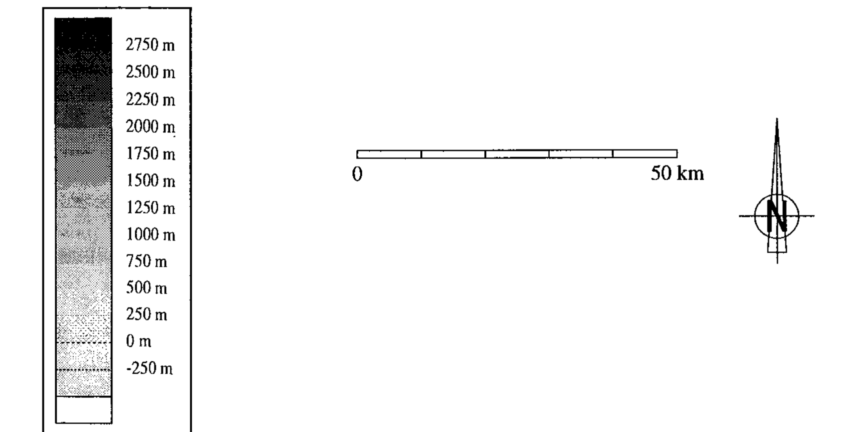
[54] The word *'pwn* is used as second member of a comparison also in the Talmud Yerushalmi, *Yōmā* IV (43c).

[55] LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 215-218.

[56] The inscription was published by R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON and R. MOUTERDE, *Inscriptions grecques de Beyrouth*, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* 7 (1914-21), p. 382-394 (see p. 390-394). E. HONIGMANN reports erroneously in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 395, that the inscription was found in Beirut.



South Lebanon.



inscription[57]. However, such local qualifications generally refer to the main holy place of the deity, while the qualification is actually used in subsidiary shrines. If this interpretation is correct in the case of τῷ ἐν Ῥησᾷ, the promontory in question might be identified with various sanctuaries of the Byblos area.

Another Baal of the Promontory is known thanks to a Punic inscription from Hadrumetum, present-day Sūsa, dating from the first century B.C.[58] His name *B'l rš* is engraved in the triangular fronton[59] of a stele from the *tophet*, dedicated by a man "belonging to the people of the Island of the Tunnies", *'š b'm 'ytnm*[60]. This island had to be close to Hadrumetum, since two other steles of the *tophet* are dedicated by citizens of *'ytnm*[61]. The islands entering into account are thus El-Oustania or Isle of the Quarantine and Sidi al-Ġadamsi, ancient Tonnara, where a fishery of thunnies was established. Both are about a hundred metres distant from the promontory of Ruspina, which is occupied by the actual town of Monastir and marks the south-eastern extremity of the Gulf of Hammamet, 15 km southeast of Sūsa as the crow flies. The name of Tonnara indicates that this is the island called *'ytnm* in Punic, and archaeological remains demonstrate its occupation in Antiquity[62]. The Baal of the Promontory in the Hadrumetum inscription should then be the Baal of *Ruspina*, in Greek Ρουσπίνον[63]. This is a Phoenician-Punic place name, which apparently means "Promontory of the Corner",

[57] Cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 275.

[58] The inscription, published by P. CINTAS, *Le sanctuaire punique de Sousse*, in *Revue Africaine* 91 (1947), p. 1-80 (see p. 39-40 and Fig. 65), is engraved on a stele from Level IV, which must be posterior to the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.

[59] The shade of a break on the photograph (Fig. 65) gives the impression that a letter *pē* is connected with *šīn*, but the editor explicitly notes that there was no *pē* engraved there (P. CINTAS, *art. cit.* [n. 58], p. 40), although he believes that the letter should be added, so as to read *B'l Rš(p)*. The same opinion is expressed by M. H. FANTAR, *Stèles épigraphes du tophet de Sousse*, in *REPPAL* 9 (1995), p. 25-47 (see p. 35), while the addition of *p* is criticized by J.-G. FÉVRIER, *Les inscriptions puniques de Sousse*, in *BAC* 1946-49 (1953), p. 560-562 (see p. 561), who already refers to *Ba'li-ra'si* in Shalmaneser III's annals. The stele is lost. At any rate, no worship of Resheph is attested so far in the Punic world; cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 188.

[60] *Tnm* is the plural of the same Mediterraean word *tn* as Greek θύννος, "tunny"; cf. P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968, p. 446b. The name of the Westsemitic sea dragon *tunnānu* or *tannīn* derives from the same root by addition of a suffix; cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 275-276, n. 47.

[61] P. CINTAS, *art. cit.* (n. 58), p. 36-37 and Fig. 60, as well as p. 38-39. The first inscription is republished in *KAI* 99 and both in M. H. FANTAR, *art. cit.* (n. 59), p. 30 and 34. Both steles are lost.

[62] *AATun*, fol. 57 (Sousse), No. 93; cf. *CNSA*, fol. LVII, Tunis 1988, No. 93.

[63] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 12.

**R(')š-pn-(t)*[64], and probably alludes to its location at the south-eastern edge of the Gulf of Hammamet. The full name of the Baal mentioned on the Hadrumetum stele would then be "Baal of the Promontory of the Corner". By analogy, one can assume that the full name of *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* was "Baal of the Sacred Promontory", **B'l r'š qdš*.

The Neo-Assyrian Eponym Chronicle for 803 B.C. reports a campaign *a-na* ^{uru}*Ba-'-li*[65], "as far as Ba'lu". Various identifications of this city have been proposed in the past. E. Honigmann hesitatingly suggested Baalbek[66], which is never mentioned in Assyrian sources. H. Cazelles took Ba'lu-Ṣapuna of Tiglath-pileser III and Ba'lu-Ra'ši of Shalmaneser III into account, but finally discarded these two possibilities, because both sites are on the sea, while the Eponym Chronicle reports a campaign "to the sea" only in 802 B.C.[67] In fact, Adad-nirari III marched in 802 *ana muḫḫi tāmtim* or, according to a variant, *ina ti-[amti]*, "in the Sea(land)"[68]. No Assyrian campaign is directed "to the sea" and the term *tāmtu*, even used without the determinative KUR of country names, may designate the Sealand[69], in southern Babylonia. Very likely this is the correct interpretation of the entry in the Eponym Chronicle, where reference is thus made to the submission of Chaldaean sheiks, reported immediately after the campaign to Damascus on the Calah Slab[70]. The latter campaign was not closed by the capitulation of the city, for the Assyrian army progressed further to the southwest and Adad-nirari III received the tribute from Jehoash the Israelite and from the kings of Tyre and Sidon[71]. This was almost certainly the campaign of 803 B.C. *a-na* ^{uru}*Ba-'-li*, which must be situated therefore in northern Israel or on the southern Phoenician coast.

[64] According to the meaning of the phrase in Ps. 118, 22.

[65] A. MILLARD, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 2), Helsinki 1994, p. 34.

[66] E. HONIGMANN, in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, p. 327.

[67] A. MILLARD, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 34.

[68] See *ibid.*

[69] Cf. J.A. BRINKMAN, *Merodach-Baladan II*, in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim*, Chicago 1964, p. 6-53 (see p. 12, n. 36); ID., *A Political History of Post-Cassite Babylonia: 1158-722 B.C.* (AnOr 43), Rome 1968, p. 217 with n. 1359 ("'Sealand' seems a more probable interpretation"), and p. 262, n. 1676; A.R. MILLARD, rev. in *Orientalia* 39 (1970), p. 448.

[70] Its new decipherment is provided by H. TADMOR, *The Historical Inscriptions of Adad-Nirari III*, in *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 141-150, especially p. 144-146 = *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.6, p. 207-209. Cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100), Leuven 2000, p. 392-393.

[71] Tell ar-Rimaḥ stele: *RIMA* III, text A.0.104.7, p. 211, lines 8-12.

After the surrender of Damascus, the Assyrian army took the "Way of the Sea" (Is. 8, 23) and traversed the entire Galilee, following one of the three main roads running from the Jordan valley to the seacoast. The road of Upper Galilee leads from the fords near the Bridge of Jacob's Daughters through Qedesh to the northern extremity of the Plain of Akko[72]. In this hypothesis, an identification of ^uru^*Ba-'-li* with ^kur^*Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* is very tempting[73], but Rās an-Nāqūra is a promontory, the name of which could hardly be used with the determinative of city names. The central road was known until very recent times by the name Darb al-Ḥawarnah[74]. This road runs from the fords of the Jordan at the southern tip of the Sea of Galilee through the Sahl al-Aḥmā (the Valley of Jabneel) and the Sahl al-Baṭṭof to the coastal plain south of Akko. No place name with the theophorous element "Baal" or having a similar assonance is known on this track and no concrete suggestion for the location of ^uru^*Ba-'-li* can thus be made. The third thoroughfare comes from Beth-shean and runs across the Valley of Jezreel[75]. If the biblical account of the sudden Aramaean withdrawal from Samaria at the news of an approaching army[76] refers to Adad-nirari III's troops progressing from Damascus to the southwest[77], this is probably the route which the Assyrians have followed as far as ^uru^*Ba-'-li*, where Jehoash the Israelite could have paid tribute to Adad-nirari III. In fact, one cannot induce from the Neo-Assyrian inscription that the kings of Israel, Tyre, and Sidon did homage to Adad-nirari at the same site. This could have happened in different locations, along the route of the Assyrian army. Jehoash would have done it somewhere in his kingdom.

This place might be Ibleam, modern Tell Bel'ame, 14 km south of Zer'in, the site of the ancient city of Jezreel. Ibleam appears already as *Y-b-r-'-m* in the topographical list of Tuthmosis III (No. 43). It lies on the road from the Jezreel valley to Samaria, which lies only 20 km further south, and its current name, used already in Antiquity, was *Bil'ām* (I Chron. 6, 15), Βελ-μαιν/βαιμ (Judith 4, 4; 7, 3), Βαλαμων (Judith 8,

[72] Y. AHARONI, *Settlement, op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 6 ff. and 129 ff.; ID., *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 57.

[73] E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 48), p. 88-91.

[74] B. ODED, *Darb el-Hawarneh - An Ancient Route* (in Hebrew), in *Zalman Shazar Volume* (ErIs 10), Jerusalem 1971, p. 191-197.

[75] Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible, op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 46-47.

[76] I Kings 20, 19-21; II Kings 7, 6-7. For the historical context of these biblical narratives, see E. LIPIŃSKI, *Aram et Israël du X^e^ au VIII^e^ siècle av.n.è.*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27 (1979 [1981]), p. 49-102 (see p. 80-91).

[77] *RIMA* III, text. A.0.104.7, p. 211, line 8.

3), possibly *Ba'al Hamon* (Cant. 8, 11)[78]. A later form Βελεμώθ of the toponym occurs in the Greek version of *The Lives of the Prophets*, where this place is mentioned as the site of prophet Hosea's sepulchre[79]. On the large Tell Bel'ame, which guards the ascent to the valley of Dothan and to Samaria, sherds were found dating from the Early Bronze through the Iron Age. A rock-hewn tunnel, called Bīr as-Senğem, leads to a spring at the foot of the tell, like in other ancient cities of Canaan[80]. Considering the importance of the site, its location, and the shorter forms of its name, one can assume that this was the city called ^uru^*Ba-'-li* in the Eponym Chronicle, with the metathesis *Ba'li* < *Bil'a-*, easily explainable by the high frequency of place names with the theophorous element *Ba'l*. However, the nature of the evidence is such that positive prove cannot be offered. The alternative location near the Phoenician coast cannot be ruled out.

The kings of Tyre and Sidon have paid tribute to Adad-nirari III most likely in the costal area. Therefore, the writer's first hypothesis has to be mentioned again, namely that ^uru^*Ba-'-li* is a shortened form of ^kur^*Ba-'-li-ra-'-si*, known from Shalmaneser III's annals[81]. This hypothesis has nevertheless been challenged because of the assumed but unusual alternation of the determinatives KUR/URU in relation to a mountain. The discovery of a nearby town bearing a similar name would furnish the easiest answer, but there are no indications so far that such a town existed in that area, although the "Solomonic" district of *Bə'ālōt* (I Kings 4, 16)[82] and the classical name of the Belos River, modern Nahr Na'mein near Akko, preserve the souvenir of the cult of Baal in this region, at the southern borders of the kingdom of Tyre[83]. This area is also the most likely place where Tyre and Sidon paid tribute to the Assyrian king before his march northwards, in the direction of Arwad.

[78] These are various transcriptions of the same place name. According to Judith 8, 3, Manasses, Judith's husband, was buried "beside his ancestors in the field between Dothaim and Balamōn". Now, Eusebius locates Δωθαιμ 20 km north of Samaria/Sebaste; cf. E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *Eusebius: Werke* III/1. *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS 11/1), Leipzig 1904, p. 76: 13-15. This confirms the identification of Βαλαμων with Ibleam. Instead, the relation of *Ba'al Hāmōn* in Cant. 8, 11 to this site is not clear, but no reason is given by ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 259, why he does not accept the identification.

[79] T. SCHERMANN (ed.), *Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae* (Bibl. Teubneriana), Leipzig 1907, p. 27.

[80] ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 357.

[81] *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.10, p. 54, lines 8-9; text A.0.102.16, p. 78, line 133'.

[82] See here above, p. 4-5.

[83] LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 282-283.

CHAPTER II

THE KINGDOM OF SIDON IN THE EARLY SEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

The Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.), on his accession, found Abdi-Milkūti, king of Sidon, in revolt against his authority. He had formed an alliance with Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sissū, a prince of Cilicia, and had set up as independent monarch. This happened probably during the turbulent period which followed the murder of Sennacherib by two of his sons, Esarhaddon's brothers. As soon as this crisis was over, and the Assyrian monarch had settled the situation in Babylonia, he proceeded against the two Western rebels. Both of them tried to escape him, but he caused both chiefs to be pursued and taken. Sidon was captured and destroyed in 676 B.C., and all Abdi-Milkūti's subject cities were conquered during Esarhaddon's campaign through Phoenicia.

The extension of the kingdom of Sidon in that period of the 7th century B.C. can be established to a certain degree thanks to a list of sixteen cities of the Sidonian territory captured then by Esarhaddon[1], apparently during the march of his army northwards in 676 B.C. This list is given by Class A and Class D of Esarhaddon's Nineveh Prisms, integrated by R. Borger in his corpus of Esarhaddon's inscriptions[2]. It is missing instead in Class B of the Nineveh Prisms, which was called "Prism A" in earlier publications. E. Forrer had proposed an identification of some of the cities concerned[3] and he was often followed by Assyriologists, although several of the proposed localizations were not satisfactory. Besides, no global vision of the list results from Forrer's proposals, while Esarhaddon's text seems to be based on an itinerary running from the south to the north. Here is the list in question:

[1] This subject has been treated by the writer in a more concise way in *Avraham Malamat Volume* (ErIs 24), Jerusalem 1993, p. 158*-163*. Some localizations proposed in this article have been changed in the present study.

[2] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO, Beih. 9), Graz 1956, p. 48, Episode 5, col. III, 1-7.

[3] E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, p. 65.

$^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Bēt-*$^{\mathrm{(m)}}$*Ṣu-pu-ri* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*S/Šik-ku-u* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Gi-'* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*In-im-me* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Ḫi-il-du-u-a* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Qar-ti-im-me* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Bi-'-ru-u* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Ki-il-me-e* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Bi-ti-ru-me* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Sa-gu-u* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Am-pa* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Bēt-*$^{\mathrm{(m)}}$*Gi-si-mì-ia* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Bi-ir-gi-'* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Ga-am-bu-lu* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Da-la-im-me* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*I-si-ḫi-im-me ālāni*$^{\mathrm{meš(.ni)}}$ *ša li-me-et* $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Ṣi-du-un-ni.*

The first city mentioned is $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Bēt-*$^{\mathrm{(m)}}$*Ṣu-pu-ri*, the name of which must correspond to Phoenician **Bt-Ṣpr*[4]. Because of the similitude of the place names, E. Forrer proposed locating it at 'Ayn Ṣawfar, 21 km southeast of Beirut. However, as we shall see, the list seems to follow a direction south-north. This favours the identification of $^{\mathrm{uru}}$*Bēt-*$^{\mathrm{(m)}}$*Ṣupuri* with Ornithopolis, referred to by Pseudo-Scylax[5], Strabo[6], and Pliny[7]. This identification rightly assumes that 'Ορνίθων πόλις or 'Ορνιθοκώμη, "Town/Village of Birds", is a translation of Phoenician **Bēt-Ṣippōr*, "House of the Bird(s)". The Phoenician word "bird" was most likely pronounced like in Hebrew, as shown by the *mater lectionis* in the plural form *ṣyprm*, "birds", attested on a Neo-Punic ostracon from the al-Quṣbāt area (Libya)[8]. The Neo-Assyrian vocalization *Ṣu-pu-ri* does not create any particular problem since cuneiform signs with *u*, like *pu*, serve also to express the vowel *o*, while the spelling *ṣu* witnesses an assimilation of the originally short vowel *i* to the long vowel *ō*. Now, Ornithopolis has rightly been located at Tell al-Burāq[9], 8 km southwest of Sidon, at the sea, near the Nahr al-'Adasīya. Its alternative localization at 'Adlūn[10], 18 km north of Tyre is at least less probable, since this area was given by Esarhaddon to the king of Tyre[11].

[4] Contrary to ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 12, who refers to H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* VI, Le Caire 1929, p. 104, *Ḏ-p-r* does not seem to occur in Egyptian texts. The Syro-Palestinian place referred to is *D-p-r*; cf. W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5), 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971, p. 638, sub *da-pu-rú.*

[5] PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §104, according to the edition by C. MÜLLER, *GGM* I, p. 15-96. It is §87 in the edition by B. FABRICIUS, *Anonymi, vulgo Scylacis Caryandensis, periplum maris interni*, Leipzig 1878.

[6] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 24.

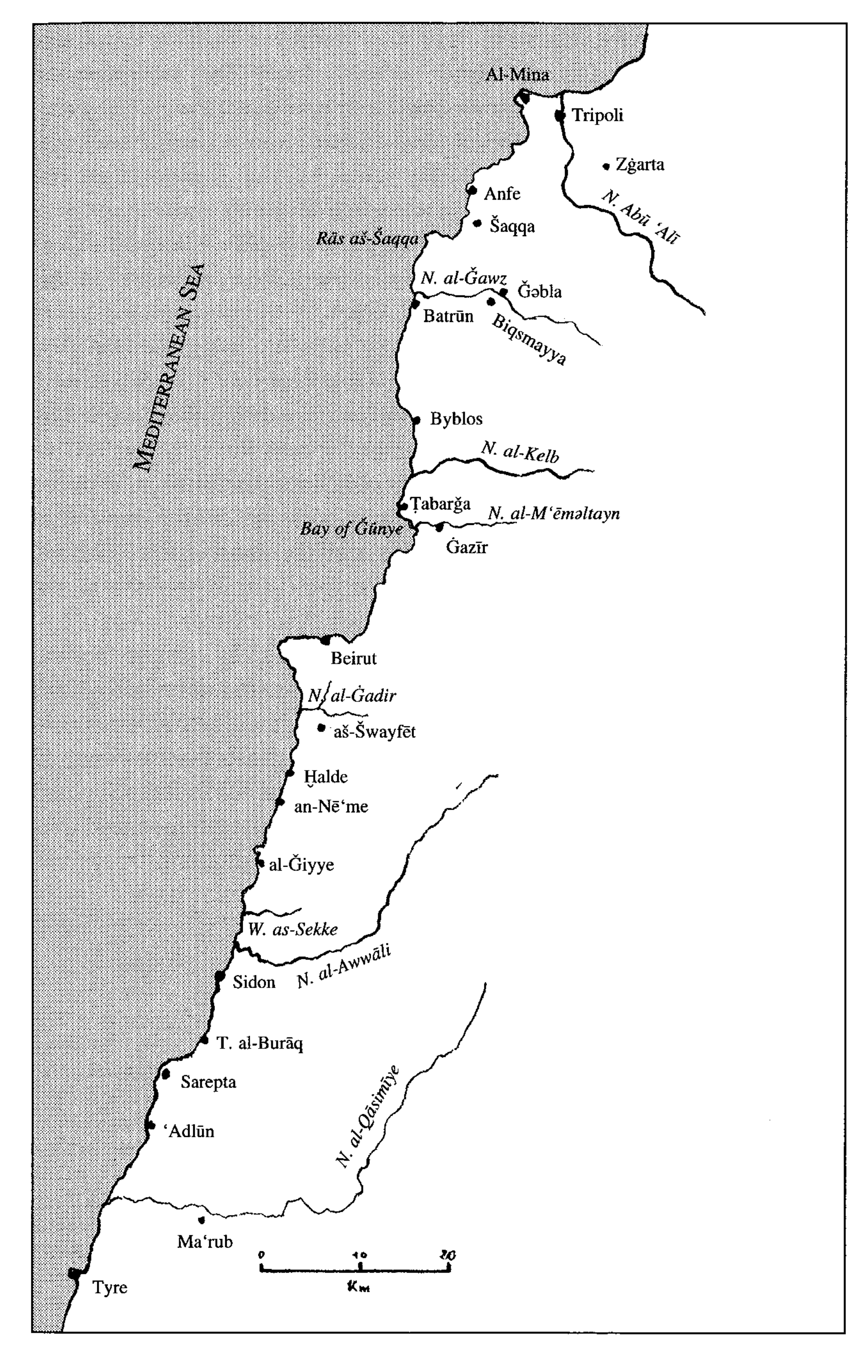
[7] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 76: *Ornithon oppidum.*

[8] G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927-1967)*, Roma 1987, No. 86, line 7, p. 131 and Pl. XXXII.

[9] E. HONIGMANN, *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, in *ZDPV* 46 (1923), p. 149-193; 47 (1924), p. 1-64 (see No. 343b); ID., in *PW* XVIII/1, Stuttgart 1939, col. 1129; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 41; ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 12 and 117. Cf. A. JIRKU, *Durch Palästina und Syrien*, in *ZDPV* 53 (1930), p. 136-166 (see p. 156).

[10] E. RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris 1864, p. 655-656; I. BENZINGER in K. BAEDEKER, *Palestine et Syrie*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1912, p. 271.

[11] See below, p. 34.



Phoenician coast.

The second city mentioned in the list is [uru]*Sikkū* or *Šikkū*, a name that should be related to Hebrew *skw/h*, a lion's den[12]. This interpretation suggests identifying *S/Šikkū* with the Leontopolis of Pseudo-Scylax[13] and of Strabo[14]. Between Beirut and Sidon, Strabo enumerates the Tamyras River, the holy grove of Asclepius, and Leontopolis. The Tamyras River is the Nahr ad-Dāmūr, while Eshmun's sanctuary is at Bostān aš-Šayḫ, on the Nahr al-Awwāli. Leontopolis should thus be located between the Nahr al-Awwāli and Sidon. Now, precisely in this area, about 2 km from the old centre of Sidon, at the northern extremity of the suburb of al-Baramīye and near the Nahr al-Ġiyāṣ, the Ḫān Abū Šaka seems to preserve the ancient place name[15]. However, 6.5 km north of the Nahr al-Awwāli, the old road to Beirut crosses the Wādī as-Sekke, where there was a khan with a few houses[16], and Ptolemy locates the mouth of a Λεών River between Beirut and Sidon: Βηρυτός, Λεόντος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί, Σιδών[17]. One can thus hesitate for the location of S/Šikkū between al-Baramīye and a site near the khan at the Wādī as-Sekke. Strabo's order favours al-Baramīye and, in this hypothesis, the Nahr al-Ġiyāṣ would correspond to Ptolemy's Λεών River.

The third city of Esarhaddon's list is called [uru]*Gi-'*. It must be the present-day al-Ǧiyye, 16.5 km north of Sidon. Its site and the nearby Nabe Yūnəs are usually identified with Porphyreon[18], although the fourth-century Bordeaux Itinerary locates *Parp(h)irion* at eight Roman miles or 12 km from Sidon[19]. Porphyreon is already mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax[20] and Polybius[21], who agree in locating the city between Beirut and Sidon.

12 This meaning is attested in Jer. 25, 38 and Ps. 10, 9. The root *sk* can also be spelt *śk*, like in Lam. 2, 6.

13 PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §104 (87).

14 STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 22.

15 See the map of Sidon and environs in K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), next to p. 274.

16 K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 274. This khan is apparently called Khan es-Sakkiyeh by R.C. THOMPSON, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, 1927-28*, London 1931, p. 16, n. 4.

17 PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 14, 3 (p. 962). PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 78, locates a *Leontos oppidum* between Beirut and the Lycus River, the Nahr al-Kelb, but this must be considered as an error.

18 E. ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the Adjacent Regions. A Journal of Travels in the Year 1838*, Boston 1856, Vol. II, p. 487; P. THOMSEN, *Loca sancta* I, Halle a/S 1907, p. 97; E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 9), in *ZDPV* 47 (1924), p. 33; ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 410.

19 *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, p. 12 (p. 583: 10-11).

20 PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §104 (87). Cf. G. HÖLSCHER, in *PW* XXII/1, Stuttgart 1953, col. 271-272. See also here below, p. 289.

21 POLYBIUS, *History* V, 68, 6.

The importance of the site in later years appeared when 6th-century A.D. mosaics were discovered on its territory[22]. There can be no doubt about the location of Porphyreon, but the distance given by the Bordeaux Itinerary ought to be corrected from VIII to at least XI miles. Polybius reports that the Egyptian navy was anchored near Porphyreon in 218 B.C., what implies the presence of a harbour or anchorage. The Neo-Assyrian spelling *Gi-'* of the city name, compared with the present-day name of al-Ǧiyye, suggests interpreting this toponym as the West-Semitic noun *gy'*, "valley". The Greek name would instead allude to the purple industry based on the molluscs *Purpura haemastoma* and *Murex brandaris*, found in great quantities in this part of the Phoenician coast and yielding the deep crimson dye.

The next city mentioned in Esarhaddon's list is [uru]*In-im-me*, which is an obvious transcription of Phoenician *'n-ym*, "Spring at the Sea". It is rightly identified on phonetic grounds with the large village of an-Nē'me, 15 km south of Beirut[23]. This site has in fact yielded a large quantity of pre-Roman antiquities.

There is a general agreement in identifying [uru]*Ḫi-il-du-u-a* with the *mutatio Heldua* of the Bordeaux Itinerary and with present-day Ḫalde, known in earlier literature as Ḫān al-Ḫulde[24], 12 km south of Beirut and 17 km south of the ancient city limits. The XII Roman miles indicated by the Bordeaux Itinerary as the distance from Beirut to Ḫalde are thus correct, but the VIII miles given there as the distance from Ḫalde to Porphyreon should be emended into VIIII, since the actual distance by the ancient road amounted to 14.5 km. The Ḫān al-Ḫulde occupied the site of the ancient city, as shown by the remains of the Roman-Byzantine town uncovered in 1967-1975 near the highway from Beirut to Sidon. They comprise private houses and churches with pavements in mosaics, datable from the mid-5th through the 8th century A.D.[25] Close to this

22 DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 45-46; E. HONIGMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 9), in *ZDPV* 47 (1924), p. 33.

23 E. FORRER, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 65.

24 *Itineraria et alia geographica* (*op. cit.*, n. 19), p. 12 (p. 583: 9); cf. E. FORRER, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 65.

25 R. SAIDAH, *Khan Khaldé*, in *Dossiers de l'Archéologie* 12 (1975), p. 50-59 = *Atti del IX° Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana*, Vaticano 1978, p. 451-456; N. DUVAL - J.-P. CAILLET, *Khan Khaldé (ou Khaldé III). Les fouilles de Roger Saidah dans les églises, mises en oeuvre d'après les documents de l'auteur,* in *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil R. Saidah*, Lyon 1982, p. 311-394; J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, *Inscriptions grecques inédites, découvertes par Roger Saidah, ibid.*, p. 395-408 (see p. 402-408); Ch. GEBARA, *Remarques sur la sigillée orientale d'après les fouilles de Khan Khaldé (Heldua), ibid.*, p. 409-417; O. CALLOT, *Remarques sur les huileries de Khan Khaldé (Liban),*

place, two other churches have been unearthed in 1959[26]. More to the north, on the slopes of the hill of Qəbbət aš-Šwayfēt, a large Phoenician cemetery was discovered in 1961-1962 with 422 registered tombs. The 178 tombs excavated then by R. Saidah can be dated from the 10th through the end of the 8th century B.C.[27] They certainly confirm the existence of an important Phoenician town, which must be the Ḫildua of Esarhaddon's inscriptions.

The next city is called uru*Qar-ti-im-me*, which means in Phoenician "City at the Sea", in Phoenician **Qrt-ym*. The Byzantine chronicler John Malalas, born at Antioch, mentions a small town Χαρτιμα, which he locates in Maritime Phoenicia, at the border of Tyrian and Sidonian territories, and considers as the birthplace of Elissa-Dido[28], the reputed founder of Carthage. The same tradition is recorded in a Ge'ez chronicle, which suggested to Ch. Clermont-Ganneau identifying this place with the village of Ḫartum, near the source of the Nahr Abū al-Aswad[29]. The place name is the same as Esarhaddon's *Qartimme*, but its location does not favour the identification of the two towns. At any rate, the name suggests a location at the sea, possibly as a marina deserving an inland city. One may refer to the *Elkardie* of the Crusaders, which seems to contain the element *el-Qart-*, and to the present-day hamlet of al-Qartēḥ, near aš-Šwayfēt, between Ḫalde and Beirut[30]. *Qartimme* might have occupied a site near the mouth of the Nahr al-Ġadir, northwest of aš-Šwayfēt, or, further to the north, the stretch of land between the beaches of al-Ǧnēḥ and al-Awza'i, where rich *villae urbanae* from the 6th century A.D. have been discovered by M. Chéhab[31].

Despite the spelling uru*Bi-'-ru-u/ù*, which does not mark the final *-t*, this city must be identified with Beirut, the city of the "wells". In the 4th

ibid., p. 419-428. See also L. BADRE, *Khaldeh*, in *OEANE*, New York-Oxford 1997, Vol. III, p. 290-291.

[26] M. CHÉHAB, *Mosaïques du Liban*, in *BMB* 14-15 (1958-59), p. 107-116, 175-178, Pls. LXII-LXVI, CXI-CXV, Figs. 8 and 13.

[27] R. SAIDAH, *Fouilles de Khaldé. Rapport préliminaire sur la première et deuxième campagnes (1961-1962)*, in *BMB* 19 (1966), p. 51-90; ID., *Objets grecs d'époque géométrique découverts récemment sur le littoral libanais (à Khaldé près de Beyrouth)*, in *AAAS* 21 (1971), p. 193-198; P. BORDREUIL, *Épigraphes phéniciennes sur bronze, sur pierre et sur céramique*, in *Archéologie au Levant. Recueil R. Saidah*, Lyon 1982, p. 187-192 (see p. 190-191).

[28] L. DINDORF (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, Bonn 1831, p. 162.

[29] Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *RAO* V, Paris 1903, p. 209.

[30] H. LAMMENS, *Topographie franque du Liban*, in *Mél. Fac. Or.* 1 (1906), p. 250-271 (see p. 261).

[31] M. CHÉHAB, *Mosaïques du Liban*, Paris 1958 = *BMB* 14-15 (1958-59).

century B.C., Pseudo-Scylax mentions its harbour "open to the north", βορινός[32], thus indicating the site of the ancient city, which was not located on the Rās Bayrūt, at the western extremity of the triangular promontory, but to the south of the modern harbour. The site was excavated in 1993-1996 and it was possible to establish the exact location and size of the walled city in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The city had the shape of an arc facing the sea and its total intramural area amounted only to two hectares, but it was protected by an impressive and well preserved defence system with walls 7 metres high[33]. It is doubtful whether Beirut appears as *B-ỉ-r-t* under Nos. 19 and 109 of the great topographical list of Tuthmosis III[34]. Instead, the city is certainly attested in the epoch of the Amarna letters[35] and of the Ugarit archives, both syllabic[36] and alphabetic[37]. It is also mentioned at that time in Papyrus Anastasi I, 20, 8, which dates from the late Nineteenth Dynasty, i. e., from the end of the 13th century B.C.[38]

It was a Phoenician city in the first millennium B.C., though it is not mentioned either in Phoenician inscriptions — except in a coin legend — or in the Old Testament. The context forbids its identification either with Be'eroth (Josh. 9, 17), or with Berothai (II Sam. 8, 8), or with Berothah (Ez. 47, 16). The excavations of the years 1993-1996 have improved our knowledge of Beirut in the Iron Age. The city had obviously lost its former importance after several destructions between the 10th and the mid-

[32] PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §104 (87).

[33] L. BADRE, *Bey 003 Preliminary Reports. Excavations of the American University of Beirut Museum, 1993-1996*, in *BAAL* 2 (1998), p. 1-98; EAD., *Late Bronze and Iron Age Imported Pottery from the Archaeological Excavations of Urban Beirut*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 73-86. See further the contributions in *Aram* 13-14 (2001-2002), p. 1-375. Among earlier studies, dealing mainly with later periods, one should mention J. LAUFFRAY, *Beyrouth, archéologie et histoire, époques gréco-romaines I. Période hellénistique et Haut-Empire romain*, in *ANRW* II/8, Berlin-New York 1977, p. 135-163 and Pls. I-X. A map of Beirut is given on p. 137. See also N. JIDEJIAN, *Beirut through the Ages*, Beirut 1973; M.F. DAVIE, *Maps and the Historical Topography of Beirut*, in *Berytus* 35 (1987 [1989]), p. 141-164.

[34] List I in J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937.

[35] Cf. *EA* 92, 32; 101, 25; 114, 13; 118, 28.31; 138, 11.21.51.76.88.91.95.134; 141, 4; 142, 12; 143, 21.25; 155, 67.

[36] RS. 17.341, 17', in J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 162; RS. 21.183, 25, published by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, p. 124, No. 41; RS. 34.137, 1, published by D. ARNAUD, in P. BORDREUIL (ed.), *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville* (Ras Shamra - Ougarit 7), Paris 1991, p. 79, No. 37.

[37] *KTU* 3.4, 15.

[38] *ANET*, p. 475-479, in particular p. 477a.

8th century B.C. and archaeologists even date a level of apparent 'abandonment' to *ca.* 750-700 B.C., but an almost complete storehouse and a casemate wall could be dated to *ca.* the mid-7th century B.C. Nevertheless, the mention of Beirut in Esarhaddon's inscriptions as a Sidonian town confirms its secondary role at that time. A major activity in the harbour of Beirut is revealed in the Persian period by Pseudo-Scylax and by an exceptional hoard of Greek, Cypriote, and Phoenician coins, buried around 400 B.C. and discovered south of Beirut[39], where its proprietor had most likely disembarked. However, Pseudo-Scylax does not mention any royal residence in Beirut[40]. It is only in 187 B.C. that Beirut starts issuing an autonomous coinage[41] and, from the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) on, it issues coins with the head of a Seleucid king and the Phoenician legend "(belonging) to Laodicea, mother in Canaan"[42], which underlines the growing importance of the city.

Beirut is followed by uru*Ki-il-me-e*, that some authors identify either with al-Qalamūn, 10 km southwest of Tripoli, or with Kalmin, 4 km east-northeast of Batrūn[43]. Both suggestions disturb the order of the itinerary. uru*Ki-il-me-e* is similar to Strabo's name of Mount Klimax, located between Byblos and the Adonis River or Nahr Ibrahim, on the one hand, and Palaebyblos and the Lycus River or Nahr al-Kelb, on the other[44]. Mount Klimax has long been identified with the promontory of Rās al-M'ēmaltayn, closing the Bay of Ğūnye from the north[45]. The arch of a Roman bridge can still be seen close to the Nahr al-M'ēmaltayn, and the *Passus Pagani* of the Crusaders has been located there[46]. A creek, to the northwest of the river's mouth, allows fishermen to moor their boats.

It is uncertain whether Κλῖμαξ has to be regarded as a purely Greek designation of the mountain or as an adaptation of a local place name.

[39] W.W. SHERIDAN, *From Cyzicus to Tyre: Numismatic Evidence of an Ancient Ship's Trip, circa 400 B.C.*, in *Numismatist* 8 (1971), p. 1127-1133.

[40] Instead he does it at Arwad, Tyre, and Ascalon: PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §104 (87). See here below, p. 288-289.

[41] G.F. HILL, *Phoenicia. A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London 1910, p. XLVI-LIX and 51-92, in particular p. 52 and Pl. VII, 4 with the inscription *l-B'rt*.

[42] P. BORDREUIL - N. TABET, in *Syria* 62 (1985), p. 180-181; 63 (1986), p. 421 and 423-424; cf. also G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 52 and Pl. VII, 3.

[43] V. SCHEIL, *Le prisme S d'Assaraddon, roi d'Assyrie 681-668* (BÉHÉ 208), Paris 1914, p. 33-35 (Qalamūn); DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 39 (Kalmin).

[44] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 19.

[45] Already H. MAUNDRELL, *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, Oxford 1703, new ed. 1810 (reprint, Beirut 1963), p. 46-47.

[46] DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 63.

The second alternative is more likely and the town of *Kilmē* should therefore be located in this area. It cannot correspond to Palaebyblos, which is mentioned likewise by Strabo[47], also by Pliny[48], and appears as *Balbyblos* on the Peutinger Table[49] and as *Alcobile* in the Bordeaux Itinerary[50], where Byblos itself is missing. Palaebyblos has to be situated at the Bay of Ğūnye, either at Ğūnye itself, called *Iunia* by William of Tyre[51], or at Ṣarba, in the most protected area of the bay[52]. Both places yielded monuments of the Roman period[53], but no further archaeological research was done in this densely populated area. *Kilmē* must be closer to the Rās al-M'ēmaltayn and might therefore be identified either with the village of Ġazīr, built on a hill, where it dominates the coastal road (alt. 380 m), or on the coastal road itself.

The latter location is preferable if Κάλαμος, mentioned by classical authors, is identical with *Kilmē*. In fact, Κάλαμος suggests an area grown with reeds and Herodotus calls Κάλαμοι a site with a nearby anchorage on the island of Samos[54]. Relating Antiochus III's Syrian campaign in 218 B. C., Polybius describes the military operations in the coastal area of Beirut, as follows:

> "After this, he (Antiochus III) advanced by the promontory called Theouprosopon and reached Berytus, having occupied Botrys on his way and burnt Trieres and Calamus. From here he sent on Nicharchus and Theodotus with orders to occupy the difficult passes near the river Lycus, and after resting his army advanced himself and encamped near the river Damuras, his admiral Diognetus coasting along parallel to him"[55].

The text of Polybius thus locates Trieres, Calamus, and the Nahr al-Kelb between Batrūn and Beirut. This is confirmed by the *Antonini Pla-*

[47] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 1.

[48] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 78.

[49] K. MILLER, *Die Peutingersche Tafel* (Ravensbrug 1888), reprint Stuttgart 1962.

[50] *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 12 (p. 583: 7).

[51] WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* X, 6, 33, ed. R.B.C. HUYGENS, *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique* (CCCM 63-63A), Turnhout 1986, p. 460.

[52] DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 63. The borough Ṣarba, located on a hill (alt. 70 m), has a monastery built in the ruins of a large Roman temple, which overlooked the bay and probably was the site of the Crusaders' castle *Sorbe* as well; cf. R. RÖHRICHT, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens*, in *ZDPV* 10 (1887), p. 195-344 (see p. 211).

[53] E. RENAN, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 328; Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *RAO* VI, Paris 1905, p. 79-80. See also J. HAJJAR, *La triade d'Héliopolis - Baalbek* (ÉPRO 59), Leiden 1977, Vol. I, p. 272-273, No. 230; Vol. II, Pl. LXXXVII (Ṣarba).

[54] HERODOTUS, *History* IX, 96. See also here below, p. 158.

[55] POLYBIUS, *History* V, 68, 8-9. Translation by W.R. PATON, *Polybius: The Histories* III, London 1923, p. 169.

centini Itinerarium which mentions *Triari* between Byblos and Beirut[56]. As a consequence, both Trieres and Calamus have to be situated between Byblos and the mouth of the Nahr al-Kelb. If Calamus is *Kilmē* and corresponds to a site near Ġazīr, as suggested above, Trieres should be located on the coastal road and identified with Ṭabarǧa or Berǧa. In fact, Trieres apparently means "trireme" and thus implies the presence of a harbour. Now, Ṭabarǧa lies at a small bay with a fishermen's harbour, about 4 km by road from the mouth of the Nahr al-M'ēməltayn, west of the river[57]. Sepulchral caves can be seen there in the cliffs, witnessing the presence of an ancient town[58]. In fact, the name of Ṭabarǧa is likely to reflect either an Arabic dialectal change of *-iyya* in *Ṭabariyya* into *-iǧǧ*[59] or a Frankish pronunciation of Ṭabarīye, with the palatalization of *-īye* into *-ǧe* like in *Ṣayəda*, "Sidon", that became *Sagette*, still attested in the late Middle Ages as Σαγίτις[60]. Ṭabarīye had to be called so after the emperor Tiberius, like the town built about A.D. 21 by Herod Antipas on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. The local tradition reporting that a rich king *Barǧis* lived in this village[61] may go back to the time when it was still called Tiberias, or the like, with a final *-s*. The Arab geographer Yāqūt (1179-1229 A.D.) still knew a town Ṭabarīya in *aš-Šām* beside Tiberias in Palestine[62]. It might be Ṭabarǧa. Considering its location and vestiges, the locality was certainly built on an ancient site and its name apparently supplanted the assumed earlier name Trieres/Triari, which cannot be original either.

The Semitic name reinterpreted as Τριήρης was most likely *tra'-'ar'ā*, in Aramaic "the Gate of the Country". This hypothesis is confirmed by the Latin name *Passus Pagani*, "the Pass of the Countryman".

[56] *Itineraria et alia geographica*, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 129, § 1, 10-13, and p. 157-158, § 1b, 9-12. This is not contradicted by STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 15, who apparently locates Trieres north of the Rās al-M'ēməltayn: "Contiguous to Tripolis is Theouprosopon, where Mt. Libanus terminates; and between the two lies Trieres, a kind of stronghold" (χωρίον τι), translation by H.L. JONES, *The Geography of Strabo* VII, London 1930, p. 259.

[57] K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 334-335.

[58] E. RENAN, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 323.

[59] Ch. RABIN, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1951, p. 199 and 210, n. 16.

[60] A. DELATTE, *Les portulans grecs*, Liège 1947, p. 155: 8; 156: 5-9. The place name Ṭabarǧa can hardly derive from τοπαρχία or τοπάρχης, as suggested by WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 158: a shift Greek χ > Arabic *ǧ* is highly problematic.

[61] E. WARDINI, *Lebanese Place Names (Mount Lebanon and North Lebanon)* (OLA 120), Leuven 2002, p. 267.

[62] YĀQŪT, *Mu'ǧam al-Buldān*, ed. F. WÜSTENFELD, Leipzig 1866-73, Vol. III, p. 513: 14. The Lebanese place name Waṭa Ṭabriyye has also been related to Tiberias; cf. WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 159.

The Aramaic name implies that the site was at the border of two districts or states, namely of the territories depending from Byblos and from Beirut. A passage in the Chronicle of William of Tyre also shows that the *Passus Pagani* formed the border between the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem and the County of Tripoli[63]. Finally, the name M'ēməltayn indicates that the bridge connected "two districts" of Mount Lebanon under Ottoman rule, namely the provinces (*mu'āmala*) of Sidon and Tripoli[64]. The resemblance of Aramaic *tra'-'ar'ā* and Greek Τριήρης is even bigger, if one reckons with the frequent change *a* > *e* in Semitic, especially in the vicinity of *'ayn*[65]. This probably led to a pronunciation **tre'er'ē* or the like. The Aramaic name should go back to the Persian period, when it indicated the frontier between the kingdoms of Sidon and Byblos.

The vicinity of Trieres and Calamus explains why both towns are mentioned together by Polybius and by Pliny, who seemingly locates them north of Batrūn, since he enumerates *Byblos, Botrys, Cicarda, Trieris, Calamos, Tripolis*[66]. But *Cicarda* can only correspond to Zġarta[67], which means that Pliny did not place Trieres and Calamus in the correct geographical order, just as he mentions *Leontos oppidum* between Beirut and the Lycus River, the Nahr al-Kelb[68]. The localization of Trieres and Calamus must depend therefore from other sources, which fortunately are available.

Despite the spelling $^{\text{uru}}$*Bi-ti-ru-me*, this toponym may only refer to Batrūn, 15 km north of Byblos. The change *n* > *m* at the end of a name does not create a particular problem: *m* appears also in the spelling *Botrum* or *Botrium* at the time of the Crusaders[69] and the alternative *m/n* at the end of proper names is quite a common phenomenon. Also the use of the *i* vowel in *Bi-ti-* may reflect a real pronunciation of the place name, since it is attested in mediaeval sources that mention an *episcopus*

[63] WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XIV, 14, 29-34, ed. R.B.C. HUYGENS, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 650. Cf. M. VAN BERCHEM, *Notes sur les croisades*, in *Journal Asiatique* 1902-I, p. 385 ff. (see p. 397-400).

[64] WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 330.

[65] LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 19.5; 21.6-7; 27.10.

[66] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 78.

[67] Zġarta is an adaptation of Greek Γιγερτα/Γιγαρτα, still mentioned by GEORGE OF CYPRUS, *Descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. by E. HONIGMANN, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'Opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre*, Bruxelles 1939, No. 196a. STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 18, calls it Γίγαρτος.

[68] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 78.

[69] WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XIII, 2, 29, ed. R.B.C. HUYGENS, *op. cit.* (n. 51), p. 588.

Biterensis[70]. At any rate, the Assyrian spelling might just show that the scribe of the original report has "reinterpreted" the place name. The comparison with the Sidonian suburb Baramīye[71] should thus be discarded. Some later forms of the Batrūn name even show a complete disappearance of the final *m/n*, like Βότρυς in Greek[72] and *Bruttos alia* in the Bordeaux Itinerary[73]. The city is often mentioned in the Amarna correspondence[74], but it never became a royal residence.

The order followed in Esarhaddon's list clearly indicates that the territory of the kingdom of Byblos is omitted. Not only Byblos does not appear in the list, but also some smaller cities mentioned with Byblos by Ashurnasirpal II in the 9th century B.C., namely kur*Ma-ḫal-la-ta-a-a*, kur*Ka-i-ṣa-a-a*, and kur*Ma-i-za-a-a*[75], are not named.

After Batrūn, the Nahr al-Ǧawz has to be crossed. The coastal road turns around the extremity of the Rās aš-Šaq'a/Šaqqa promontory and then, running eastward, joins the shorter inland road at al-Hǝre, which was wrongly identified with Trieres[76]. The Greek name of the promontory was Θεοῦ πρόσωπον[77], "God's face", changed in the Byzantine period into Λιθοπρόσωπον[78], "Stone face". The first name is probably the translation of Phoenician **Penu'el*, which must have designated the white stone of the cliff, going down precipitously into the sea and offer-

[70] Thus in the charter from 1110 entitled *Privilegium Bertrandi, Tripolis comitis, de tribus casalibus, Abdin, Habela, Bemharan,* in Comte BEUGNOT (ed.), *Assises de Jérusalem ou Recueil des ouvrages de jurisprudence composés pendant le XIIIe siècle dans les Royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre* II. *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*, Paris 1843, p. 482-483, reprinted in Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l'époque des croisades. Problèmes d'histoire, d'architecture et de céramique* (BAH 106), Paris 1980, p. 31-32, at the end of the document, before the signatures.

[71] R.C. THOMPSON, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 16, n. 4.

[72] Thus POLYBIUS, *History* V, 68, 8. For the history and references concerning ancient Batrūn, see Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *Matériaux pour une histoire de Batrūn*, in *Berytus* 35 (1987 [1989]), p. 101-119. However, the author does not mention the inscriptions of Esarhaddon.

[73] *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 12 (p. 583: 6).

[74] *EA* 78, 19; 79, 25; 81, 9.11 (?); 87, 20; 88, 16; 90, 14; 93, 20; 95, 46 (?); 124, 34.

[75] *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 219, line 86; text A.0.101.2, p. 226, lines 28-29. Cf. K. KESSLER, in *DCPP*, p. 241-242, 268, 270. The three places are mentioned between Byblos and Arwad. Hence, they seem to be situated to the north of Byblos. Their location is unknown, and *Mā'iz*, "bulwark", cannot be identified with the present-day Mē'ez in northern Syria, attested already in Antiquity; cf. D. FEISSEL, *Remarques de toponymie syrienne d'après des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes trouvées hors de Syrie*, in *Syria* 59 (1982), p. 319-343 (see p. 325 with n. 49).

[76] DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 82.

[77] PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §104 (87); POLYBIUS, *History* V, 68, 7-8; STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 15.16.18.

[78] L. DINDORF (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, Bonn 1831, p. 485.

ing an impressive view to sailors doubling the headland or shaping the course of their vessels from Cyprus to the mainland. The second name is preserved in the Arabic translation Wǝǧ al-Ḥaǧar, given to a nearby village[79]. The site of al-Hǝre may corerspond to the *Puy du Connétable* of the Crusaders[80] and keep the souvenir of Mount Hor, that Numb. 34, 7-8 locates on the northern border of the Holy Land. Y. Aharoni suggested to identify it with Rās aš-Šaqqa[81]. In fact, this north-western spur of the Lebanese range forms a natural border: the road has to quit the shore and make its way over the spur by a "wearisome ascent"[82] at some distance inland. Besides, the name of al-Hǝre, situated on a hill in the immediate vicinity of the mount, to its southeast, seems to confirm this identification. The toponym does not derive ultimately either from the Greek word ὡρεῖον, "guard-house", or from Latin *horreum*, "granary"[83], but from the name of the bold headland, which goes down precipitously into the sea and growls when waves crash against the cliffs or when the voice of the Storm-god echoes over the mountain[84]. This might provide the etymology of *Hor*, a nominal *qull* pattern of *harra*, "to growl"[85]. Hor was a hallowed mountain, and its Baal was worshipped also in Cyprus, at Citium, where Sargon II erected a stele in the sanctuary of "the Baal of Mount Hor", *Ba-il Ḫur-ri* KUR-*i*, a phrase corresponding exactly to Hebrew *Hor hā-har*[86]. The theonym is reminiscent of the proper name *Hr-B'l*, which is engraved on a fragment of a statue base found at Byblos[87] and probably means "Hor is the Lord".

Another Mount Hor existed in southern Canaan[88]. Both mountains were sacred and at least the northern one was deified, since the headland

[79] DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 71.

[80] E.G. REY, *Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, Paris 1883, p. 371; H. LAMMENS, *art. cit.* (n. 30), p. 268-269; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 82; P. DESCHAMPS, *La défense du Comté du Tripoli et de la Principauté d'Antioche* (BAH 90), Paris 1973 (1977), p. 10.

[81] Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography*, London 1967, p. 67. Instead, the disappointing phrase "not a proper name of a mountain" occurs in N. NA'AMAN, *Lebo-Hamath, Ṣubat-Hamath, and the Northern Boundary of the Land of Canaan*, in *UF* 31 (1999 [2000]), p. 417-441 (see p. 435).

[82] F. WALPOLE, *The Ansayrii and the Assassins* III, London 1851, p. 34; E. RENAN, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris 1864, p. 150.

[83] E. WARDINI, *op. cit.* (n. 60), p. 190, 360, 654 (Map VIII, 5).

[84] Compare Ex. 20, 16-19 and I Kings 19, 11-12.

[85] It is attested in Arabic, but does not occur so far in the poorly represented Phoenician vocabulary.

[86] See below, Chapter III dealing with Cyprus, p. 51-53.

[87] M. DUNAND, *Fouilles de Byblos* I, Paris 1939, p. 25-26, No. 1111.

[88] ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 386-389; Y. AHARONI, *op. cit.* (n. 81), p. 185.

seen from the sea was called "God's face". The theophorous element *Hr* appears in Canaanite proper names from the 19^{th}-17^{th} centuries B.C. The name *Sm3-Hr* occurs in the Execration Texts: G. Posener immediately regarded *Hr* as a divine name, righty rejecting the reading of *Hr* as *'El*[89]. The same theophorous element occurs on the numerous scarabs of the Hyksos king *Y'qb-Hr* from the Fifteenth Dynasty[90] and it appears also in the name of the king of the Sixteenth Dynasty, consisting of Canaanite rulers who have established themselves in the Nile Delta at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty[91]. The king in question, *'nt-Hr*[92], should thus be placed in the mid-18^{th} century. The element *'nt*, which occurs also in the name *Wsr-'nt* of the next king of the dynasty, does not refer to the goddess 'Anat, but is probably the Egyptian word *'nt*, "claw". This suggests the meanings "Claws of Hor" and "Strong of Claw" for these names and might indicate that the "growling" or "roaring" mountain was conceived as an animal, possibly a lion. At any rate, recent studies showing that the Hyksos probably originated in present-day Lebanon[93] favour the identification of *Hr* with Rās aš-Šaqqa.

Four kilometres north of al-Həre, the village of Šaq'a/Šaqqa al-Ǧadīd probably marks the site of the *mutatio Triclis*, placed by the Bordeaux

[89] G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie*, Bruxelles 1940, *E* 20. Instead, Posener's interpretation of *sm3* as *šamar*, "protects", cannot be correct, for the Semitic root is *ḏmr/ṯmr*. *Sm3* must be the stative of *šmw*, "to be high", "to be lofty", $s^{1}mw$ in Sabaic, *samā* in Arabic, *Sa-mu(-ú)-* as first element in Amorite personal names at Ugarit (^{m}*Ša-mu*-^{d}IM, ^{m}AN-^{d}U, in RS. 18.20+17.371, 14', published by J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 203, Pl. LXXX, and in RS. 18.02, 16, *ibid.*, p. 201, Pl. LXXVII), and in the name of Samuel.

[90] W.A. Ward, *Some Personal Names of the Hyksos Period Rulers and Notes on the Epigraphy of Their Scarabs*, in *UF* 8 (1976), p. 353-369 (see p. 358-359). Two scarabs belong to the collections of the Kestner Museum at Hannover: I. Beste, *Skarabäen. Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum. Kestner-Museum, Hannover* III, Mainz a/R 1979, Nos. 138 and 145; cf. R. Giveon, rev. in *BiOr* 38 (1981), col. 316-317. Hieroglyphic reproductions of Ya'qob-Hor's royal names are given by R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, 2^{nd} ed., Mainz a/R 1997, p. 1270.

[91] K. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period* (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20), Copenhagen 1997, p. 40-42; R. Krauss, *An Examination of Khyan's Place in W.A. Ward's Seriation of Hyksos Royal Scarabs*, in *Ägypten und Levante* 7 (1998), p. 39-42.

[92] Correct *Ḥr* into *Hr* in R. Hannig, *op. cit.* (n. 90), p. 1270.

[93] M. Bietak, *Canaanites in the Eastern Nile Delta*, in A.F. Rainey (ed.), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai*, Tel Aviv 1987, p. 41-56 (see p. 52); Id., *Gedanken zur Ursache der ägyptisierenden Einflusse in Nordsyrien in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, in H. Guksch - D. Polz (eds.), *Stationen. R. Stadelmann gewidmet*, Mainz a/R 1998, p. 165-176; D. Redford, *Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period*, in E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, Philadelphia 1997, p. 1-44.

Itinerary halfway between Tripoli and Batrūn[94]. The name Triclis is no error for Trieres[95], but a transcription of the originally Greek name τρίγλη of the red mullet. The old village of Šaq'a/Šaqqa, built on a hill, most likely corresponds to the *Šigata* of the Amarna correspondence[96] and to the ^{uru}*Sa-gu-u/ù* of Esarhaddon's list, which mentions it after Batrūn.

Four kilometres north of Šaq'a/Šaqqa and 16 km southwest of Tripoli, the peninsula of Anfe is the site of ^{uru}*Am-pa* in Esarhaddon's list and most likely of Ampi in the Amarna correspondence[97]. It is the *Nephin* of the Crusaders[98], a dependence of the Counts of Tripoli, and the Anf al-Ḥaǧar, "the Stone nose", of al-Idrīsī[99]. The castle of the Crusaders occupied the promontory, which is about 400 metres long and only 125 metres wide in its widest point. This was certainly the site of the Phoenician city, called "nose" because it enters "like a nose" into the sea. The *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*, written by the Dominican Burchardus de Monte Sion between the years 1285 and 1295, briefly describes Nefin, that Burchardus visited in 1283: *De Biblio* (Byblos) *ad quatuor leucas est Botrum* (Batrūn) *civitas ... Inde ad tres leucas est castrum Nephin* (Anfe) *in mari fere totum. Quod est principis Antiocheni. In quo vidi duodecim turres bonas et locum munitum valde ... De Nephin ad duas leucas est civitas Tripolis ...*[100].

Ampa is followed by ^{uru}*Bēt-*$^{(m)}$*Gi-si-mì-ia*, which was wrongly identified with the Ḫān al-Qāsimīye[101], 7.5 km northeast of Tyre, at the mouth of the Liṭānī River. The latter place did not belong to the kingdom of Sidon and it does not fit at all the itinerary on which Esarhaddon's list was based. However, the town, as well as the following two, lie not on the road from Anfe to Tripoli, as I have assumed in my previous study, but in the area around Batrūn. Bēt-Gisimeia must no doubt be identified with Biqsmayya or Bəqṣmayya, 9 km east of Batrūn[102], on a hill dominating the Nahr al-Ǧawz. Local tradition reports that a shepherd had found an inscription on the southern bank of the river, that the inscrip-

[94] *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 12 (p. 583: 5).

[95] This interpretation is proposed *ibid.*, p. 12.

[96] *EA* 71, 25.30; 74, 24; 76, 18; 88, 7 (?); 90, 9; 95, 44; 98, 11.16; 104, 12.41.

[97] *EA* 71, 31; 72, 8.29; 76, 19; 95, 44 (?); 102, 20; 104, 11.40.

[98] P. Deschamps, *op. cit.* (n. 80), p. 10 and 297-301.

[99] Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī iḫtirāq al-āfāq. Opus geographicum*, Napoli-Roma 1974, § 97.

[100] J.C.M. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi quatuor*, Leipzig 1864, p. 27-28.

[101] R.C. Thompson, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 16, n. 4.

[102] Dussaud, *Topographie*, Map V, A3 (grid ref. 154/257).

tion was written in Hebrew (Aramaic?), and that a bishop had translated it: "an army passed by the river"[103]. The whereabouts of the inscription are now forgotten, but Renan had seen a Latin inscription in the nearby village of 'Abrīn, that he deciphered as follows: *Fines positi inter Caesarenses ad Libanum* ('Arqa) *et Gigartenos de vico Sidonior*[*um*] *jussu* ...[104]. Of course, 'Abrīn was no original place of the inscription, brought most likely from a place north of Zġarta. ^{m}*Gi-si-mì-ia* is a personal name closely related to North-Arabian *Gšm*(*w*), attested in Nabataean and in Ṣafaitic[105]. It has the same meaning as the Arabic adjective *ǧismī*, "corpulent". The actual pronunciation of the toponym was probably *Bēt-Gišmiy*.

If this localization is accepted for Bēt-Gisimeia, there is no reason why ^{uru}*Gam/Ga-am-bu-lu*, which shows either a dissimilation *bb* > *mb* in **Gabbūl* or a simply epenthetic *m* appearing before *b*[106], should not be identified with Ǧəbla, "Hill" (alt. 480 m), on the opposite side of Nahr al-Ǧawz[107]. It would be normal, in this case, to look for ^{uru}*Bi-ir-gi-'*, "the Well of the Valley", in the valley itself, between these two places. In any case, the identification of Birgi' with Barǧa[108], 12 km north of Sidon, does not fit at all the geographical arrangement of Esarhaddon's list. An archaeological survey of these places could provide further evidence.

The last two place names mentioned in Esarhaddon's list, namely ^{uru}*Da-la-im-me* and ^{uru}*I-si-ḫi-im-me*, lay at the sea, as shown by the element *im-me*. Both have to be looked for near Al-Mina, the present-day harbour of Tripoli.

The first toponym, in Phoenician **Dl-hym*, "Sea Gate", would seem to be still preserved by the name Ṭālūm of the main islet closing the harbour of Al-Mina from the north[109]. However, this is not certain, because such a name does not occur in the oldest known mention of the islets

[103] Reported by E. WARDINI, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 161-162.

[104] E. RENAN, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 149; *CIL* III, 183. The *vicus Sidoniorum* must be a "quarter" of Zġarta, as proposed by J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, *Les exemples de l'Afrique romaine peuvent-ils éclairer les rares emplois des termes* pagus *et* vicus *en Syrie romaine?*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana* VI, Sassari 1989, p. 735-741 (see p. 738 and 740). The reference to *CIL* is erroneous there and no identification of *Gigarta* proposed.

[105] HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 161, s.v. *JSM*; A. NEGEV, *Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm* (Qedem 32), Jerusalem 1991, p. 20, No. 259. Also "Gešem, king of Qedar", in the 5th century B.C.: *TSSI* II, 25; Neh. 2, 19; 6, 1.2.6.

[106] DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map V, A3 (grid ref. 155/256).

[107] R.C. THOMPSON, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 16, n. 4.

[108] LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 23.7; cf. also § 11.9.

[109] K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), Map next to p. 331, 1A.

facing Al-Mina, mediaeval Tripoli, in the *Opus geographicum* of al-Idrīsī (1100-1165 A.D.). He enumerates four islets, probably the ones seen from the harbour[110]: "In front of Tripoli, there are four islands that lay as follows: the first one as from the coast is called Ǧazīrat al-Narǧis (Isle of Daffodils), it is small and uninhabited; the next one is Ǧazīrat al-'Umud (Isle of Columns), followed by Ǧazīrat ar-Rāhib (the Monk's Isle), and finally Ǧazīrat al-'Ardaqūn". The partly pronounced name of the second island may have begotten Ṭālūm < Ǧazīra*t al-'Um*ud, which is also called Ǧazīrat al-Baqar (Cattle Isle)[111]. It is distant from the Borǧ by only 250 metres. The name "Isle of Columns" indicates that some ancient monuments stood on that island, and the Saint Thomas church of Crusaders' Tripoli may have been built there as well. After the conquest of Tripoli by the Mameluk sultan Qalā'ūn, in 1289, Abū l-Fida (1273-1331 A.D.) visited the island where this church was erected: "Close to the city, he writes, there was a small island where stood a church of Saint Thomas. This island was separated from the city by the harbour. When Tripoli was taken, a huge number of Franks, both men and women, took refuge on the island and in the church that stood there, but the Moslems rushed into the sea on horseback or reached the island by swimming. All the men being there had their throat cut, while the women and the children were taken into captivity. Their riches became the victors' spoil. After the town was sacked I went on boat to the island and found it full of putrefying corpses. It was impossible to stay there because of the stench"[112].

The second toponym, in Phoenician **Yš'-ym*, "Safety-on-Sea", must refer to the harbour on the peninsula of Al-Mina, probably close to the place where the lighthouse stood, called Borǧ nowadays. We do not know how large the city was at that time and whether it still had another name[113]. Beside the two toponyms in Esarhaddon's list, Tripoli is known only by its Greek name, recording the city's triple foundation by Sidon,

[110] AL-IDRĪSĪ, *op. cit.* (n. 86), p. 373, § 97. See also Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 47-48.

[111] The island is called *Al-Baqar* on the map of Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *op. cit.* (n. 70), Carte No. 8. It is the nearest to the harbour according to J.L. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 165-166, who also names several smaller rocks (*'Armayla, Lawqas, Ṭawīla, Talrās*, etc.), but none of them is called *Narǧis*.

[112] ABŪ L-FIDĀ', *Muḫtasar tārīḫ al-bašar*, in *HistOr* I, Paris 1872, p. 1-165, in particular p. 162-163, reprinted in Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 34-35.

[113] On the origins of Tripoli and its history, see Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *Histoire de Tripoli I. Des origines à l'occupation franque*, in *Les Cahiers de l'Oronte* 10 (1972), p. 80-102; ID., *Waḫlia-Maḫallate-Tripoli?*, in *MUSJ* 49 (1975-76), p. 551-563; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 70); J. ELAYI, *Tripoli (Liban) à l'époque perse*, in *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), p. 59-71.

Tyre, and Arwad. This tradition is alluded to by Pseudo-Scylax[114], followed by Diodorus of Sicily[115] and by Arab historians, like al-Balāḏury[116], in the 9$^{\text{th}}$ century, and Ibn al-Aṯīr[117], around 1200 A.D.

Besides the sixteen localities enumerated in the list, Esarhaddon's inscriptions mention two additional Sidonian towns allotted by the king of Assyria to Baal I, king of Tyre, namely $^{\text{uru}}$*Ma-'-ru-ub-bu* and $^{\text{uru}}$*Ṣa-rip-tu*[118]. Marubbu, in Phoenician *M'rb*, cannot be identified either with 'Adlūn[119], the *mutatio ad Nonum* of the Bordeaux Itinerary, or with the Ornithopolis of the Greeks[120]. Ornithopolis should be located at Tell al-Burāq, as seen above, while 'Adlūn, 6 km south of Sarepta and 18 km north of Tyre, does not provide any concrete evidence of its being Ma'rub. Besides, 1.5 km south of its extensive necropolis, there is the Wəle Nabe Se'īr[121]. Since Sē'īr is a Palestinian toponym[122], there are chances that the *nabī'* in question preserves an old indigenous place name of the site of 'Adlūn, still named 'Adnūn (< *Ad Nonum*) by Yāqūt (1179-1229 A.D.)[123], while the Crusaders were already calling it *Adelon*[124]. On the other side, Ma'rub is still mentioned in the treaty concluded in 1285 A.D. between Malik al-Manṣūr, sultan of Egypt, and Margaret, princess of Tyre[125]. Nowadays, the site in question is called Ma'rub as well, and it lies 14 km northeast of Tyre as the crow flies, and 3 km south of the Nahr al-Qāsimīye[126]. Only excavations can provide further evidence.

The identification of Sarepta is instead well established. This "long village", as Sarepta was called in Graeco-Roman times[127], occupied a

[114] PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §104 (87).
[115] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVI, 41, 1-2.
[116] AL-BALĀḎURY, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, al-Qāhira 1901, p. 133, reprinted in Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 16.
[117] IBN AL-AṮĪR, *Al-Kāmel fī-t-Tāriḫ*, Bairūt 1965, Vol. II, p. 431, reprinted in Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *op. cit.* (n. 70), p. 16-17.
[118] R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 49, Episode 5, col. III, 15-17.
[119] *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 12 (p. 583: 14).
[120] E. FORRER, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 65-66.
[121] K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 271.
[122] ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 372; II, p. 49.
[123] G. LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, p. 109.
[124] DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 52.
[125] The text was published by MAQRIZI, *Histoire des sultans mamelouks de l'Égypte* (transl. by Quatremère), Paris 1887, Vol. II/1, p. 172-176 and 213-221. The place names have been studied by R. RÖHRICHT, *Nachträge*, in *ZDPV* 19 (1896), p. 60-62 (see p. 62: M'arūb); DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 33-37, in particular p. 36. Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *RAO* II, Paris 1898, p. 55-60, does not mention this place.
[126] DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map I, 1B.
[127] D. FEISSEL, *art. cit.* (n. 75), p. 340-341.

large area near the present-day village of Ṣarafand, 13 km south of Sidon. It was an important city, often mentioned in ancient sources[128], and the American excavations have uncovered large sections of the Phoenician town[129]. It has been suggested that Sarepta is attested as early as the third millennium B.C. in a document from Ebla (*Ṣa-àr-pa*$^{!}$*-at*$^{\text{ki}}$)[130] and in a geographical list (*Ṣa-ra-pá-at*$^{\text{ki}}$)[131]. However, similar place names are encountered elsewhere[132]. At any rate, Sarepta occurs certainly in Egyptian[133], Assyrian[134], Hebrew[135], Greek, and Latin[136] sources, as well as in later accounts by pilgrims and travellers, starting with the author of the Bordeaux Itinerary[137] and the two versions of the *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*[138]. Instead, the legend *l-mlk ṣrpt*, "(belonging) to the king of Sarepta", read on a stamp seal of unknown provenance and crude manufacture[139], either confirms the suspected forgery or is misread and engraved by an inexpert hand. In the second hypothesis, one could read *l-mlkt / qdg*, possibly *qrg*, with the left side

[128] W.P. ANDERSON, *Sarepta 1, Ville*, in *DCPP*, p. 395.
[129] The results of these excavations have been published by J.B. PRITCHARD, *The Roman Port of Sarafand (Sarepta)*, in *BMB* 24 (1971), p. 39-56; ID., *Sarepta in History and Tradition*, in J. REUMANN (ed.), *Understanding the Sacred Text*, Valley Forge 1972, p. 101-114; ID., *Sarepta. A Preliminary Report on the Iron Age*, Philadelphia 1975; ID., *Recovering Sarepta, a Phoenician City*, Princeton 1978; W.P. ANDERSON, *Sarepta I. The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Strata of Area II, Y*, Beyrouth 1988; I.A. KHALIFEH, *Sarepta II. The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age of Area II, X*, Beyrouth 1988; R.B. KOEHL, *Sarepta III. The Imported Bronze and Iron Age Wares from Area II, X*, Beyrouth 1985; J.B. PRITCHARD, *Sarepta IV. The Objects from Area II, X*, Beyrouth 1988; W.P. ANDERSON, *The Kilns and Workshops of Sarepta (Sarafand), Lebanon*, in *Berytus* 35 (1987 [1989]), p. 41-66. Cf. also I.A. KHALIFEH, *Sarepta*, in *OEANE*, New York-Oxford 1997, Vol. IV, p. 488-491.
[130] TM.75.G.1557, recto, col. V. Cf. G. PETTINATO, *Ebla. Nuovi orizzonti della storia*, Milano 1986, p. 242 and 367. No reference to Sarepta is given either by A. ARCHI - A. PIACENTINI - F. POMPONIO, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla* (ARES II), Roma 1993, p. 476, s.v. *Za-àr-ba*$^{!}$(ZU)*-da*$^{\text{ki}}$, or by M. BONECHI, *I nomi geografici dei testi di Ebla* (RGTC 12/1), Wiesbaden 1993, p. 47.
[131] G. PETTINATO, *Testi lessicali monolingui della Biblioteca L. 2679* (MEE 3), Napoli 1981, p. 238, Nos. 263-264. The forms *Zàr-bad*$^{\text{ki}}$ and *Za-ra-bàd*$^{\text{ki}}$ are given by A. ARCHI - A. PIACENTINI - F. POMPONIO, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 481, and by M. BONECHI, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 331.
[132] M. BONECHI, *op. cit.* (n. 130), p. 331.
[133] H. GAUTHIER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 107; *ANET*, p. 477a.
[134] *ANET*, p. 287b; *TPOA*, p. 119 and 127.
[135] I Kings 17, 9-10; cf. Luke 4, 26; Abdias 20.
[136] ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 449; G. BEER, *Sarepta*, in *PW* IA/2, München 1920, col. 2497-2498.
[137] *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 12 (p. 583: 12).
[138] *Ibid.*, p. 129 (§ 2, 6-7), 158 (§ 2a, 22-23).
[139] N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997, p. 264, No. 712.

of the head of *qōph* drawn downwards, what is unusual at any rate[140]. Although *mlkt* occurs in proper names[141], the second element lacks any parallel and may again suggest the conclusion that the seal is a forgery, perhaps from the period of the American excavations at Sarepta.

The excavations of the years 1969-1974 have mainly uncovered industrial installations of the Late Bronze Age and of the Iron Age, especially a pottery manufacture with twenty-four kilns and at least fifteen workshops. Also melting-houses, oil manufactories, and purple dye-works have been found, partly going back to Iron Age II.

Esarhaddon's inscriptions give us a fairly good idea of the extension of the Sidonian kingdom before the Assyrian campaign in 676 B.C. In the south, it extended even beyond the Nahr al-Qāsimīye, at least if the modern and mediaeval Ma'rub is identical with the homonymous city of the 7th century B.C. In the north, it reached as far as the peninsula of Al-Mina, the harbour of the present-day Ṭrāblus aš-Šām, and encircled the independent city-state of Byblos, whose territory was very small: from the Nahr Ibrahim in the south until the area situated between 'Amšīt and Tḥūm, in the north, it covered a distance of about 15 km as the crow flies.

The large extension of the kingdom of Sidon in the early part of the 7th century B.C. is a factor having its importance also for the Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean. We can assume that Sidon owes its power to the politics of the princes governing the city in the 8th century B.C. Unfortunately, they are not well-known because of the lack of epigraphic material and the silence of other sources. Now, this is precisely the period when Phoenician presence manifests itself in the Western basin of the Mediterranean. Sidonians have certainly played an important role in this expansion, aside their congeners from Tyre.

140 The reading *ṣ* is frankly impossible.
141 BENZ, p. 345-346.

CHAPTER III

PHOENICIAN EXPANSION IN CYPRUS

The cities of the Phoenician coast seem to have recovered quite fast from the destructions caused by the Sea Peoples in the first half of 12th century B.C. When Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076 B.C.) reached the Mediterranean coast at Arwad, he could embark there on a ship to sail up the littoral for some 20 km, was brought gifts by the rulers of Byblos and Sidon, and had massive cedars cut down on Mount Lebanon[1]. The Report of Wenamon records the voyage of an Egyptian envoy to Byblos, *ca.* 1065 B.C., and contains an illuminating description of Phoenician shipping activity at that time[2]. Sakar-Baal, king of Byblos, says to Wenamon: "There are twenty *meneš*-ships here in my harbour which are in trading association with Smendes (pharaoh *ca.* 1075 B.C.), and in Sidon, which you have passed, there must be fifty *ber*-ships which are in trading association with Warkatil and are carrying (freight) to his residence", possibly on the South-Anatolian coast[3]. From Byblos Wenamon reaches Cyprus (Alashiya)[4], which belonged to the East-Mediterranean commercial circuit and had long-standing trade relations with Byblos and other Phoenician seaports.

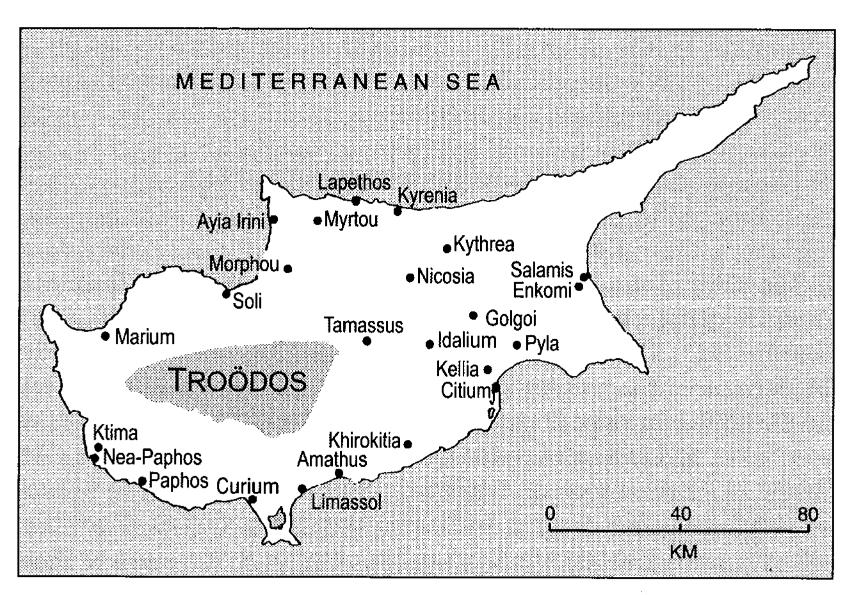
The importance of Cyprus depends on the geographical position of the island, which has an area of 9,251 km². It lies 65 km south of the Anato-

1 *RIMA* II, text A.0.87.3, p. 37, lines 16-25; text A.0.87.4, p. 42, lines 24-30; text A.0.87.10, p. 53, lines 28-35; text A.0.87.13, p. 60, lines 10'-13'; text A.0.87.17, p. 63, lines 2-3.

2 The main literature concerning the Report of Wenamon (Pap. Pushkin Museum I.1.b.120) has been collected by A. SCHEEPERS, *Anthroponymes et toponymes du récit d'Ounamon*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 17-83, in particular p. 17, n. 1. According to A. EGBERTS, *Hard Times: The Chronology of "The Report of Wenamun" Revised*, in *ZÄS* 125 (1998), p. 93-108, the events narrated in the story are to be dated in the early years of the Twenty-First Dynasty, *ca.* 1065 B.C. or somewhat later.

3 The name seems to be Hittite-Luwian, as suggested by *Wargati* in E. LAROCHE, *Les noms des Hittites*, Paris 1966, p. 204, No. 1491. It should derive from *wargant-*, "fat" (cf. J. FRIEDRICH, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1952-54, p. 245; E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.*, p. 335) with the suffix *-ili* or *-alli*. For other explanations of this name, see A. SCHEEPERS, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 46-51.

4 For the localization of Alashiya, see A. SCHEEPERS, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 80-83 with former literature.



Cyprus.

lian coast (Cilicia) and 85 km west of Syria. It is distant 350 km from the Nile delta and 400 km from Rhodes, the nearest of the islands in the Aegean Sea. There are three main regions on the island. The northern shore is a strip flanked by a mountain range, known as the Kyrenia mountains in the west and the Carpas mountains in the east. It contained ancient settlements that yielded Phoenician inscriptions, especially at Lapethos and Larnaca-tis-Lapithou. In the south-west lies the extensive mountain massif which culminates in the 1,953 metres peak of Troödos. Its dense forests were hiding rich copper deposits which were famous among the ancients and constituted the main attraction pole of the island in Antiquity. On the periphery of this massif were located the ancient sites of Tamassus, Amathus, Curium, Paphos, and Soli. Between the two mountain ranges lies a broad plain, the Mesaoria, extending across the island from the Bay of Morphou to that of Famagusta on the east, and comprising the sites of Morphou, Ledra (Nicosia), Chytroi, Golgoi, Idalium, Citium, and Salamis.

Contacts between Cyprus, the nearest stretch of Anatolian coast, and Syro-Phoenicia go back to the Neolithic Age, known mainly by the settlements of Khirokitia[5], whose inhabitants may have come from Syria

[5] Several archaeological campaigns have been organized on this Neolithic site, located 20 km east of Amathus; see, in particular, P. DIKAIOS, *Khirokitia*, Oxford 1953; A. LE

about 7000 B.C., and of Kalavasos-Tenta[6]. In the later stages of Neolithic, communities of large size were already in existence near perennial springs and rivers, cultivation of the soil was under way and sheep, goats and pigs had already been domesticated. During the following Chalcolithic stage, best represented by the settlements of Kisonerga-Mosphilia, Lemba-Lakkous, and Erimi near Limassol[7], architecture characterized by thatched round houses with stone foundations, stone sculpture, and first copper metallurgy manifest a considerable cultural progress that prepares the brilliant civilization of the Bronze Age, when copper deposits begun to be exploited systematically[8] and Cypriot copper be exported to Egypt and Mesopotamia through Syrian harbours[9]. The Late Bronze (or Late Cypriot) Age is one of the most important

BRUN (ed.), *Fouilles récentes à Khirokitia*, Paris 1985-94. See also the general presentation by S. SWINY, *Prehistoric Cyprus: A Current Perspective*, in *Biblical Archaeology* 52 (1989), p. 178-189; S. SWINY (ed.), *The Earliest Prehistory of Cyprus* (ASOR Archaeological Reports 5; CAARI Monographs 2), Nicosia 2002; L. STEEL, *Cyprus before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age*, London 2002. A useful presentation of recent archaeological research in Cyprus is provided by E. HERSCHER, *Archaeology in Cyprus*, in *AJA* 99 (1995), p. 257-294. A yearly report is published in *BCH* and in the *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus*.

[6] I.A. TODD, *Excavations at Kalavasos-Tenta* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71/6), Nicosia 1987.

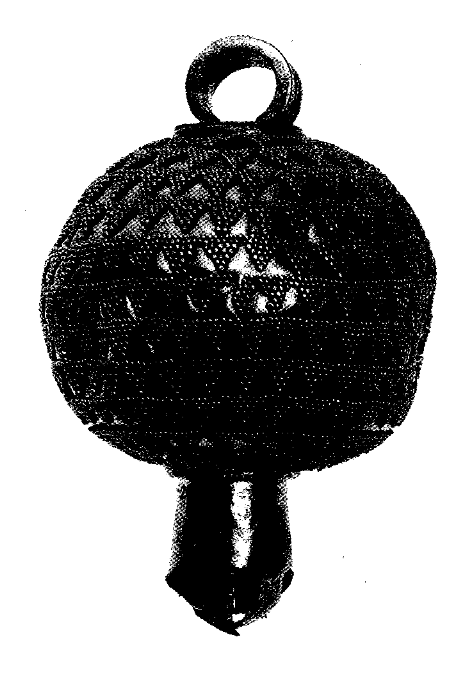
[7] P. DIKAIOS, *Excavation at Erimi, 1933-1935*, in *RDAC* 1936, p. 1-81; E.J. PELTENBURG, *Lemba Archaeological Project* I-II/1-2 (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 70/1-3), Göteborg/Partille 1985-98. A double issue of *BASOR* 282-283 (1991) was devoted to *Chalcolithic Cyprus*.

[8] Anatolian influence is to be reckoned with. It becomes apparent on Cyprus in the Philia period, for which one can see J.M. WEBB - D. FRANKEL, *Characterizing the Philia Facies: Material Culture, Chronology, and the Origin of the Bronze Age in Cyprus*, in *AJA* 103 (1999), p. 3-43. A survey of the recent research work on Early and Middle Bronze sites on Cyprus is provided by A.B. KNAPP, *Reading the Sites: Prehistoric Bronze Age Settlements on Cyprus*, in *BASOR* 313 (1999), p. 75-86.

[9] The fragmentary inscription of Amenemhet II (1875-1840 B.C.), reused in the temple of Ramesses II at Mit Rahina, mentions copper and bronze utensils plundered apparently in a Cypriot (*'I-3-s-y*) emporium by an Egyptian expedition: H. ALTENMÜLLER - A.M. MOUSSA, *Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht*, in *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 18 (1991), p. 1-48 (see p. 12-14 and 35). For Mesopotamia, see G. DOSSIN, *Les archives économiques du Palais de Mari*, in *Syria* 20 (1939), p. 97-113 (see p. 111) = *Recueil Georges Dossin*, Leuven 1983, p. 133-149; ID., *Les découvertes épigraphiques de la XV*^e^ *Campagne de fouilles de Mari au printemps de 1965*, in *CRAI* 1965 (1966), p. 400-406 (see p. 402); A.R. MILLARD, *Cypriot Copper in Babylonia, c. 1745 B.C.*, in *JCS* 25 (1973), p. 211-214; M. HELTZER, *Sinaranu, Son of Siginu, and the Trade Relations between Ugarit and Crete*, in *Minos*, n.s., 23 (1988), p. 7-13; ID., *The Trade of Crete and Cyprus with Syria and Mesopotamia and Their Eastern Tin-Sources in the XVIII-XVII Century B.C.*, in *Minos*, n.s., 24 (1989), p. 7-28. See also C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER (ed.), *Alasia* I, Paris 1971, p. 547.

periods in Cypriot history[10]. It is well known thanks to the rich archaeological findings from Enkomi[11], Citium[12], Hala Sultan Tekke[13], Palaepaphos[14], and other sites. Cyprus, known in that time as Alashiya[15], had commercial and diplomatic relations with Anatolia, the Aegean, Egypt, and Syria-Palestine. However, the development of the brilliant civilization of the 15th-13th centuries was disrupted from 1200 B.C. on by the arrival of waves of Achaeans, probably driven out by Dorians from the great Mycenaean centres in Greece. The findings of Maa-Palaekastro, Pyla-Kokkinokremos, and Palaepaphos[16] are particularly important in this respect, because they project a fresh light on this crucial period of Cypriot history, when a Hittite text of Shuppiluliuma II (*ca.* 1180 B.C.) mentions three naval battles against the "foes from Alashiya" and the "ships from Alashiya"[17]. Since this passage does not allude to the king of Alashiya, it must refer to the Sea Peoples settled on the island. They are concerned also by the letter sent by the Superintendent of Alashiya to the king of Ugarit in order to inform him that twenty enemy's ships have sailed for an unknown destination[18].

[10] A general study of settlement in this period is provided by A.B. KNAPP, *The Archaeology of Late Bronze Age Cypriot Society. The Study of Settlement, Survey and Landscape*, Glasgow 1997.
[11] C. F.-A. SCHAEFFER, *Missions en Chypre, 1932-1935*, Paris 1936; ID., *Enkomi-Alasia* I, Paris 1952; P. DIKAIOS, *Enkomi* I-III, Mainz 1969-71; *Alasia* I-IV, Paris 1971-85; J.-C. COURTOIS - J. & E. LAGARCE, *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre*, Nicosie 1986.
[12] V. KARAGEORGHIS et al., *Excavations at Kition / Fouilles de Kition* I-V, Nicosia 1974-85; ID., *Kition. Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*, London 1976.
[13] P. ÅSTRÖM, *Hala Sultan Tekke* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45) I-X, Göteborg/Jonsered 1976-98.
[14] F.G. MAIER - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Paphos. History and Archaeology*, Nicosia 1984; F.G. MAIER, *Alt-Paphos auf Cypern. Ausgrabungen zur Geschichte von Stadt und Heiligtum, 1966-1984*, Mainz a/R 1985. The final reports are published by F.G. MAIER (ed.), *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern*, Konstanz/Mainz a/R 1977 ff.
[15] Despite doubts still expressed by some archaeologists, Egyptian *'I-3-s-y* or *'I-r-ś*, Akkadian *Alašiya* and Ugaritic *'Alṯy* designate Cyprus or a part of the island. See the discussion in L. HELLBING, *Alasia Problems*, Göteborg 1979, in particular p. 65-97; *LÄg* VI, Wiesbaden 1986, col. 1452-1455; R.S. MERRILLEES, *Alashia Revisited* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 22), Paris 1988; A. SCHEEPERS, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 80-83.
[16] V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Alaas. A Protogeometric Necropolis in Cyprus,* Nicosia 1975; ID., *Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern 3), Konstanz 1983; ID., *Pyla-Kokkinokremos. A Late 13th Century B.C. Fortified Settlement in Cyprus*, Nicosia 1984; ID. - J. MUHLY (eds.), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, Nicosia 1984. See also F. SCHACHERMEYR, *Die mykenische Zeit und die Gesittung von Thera*, Wien 1976, p. 277-303 ("Mykenisches auf Kypros").
[17] H. OTTEN, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* XIII, Berlin 1967, No. 38, rev. III, 1-9. Cf. H.G. GÜTERBOCK, *The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered,* in *JNES* 26 (1967), p. 73-81.
[18] RS. 20.18, published by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, p. 83-85, No. 22. See also RS. L.1 and RS. 20.238, *ibid.*, p. 85-89, Nos. 23-24.



Gold pendant, probably from Enkomi, Late Bronze Age (*ca.* 1400-1200 B.C.). (Cyprus Museum 1954/III-24/I. Photo: Courtesy of the Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum).

The Greeks prevailed finally in Cyprus, where a short Greek inscription in Cypriot syllabic script from Palaepaphos proves that a Greek dialect was spoken on the island about the end of the 11th century B.C.[19] The origin of the elements laying the foundation of the Cypriot Iron Age civilization appears also from architecture and especially from the latest Mycenaean ceramic style showing clearly that the island was partly populated by newcomers and that it has entered a new phase of its history. The earlier inhabitants, called Eteocypriots, had to retire to certain regions of the island, where their language and their script, derived from the Cypro-Minoan of the Late Bronze Age, survived until the Hellenistic period[20]. The majority of Eteocypriot inscriptions come from

[19] E. & O. MASSON, *Les objets inscrits de Palaepaphos-Skales,* in V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus,* Konstanz 1983, p. 411-415. The inscriptions in Cypriot syllabic script have been collected by O. MASSON, *ICS*. This *Corpus* will be used all along the present chapter, although its actual reliability is somewhat in doubt; cf. G.B. BAZEMORE, *Cypriote Syllabic Epigraphy: The Need for Critical Reexamination,* in *Kadmos* 40 (2001), p. 67-88. An apposite dictionary has been prepared by M. EGETMEYER, *Wörterbuch zu den Inschriften im kyprischen Syllabar* (Kadmos, Suppl. 3), Wiesbaden 1992.
[20] The appellation Eteocypriots, etymologically "true Cypriots", designates the original population in opposition to Phoenicians and Greeks. Their language, attested by

Amathus which was founded in the 11th century B.C., probably by refugees from abandoned or destroyed Late Bronze Age centres. The language cannot be understood as yet, but it appears to be a pre-Hellenic and pre-Semitic language, probably related to the native Cypriot tongue surviving from the Late Bronze Age. Still in the mid-4th century B.C., Pseudo-Scylax §103 characterizes the inhabitants of Amathus as "autochthons".

Several sites that have been destroyed at the end of the Late Bronze Age, like Enkomi and Citium, were reoccupied after the crisis period, but the years 1050-950 B.C. remain on Cyprus a "Dark Age"[21], at the end of which the Phoenicians make their appearance on the island.

1. Archaic Phase (10th-8th Centuries B.C.)

The beginning of Phoenician settlement on Cyprus may be dated at least to the second part of the 10th century B.C., as indicated by a Phoenician funerary inscription of the early 9th century[22]. It is not known where exactly on the island this monumental epitaph was found, while the alleged rebellion of the inhabitants of Citium against Hiram I of Tyre (*ca.* 962-929) is a hypothesis based on an incorrect interpretation of a passage in the *Jewish Antiquities*[23]. In fact, the relations between the

Cypro-Minoan and later by Cypriot syllabic inscriptions, cannot be understood as yet. Cf. J. SEIBERT, *Zur Bevölkerungsstruktur Zyperns*, in *Ancient Society* 7 (1976), p. 1-28.

[21] See, in particular, S. DEGER-JALKOTZY (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis 9. Jh. v. Chr.*, Wien 1983.

[22] A.M. HONEYMAN, *The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum*, in *Iraq* 6 (1939), p. 104-108, Pl. XIX (see p. 106-108 and Pl. XIX, 3); W.F. ALBRIGT, *New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization*, in *BASOR* 83 (1941), p. 14-22 (see p. 14-17); *KAI* 30; O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, Genève 1972, p. 13-20, Pls. II-III; H.-P. MÜLLER, *Die phönizische Grabinschrift aus dem Zypern-Museum KAI 30 und die Formgeschichte des nordwestsemitischen Epitaphs*, in *ZA* 65 (1975), p. 104-132; *TSSI* III, 12. One can no longer date the arrival of the Phoenicians on Cyprus about 800 B.C., as stated still by K. NICOLAOU, *The Historical Topography of Kition* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 43), Göteborg 1976, p. 313, 314, 315, 337, 344.

[23] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* VIII, 5, 3, §146 = *Against Apion* I, 18, §119. The text most likely refers to Akko: *J. Ant.* 'IYKÉOIΣ is probably a variant of 'AKÉOIΣ, based on a *nisbe* form *'*Ikkī* ('*ky*) with assimilation of *a* to the long *-ī*; Greek υ often marks Phoenician *i* (see below, p. 412, n. 454). The identification of the place with Citium was first considered by F.C. MOVERS, *Die Phönizier* II/1, Berlin 1849, p. 330, 331. Then the text was arbitrarily changed into Κιταῖοις by W. VON LANDAU, *Die Bedeutung der Phönizier im Völkerleben* (Ex Oriente Lux 1), Leipzig 1905, p. 179, followed by W.F. ALBRIGHT, *The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization*, in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, New York 1961, p. 328-362 (see p. 348 and 361, n. 101), and by H.J. KATZENSTEIN, *The History of Tyre*, Jerusalem 1973, p. 84-85. On the

Phoenician seaports and Cyprus had a very long tradition and we do not know which was the main centre of early Phoenician penetration into the island, although the overwhelming majority of Phoenician inscriptions were found at Citium. However, they all date from a later period.

Funerary inscription Ins. Ph. 6

The funerary inscription Ins. Ph. 6 in the Cyprus Museum proves that there was a Phoenician settlement on the island *ca.* 900 B.C., that an important member of this community was buried there in the early 9th century, and that it was considered useful to provide his epitaph with imprecations in Phoenician against possible profaners of his grave. The stone, which measures 40 cm in height and from 44 to 47 cm in breadth, appears to have been carefully chiselled, probably when it was reused to build a wall. The inscription is thus incomplete, and the name and lineage of the deceased — and perhaps more details about him — are lost with the first line(s) of the text. The preserved fragment contains parts of the final seven lines, but both edges are damaged. It seems nevertheless that only a few letters need to be missing there. The text is too incomplete to provide dialectal features, but the unusual form *z*' for the masculine demonstrative pronoun "this" in line 2 has to be noticed. Words are separated by strokes that facilitate the understanding of the remaining portion of the text. Instead, a hole in the middle of line 3 deprives us of two or three letters and it is followed by a letter, which was read *m* by A.M. Honeyman, the first editor of the inscription, and *z* by W.F. Albright, who was followed by most authors. However, a re-examination of the inscription, based on photographs, confirms Honeyman's reading and seems to indicate that only two letters are missing in the hole, also as proposed by Honeyman. They probably belonged to a derivative of the root *wm*' or *tm'*, "to swear, to adjure", attested both in Akkadian and in Aramaic, but not recognized so far in Phoenician.

The beginning of line 1 is important, because it preserves the only indication on the deceased. According to the photographs, as noticed already by J.C.L. Gibson, the first letter can be read *b* instead of *h*. The reading with *b* is even more likely and provides the verb *b*', "he came", the subject of which was obviously the deceased. It is followed by the direct complement '*y*, "island", determined by *mpt*, which should be

other hand, the text was emended into 'Ιτυκαῖοις by A. GUTSCHMID, *Kleine Schriften* II, Leipzig 1890, p. 62, 88-89; Vol. IV, Leipzig 1893, p. 379; he proposed identifying the 'Ιτυκαῖοι with the inhabitants of Utica in North Africa (!). He was followed E. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 3rd ed., Basel 1953-54, Vol. II/2, p. 124.

compared with the Hebrew word *mpt*, “wonder”. This would give *’y mpt*, “wonderful island”, a phrase expressing the appreciation of the island in the entourage of the deceased.

After these words begins the imprecation against anyone tampering with the grave. It contains an interesting conception of the death as an ascension of the deceased’s soul: *k ‘l hgbr z’* [*bnp*]*šy*, “because this sire went up [with] his [sou]l”. This conception is related to the biblical episode of Elijah taken up to heaven in the Sun’s chariot (II Kings 2, 11) and the Cyprus inscription represents its earliest formal attestation. The second part of line 6 and line 7 are too damaged to yield a sense. The hypothetical reconstruction [*’šm y’š*]*m lqbr* in lines 1-2 is inspired by *’šm ’šm lyhwh* in Lev. 5, 19[24], while *lṣ*[*’t w*]*pgr* [*ḥ*]*yt* in lines 5-6 can be compared with II Kings 18, 27; Is. 34, 3; 36, 12.

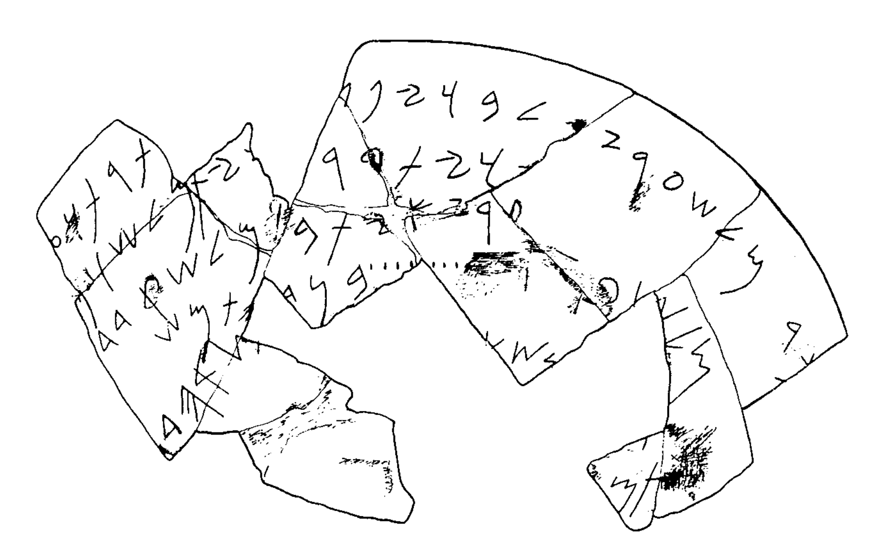
1) [.. ´ *w*]*b’* ´ *’y* ´ *mpt* ´ *wh’š* ´ *’š* ´ [*’šm*]
2) [*y’š*]*m* ´ *lqbr* ´ *z’* ´ *k ‘l* ´ *hgbr* ´ *z’* ´ [*b*]
3) [*np*]*šy* ´ *wy’bd* ´ *h*[..]*m’ ’yt* ´ *h’*[*š*]
4) [*z’*] ´ *bn* ´ *yd* ´ *b‘l* ´ *wbn* ´ *yd* ´ *’dm* ´ *wb*[*n*]
5) [*yd* ´ *ḥ*]*br* ´ *’lm* ´ *wy‘*[*b*]*d* ´ *l*[’]*my* ´ *lṣ*[’]
6) [*t* ´ *w*]*pgr* ´ ⌜*ḥ*⌝*yt* ´ *q*[*br* ....]*š*[..]
7) [...]*šm*[.]*y*[........]*ny* ´

1) “[… and] he came to the wonderful island. And the man who [would commit
2) an off]ence against this grave, since this sire went up [with]
3) his [sou]l, the imprecation should destroy [this] man
4) between the hands of Baal and between the hands of Adom[25] and between
5) [the hands of the com]pany of the gods, and it should make his people into exc[rement
6) and] carcasses of animals [...]”.

The names of the two deities, Baal and Adom, are not of the kind to suggest a connection of the deceased and of his community with a particular Phoenician city.

A fragment of a limestone slab with two large, apparently Phoenician letters *qr* was found at Khirokitia, some 20 km east of Amathus[26]. The two letters are very similar to the ones appearing in the Old Byblian

[24] The root *’šm* probably occurs in Punic, in PLAUTUS, *Poenulus* 1016; cf. *DNWSI*, p. 124.
[25] For this deity, see LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 316-317.
[26] O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 102-104 and Pl. XXI, 2.



Fragmentary Red Slip bowl with incised Phoenician characters, found at Citium on floor 3 of the courtyard of the great temple (*ca.* 800 B.C.). (Cyprus Museum).

inscription of Shapaṭbaal, that can be dated about 900 B.C. No letter preceded the *q*, but one or more letters could have followed *r*. A third archaic Phoenician inscription, painted on pottery, was found at Salamis near a Phoenician jar used as a child coffin[27]. The beginning of the inscription is lost. The preserved letters are *tš‘* with a *m* written under the *š* and possibly meant as a sign to be inserted between *š* and ‘, thus giving *tšm‘*, which might be the end of a proper name [*‘štr*]*tšm‘* or [*mlqr*]*tšm‘*. The pottery fragment belongs to a dish of the Bichrome II group, dated to the 9th century B.C. Seemingly Phoenician letters occur also among the signs of an inscription written on a jug found in a tomb at Palaepaphos-Skales[28]. They would suggest the use of Phoenician letters to write a Cypriot language, as might also have been the case of the enigmatic inscription of a bowl from Citium, usually dated about 800 B.C.[29]

[27] M. SZNYCER, *Salamine de Chypre et les Phéniciens,* in *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie*, Paris 1980, p. 123-129 (see p. 126-127).
[28] M. SZNYCER, *Note sur l’inscription gravée sur une cruche de la tombe 69 de Palaepaphos-Skales,* in V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Palaepaphos-Skales. An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern 3), Konstanz 1983, p. 416-417.
[29] M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Fouilles de Kition* III. *Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977, D 21. See the figure above.

Beside the incontestable antiquity of the Phoenician presence in Cyprus, a remarkable fact is its wide distribution across the island. About twenty settlements have provided at least one Phoenician inscription, but it is difficult to determine the exact nature of each of them. There are many possibilities, ranging from an emporium, a fortified place, a city-state to the simple presence of some merchants or artisans. If the word *mlkt* in the Nora inscription is a *sandhi* spelling for "king of Citium", this would prove the existence of a Phoenician city-state around that town about 800 B.C., but another interpretation of *mlkt* is possible and perhaps more convincing[30].

In the 8th century B.C., Carthage on Cyprus was a colonial city governed by a high-commissioner of Hiram, king of the Sidonians[31], while a few years later Citium was subjected again by Luli, king of Sidon[32]. As for Salamis, its royal sepulchres manifest a strong Phoenician influence[33]. On the other hand, the existence of seven Cypriot city-states, governed by local kings, is demonstrated in the 8th century B.C. by the inscriptions of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.)[34], who calls the island *Ia-ad-na-na*, an adaptation of Phoenician "Isle of the Danunians", **'y-dnn*.

Baal of Lebanon inscriptions

Carthage on Cyprus is first mentioned in the two Baal of Lebanon inscriptions, pieced together from fragments of two copper bowls which were found in a shop of Limassol in 1877[35]. They are dedications by the governor (*skn*) of Carthage, the last part of whose name is *ṭb*. Two names with this second element were widely used in that period, viz. *'bṭb* and *'ḥṭb*[36]:

[30] See here below, p. 238-240.
[31] See here below, p. 47-48.
[32] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* IX, 14, 2, §284. See also here below, p. 53.
[33] V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* I-IV, Nicosia 1967-79; ID., *Salamis in Cyprus*, London 1969. For Salamis in general, see D.W. RUPP, *Salamis*, in *OEANE*, New York-Oxford 1997, Vol. IV, p. 456-458.
[34] *Pavement inscription* IV, 41-44, in A. FUCHS, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen 1994, p. 262-263; cf. *Bull* 28, *ibid.*, p. 64; *Annals* 393, *ibid.*, p. 12. The same passage, albeit damaged, occurs also on the so-called "Cyprus Stele", for which see here below, p. 51-55.
[35] *CIS* I, 5; *KAI* 31; *TSSI* III, 17; M. SZNYCER, *Brèves remarques sur l'inscription phénicienne de Chypre, CIS I, 5*, in *Semitica* 35 (1985), p. 47-50.
[36] *PNA* I/1, p. 19 and 88; I Sam. 14, 3; 22, 9.11-12.20; II Sam. 8, 17; Ezra 7, 2; Neh. 11, 11; I Chron. 5, 33-34.37-38; 6, 37; 8, 11; 9, 11; 18, 16.
[37] *Tigl. III*, p. 186 and 188, lines 5-8; *PNA* II/1, p. 474.

Bowl A: [*'b/ḥṭb*] *skn qrtḥdšt 'bd ḥrm mlk ṣdnm 'z ytn lb'l lbnn 'dny br'št nḥšt h*[...].
Bowl B: [*'b/ḥ*]*ṭb skn qrtḥdšt* [...*lb*]*'l lbnn 'dny.*

Bowl A: "[Ab/ḥiṭōb], governor of Carthage, servant of Ḥirōm, king of the Sidonians, gave this to Baal of Lebanon, his Lord, of the first yield of copper from H[...]".
Bowl B: "[Ab/ḥi]ṭōb, governor of Carthage, [... to Ba]al of Lebanon, his Lord".

Hiram, king of the Sidonians, is commonly identified with Hiram II who submitted to Tiglath-pileser III in 733 or 732 B.C. and paid him tribute[37]. Although the precise dates of his reign cannot be determined, it is known from Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions that he was preceded on the throne by Ethobaal II, who paid tribute to Assyria in 738 B.C.[38], and was followed by Mattan, who paid a tribute of 150 talents of gold to Tiglath-pileser III after 732, possibly in 731 or 728 B.C.[39] The reign of Hiram II was thus relatively short and it would fix the date of the Baal of Lebanon inscriptions *ca.* 735 B.C. This is possible, but palaeography suggests a higher date for them considering that "the writing shows no great development beyond that of the Kilamuwa inscriptions"[40] (*ca.* 825 B.C.). Especially, the shape of *d* and *z* is typologically older than the corresponding letters of the Citium bowl, dated *ca.* 800 B.C. mainly because its fragments were found on floor 3 of the courtyard of the great temple[41]. However, the upper chronological limit is provided by the Tyrian king list according to which Pygmalion (Pumayyaton) ruled until approximately 785 B.C.[42], but there is a lacuna in the list, as transmitted by Josephus Flavius, from *ca.* 785 B.C. to the reign of Elulaios, who acceded to the throne after Ethobaal and the short reigns (*ca.* 736-727 B.C.) of Hiram II and Mattan II, both ruling possibly at Tyre alone. Even if we assign a rather long reign to Ethobaal II and date it to *ca.* 760-737 B.C.[43], there is still ample place

[38] *Tigl. III*, p. 106, line 6; *PNA* II/1, p. 474. There is no reason why the date of the tribute paid by *Tuba'il* should be pushed back to 740 B.C., as suggested by H. TADMOR, *Tigl. III*, p. 266-267.
[39] *Tigl. III*, p. 170, line 16'; p. 190, line 26' ("50 talents of gold"). Cf. *PNA* II/2, p. 750.
[40] J.C.L. GIBSON, *TSSI* III, p. 67.
[41] V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Kition*, London 1976, p. 106.
[42] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Ba'li-Ma'zer II and the Chronology of Tyre*, in *RSO* 45 (1970), p. 59-65, especially p. 64.
[43] Ethobaal II paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 B.C.: *Tigl. III*, p. 106, line 6.

in *ca.* 784-761 for at least one king, who may have been called Hiram as well[44]. A date *ca.* 780 B.C. would best fit the palaeography of the Baal of Lebanon inscriptions.

The exact site, where the Baal of Lebanon inscriptions have been found, remains uncertain despite their alleged discovery on Mounti Sinoas, 12 km north of Amathus[45]. Since they were bought at Limassol, it is likely that the sanctuary of the Baal of Lebanon and the city of Carthage were situated in its vicinity. In the Byzantine period, from the 4th century A.D. on, Limassol was called Neapolis, "New Town", and one is tempted therefore to identify it with Carthage and to regard the Greek name as a translation of the Phoenician one[46]. There are unquestionable vestiges of an ancient settlement at the site of Limassol[47], but nothing indicates that it has been an important centre, requiring the presence of a high-commissioner of the Sidonian king in the 8th century and serving as residence of a Cypriot king in the 7th century B.C. Instead, about 10 km east of Limassol, there are the extensive ruins of the ancient town of Amathus that an increasing number of authors identify with Carthage[48], which was a Phoenician settlement quite different from Citium, situated further east[49]. In Roman times, Limassol seems thus to have been called in Greek "New Town" by reference to Amathus. It only

[44] A. LEMAIRE, *Milkiram, nouveau roi phénicien de Tyr?,* in *Syria* 53 (1976), p. 83-93, proposes inserting a king Milkiram of Tyre between 785 and 738 B.C. Although Ethobaal seems to have been forgotten here, this fragile hypothesis remains one of several possibilities, and it does not exclude the reign of another Hiram of Tyre in that period. See also N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997, p. 412, 435, Nos. 1091, 1148.

[45] O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 77-78; O. MASSON, *La dédicace à Ba'al du Liban (CIS I, 5) et sa provenance probable de la région de Limassol,* in *Semitica* 35 (1985), p. 33-46. No ancient vestiges have been discovered on Mounti Sinoas: P. AUPERT, *Exploration. Mounti Sinoas,* in *BCH* 102 (1978), p. 972.

[46] This opinion was defended by E. LIPIŃSKI, *La Carthage de Chypre,* in *Studia Phoenicia I-II* (OLA 13), Leuven 1983, p. 209-234.

[47] Two sanctuaries have been discovered on the territory of the present-day Limassol, one dating to about 500 B.C. and an older one, going back to the end of the Bronze Age: V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Ten Years of Archaeology in Cyprus 1953-1962,* in *Archäologische Anzeiger* 1963, col. 498-601 (see col. 561); ID., *Two Cypriot Sanctuaries of the End of the Cypro-Archaic Period,* Roma 1977, p. 49-66, especially p. 60-61 and 66; ID., *Chronique*, in *BCH* 101 (1977), p. 718-720. See also E. GJERSTAD, *The Phoenician Colonization and Expansion in Cyprus,* in *RDAC* 1979, p. 230-254, in particular p. 243

[48] A. HERMARY, *Amathonte de Chypre et les Phéniciens*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium* B.C. (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 375-388.

[49] References to authors identifying Carthage with Citium can be found in E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 212, n. 15. This opinion was forcibly defended by E. GJERSTAD, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV/2, Stockholm 1948, p. 438-439.

became the main regional centre when Arab raids put an end to the history of Amathus in the 7th century A.D.

Amathus lies on the south coast, in a favourable situation for trade with the interior. It is located among sandy hills and sand dunes, which probably explain its Greek name derived from ἄμαθος, "sand"[50]. The name Amathus has been connected in the past with Hamath[51], but there is no reason why one should assume that this was the original form of the toponym. In his *Ethnica*, Stephen of Byzantium calls Ἀμαθοῦς (s.v.) "a most ancient Cyprian city", but the earliest remains found on the site after years of intensive and careful excavations are limited to a small deposit of pottery from the early Iron Age, in the 11th century B.C., when the settlement was first founded[52]. From the beginning, the pottery reveals close relations with Phoenicia and the Aegean world, while increasing Egyptian imports appear about 950/900 B.C. and there is an increase of Greek ware from *ca.* 850/800 B.C. onwards. The location of the site in the large Akrotiri Bay, formed by the projection of Cape Gáta from the coast, and its looking to the south-east, towards Phoenicia, predestinated it to become one of the earliest Phoenician colonies on the island. Westward and south-westward stretched an extensive plain, fertile and well-watered, whilst towards the north were the rich copper mines from which the Amathusians derived much of their prosperity. Nevertheless, it is only in the 8th century B.C. that Amathus became an important centre.

It is quite probable that this development was prompted by an increased Phoenician influence with a new Phoenician settlement, called "New Town". Its necropolis, dating to the 8th-6th centuries B.C., was discovered in 1992 close to the sea. Its hundreds of cremation burials in vases placed on the bear earth are in fact reminiscent of typically Phoenician cemeteries. There are some uncertain relations to *tophet* practices and an open pyre (5.10 x 3.30 metres) was found in the immediate vicinity[53]. This town, not dominated by Greeks, may have attracted

[50] The name is first attested in the second half of the 6th century B.C. by Hipponax, quoted in P. AUPERT - M.-Chr. HELLMANN, *Amathonte* I, Paris 1981, p. 15, No. 11.

[51] G. PERROT - C. CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'Antiquité* III. *Phénicie et Cypre*, Paris 1885, p. 215.

[52] A. HERMARY, *art. cit.* (n. 48), especially p. 376-379; ID., *Amathus*, in *OEANE*, New York-Oxford 1997, Vol. I, p. 87-88 with literature; P. AUPERT, *Amathus during the First Iron Age,* in *BASOR* 308 (1997), p. 19-25.

[53] D. CHRISTOU, *Cremations in the Western Necropolis of Amathus*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 207-215; A.P. AGELARAKIS - A. KANTA - N. STAM-

Eteocypriots as well. It would also explain the presence of a Sidonian high-commissioner in the region. The creation of the Phoenician settlement was prompted by the copper industry, as suggested by the inscription of the Baal of Lebanon to whom the bronze bowls were offered as "the first yield of copper". His sanctuary did not need to have been situated in Carthage itself. A location close to copper mines or to a processing plant should also be taken into account, as well as the possible relation of the Baal of Lebanon to Zeus Labranios[54], who in Roman times had a sanctuary on the hill of Castro near Fasoulla, about 10 km north of Limassol, and another one at Khandria, 21 km north of Fasoulla as the crow flies, close to the Troödos massif.

Citium, which became the main Phoenician centre on the island, plays a role in the poem of Is. 23[55], that deals with Phoenicia and should date from the 7th century B.C., and the city was the place chosen by Sargon II to erect his "Cyprus Stele"[56], discovered in 1845[57]. However, the nature of its relation to the Phoenician city-states remains unclear through the whole period of the 9th-6th centuries B.C.[58] No king of

POLIDIS, *The Osseous Record in the Western Necropolis of Amathus: An Archeao-Anthropological Investigation*, *ibid.*, p. 217-232.

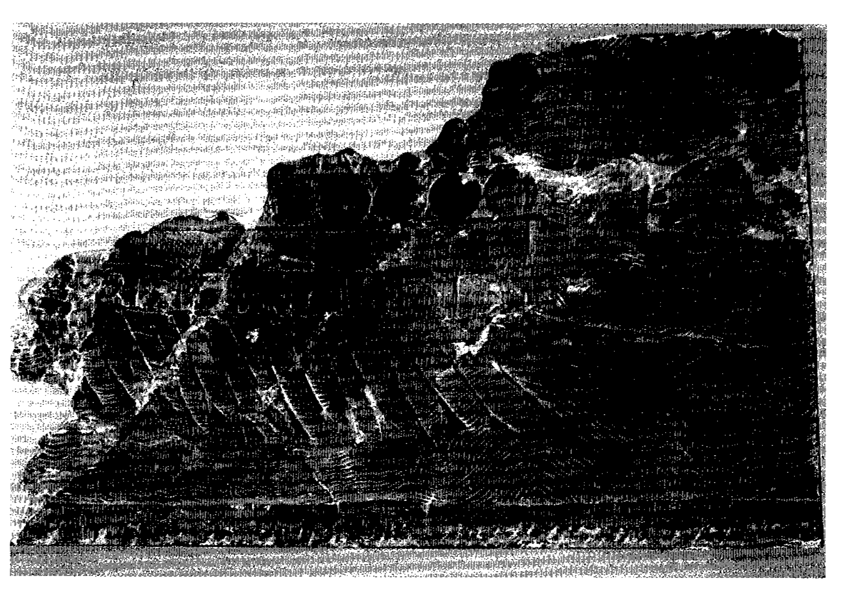
[54] LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 306-307.

[55] E. LIPIŃSKI, *The Elegy of the Fall of Sidon in Isaiah 23*, in M. HARAN (ed.), *H.L. Ginsberg Volume* (ErIs 14), Jerusalem 1978, p. 79*-88*.

[56] E. SCHRADER, *Die Sargonsstele des Berliner Museums* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philos.-hist. Kl., 1881/VI), Berlin 1882; L. MESSERSCHMIDT - A. UNGNAD, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* I, Leipzig 1907, No. 71 (VA 968); cf. J. BÖRKER-KLÄHN, *Altorientalische bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs* I-II (Baghdader Forschungen 4), Mainz a/R 1982, p. 202-203, No. 175; F. MALBRAN, *La stèle de Sargon II à Chypre: Le texte de l'inscription*, in A. CAUBET (ed.), *Colloque "Khorsabad, le palais de Sargon II, roi d'Assyrie"*, Paris 1995, p. 169-178; H. TADMOR, *Notes on the Stele of Sargon II from Cyprus*, in *Joseph Aviram Volume* (ErIs 25), Jerusalem 1996, p. 286-289 (in Hebrew) and p. 99* (summary).

[57] There is no reason why one should doubt that the stele was found at Citium; cf. L. ROSS, *Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und Cypern*, Halle 1852, p. 86; ID., *Assyrisches Basrelief auf Cypern*, in *Hellenika* I, Halle 1864, p. 69-70. L. Ross left Cyprus a few months after the discovery of the stele which was to be used as stone in the building of the new Catholic church of the Madonna delle Grazie at Larnaca: K. NICOLAOU, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 360; cf. M. YON, *La stèle de Sargon II à Chypre: La découverte de la stèle à Larnaca (Chypre)*, in A. CAUBET (ed.), *Colloque "Khorsabad, le palais de Sargon II, roi d'Assyrie"*, Paris 1995, p. 159-168.

[58] M. YON, *Le royaume de Kition. Époque archaïque*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 357-374; EAD., *Kition in the Tenth to Fourth Centuries B.C.*, in *BASOR* 308 (1997), p. 9-17. Citium probably remained a Tyrian or Sidonian colony until the 6th century B.C.; cf. H.J. KATZENSTEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 84-86, 135, 186, 241, 242, 259.



A war galley: fragment of a Neo-Assyrian relief from Kuyunjik (BM. 124722; cf. *ANEP*, No. 10).

Citium is mentioned in Esarhaddon's inscriptions[59] and it is unlikely that Citium was a kingdom before the 5th century B.C. As for Salamis, no epigraphic evidence provides us with information concerning its political status before the 7th century B.C.

2. Neo-Assyrian Period (8th-7th Centuries B.C.)

"Cyprus Stele"

Sargon II claims to have received the homage of "the seven kings of Ia', a region on Cyprus which lies in the midst of the Western Sea at a distance of seven days, their location being (so) far off (that) none of my royal forefathers had ever heard the names of their countries". This is stated on the "Cyprus Stele" of Sargon II, erected at Citium in 707 B.C., and in an inscription of the royal palace at Khorsabad.

The "Cyprus Stele" was probably set up "[in the House[60] of] the Baal of Mount Hor [and of the god]s of the Land of (I)adnana", [*ina* É ^{d}]*Ba-il*

[59] See here below, p. 68.

[60] For Neo-Assyrian royal monuments set up in cultic sites of subjugated cities, see Sh. YAMADA, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, Leiden 2000, p. 295-296.

Ḫur-ri KUR-*i* [*u* DINGIR.M]EŠ KUR *Ad-na-na*[61]. It stands to reason that the monument was erected on the acropolis of Citium, known as "Bamboula" and close to the ancient harbour[62]. The site was unfortunately destroyed in 1879, when British engineers filled the marshes around the ancient harbour by levelling the mound of "Bamboula"[63]. This was no doubt the most prominent and important place of the ancient town, crowned by the sanctuary of the local deities of Cyprus and of the Baal of Mount Hor, which was very likely Rās aš-Šaqqa, the sacred mountain on the Phoenician mainland[64], closest to Citium. Of course, one may be tempted to understand *Ḫur-ri* as "Hurrian", but this interpretation does not make any sense here. The sign ḪAR can stand for Egyptian *Ḥōr*, "Horus"[65], for Early Aramaic *Qūr-* (*ṣūr-*), like in kur*Ḫur-ri* on the Emar tablets[66], and it can be used here for Phoenician *Hor*[67], as the articulation of /h/ was probably influenced by the near trill consonant *r*, like in the

[61] Left face, lines 52-53.

[62] According to H. TADMOR, *art. cit.* (n. 56), the stele was erected on the mountain range overlooking the coastal plain, northeast of Larnaca, on the summit of which today stands the monastery of Stavravouni. This opinion is followed by N. NA'AMAN, *The Conquest of Yadnana according to the Inscription of Sargon II*, in T. ABUSCH et al. (eds.), *Historiography in the Cuneiform World*, Bethesda 2001, p. 357-363 (see p. 361). However, the preserved part of the text does not imply such a location and the facts are at odds with this suggestion: Sargon's steles were set up in cities and the "Cyprus Stele" was found at Larnaca (Citium). The importance of the place where a stele was set up is rightly emphasized by B.N. PORTER, *The Importance of Place: Esarhaddon's Stelae at Til Barsip and Sam'al*, in T. ABUSCH et al. (eds.), *Historiography in the Cuneiform World*, Bethesda 2001, p. 373-390. The site of the Stavravouni monastery was certainly no prominent place.

[63] V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Kition*, London 1976, p. 17-19.

[64] See here above, p. 28-30.

[65] See, for instance, the proper names listed in *PNA* II/1, p. 481-482.

[66] M.R. ADAMTHWAITE, *Late Hittite Emar* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Suppl. 8), Louvain 2001, p. 261-280, quite understandably has some difficulty in identifying KUR *Ḫur-ri* and ÉRIN.MEŠ *Ḫur-ri* with a Hurrian state, and rightly assumes that Aramaeans have destroyed Emar. In fact, the *Ḫur-ri*, the unnamed attackers, and the agents of destruction are Aramaeans of *Qwr*, regarded in Am. 9,7 as the homeland of the Aramaeans. The reading *Qwr*, instead of *Qyr* in the *textus receptus*, is provided by the great manuscript of Isaiah from Qumrān (1QIsa 22, 6) and by the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint translation of the Book of Amos (2nd century B.C.), where ἐπίκλητος (Am. 1, 5) supposes *qwrh* (interpreted as *qrw'*) and ἐκ βόθρου (Am. 9, 7) is based on *mqwr*. Emar texts used a phrase designating the king of Mitanni in Hittite texts (references in G. WILHELM, *RLA* VII, Berlin 1993-97, p. 292-293), which is easy to understand, since the central districts of the former empire of Mitanni were overrun by Aramaic-speaking nomads as early as in the 13th-12th centuries B.C. The name *Qwr* might derive from the root *ṣwr* / *ṣrr*, which expresses the idea of distress, war or violent hunger, unless it stands for *ṭwr*, "mountan"; cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §10.9 and §13.10.

[67] For Canaanite or Phoenician *h* marked by *ḫ*, see J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *Phonizisch-punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Roma 1999, p. 14, §17.

personal name *Gīr-Ḫa*, to be compared with *'bd-H'*[68]. In fact, /r/ occasions changes ' > ' and ' > *ġ*[69], and it is likely to cause a phonological change *h* > *ḥ* as well, since /ḥ/ is essentially a pharyngalized /h/[70]. This is probably the reason why the Phoenician word *har*, "mountain", is transcribed in cuneiforms by *ḫa-ar-ri*[71] or *ḫa-ru*[72].

The Assyrian king never visited the island, but the choice of Citium for the setting up of the monument suggests that Citium depended at that time from the ruler of Sidon and Tyre, who must have been instrumental in this operation. At the time of Sargon II, this ruler was **Halūlay*, "Splendid"[73], whom Menander of Ephesus calls Ἐλουλαῖος[74] and the annals of Sennacherib *Lu-li-i*[75]. Menander specifies that **Halūlay* was also named Πυας, which simply transcribes the Aramaic translation of the ruler's name or surname, since *pi'a* (root *p'y*) means "to be beautiful" in Syriac[76] and *pa'yā* or *pe'a* is "the splendid one". The proper names *P'y* appears now in Hebrew seal impressions datable to *ca.* 700

[68] *PNA* I/2, p. 425b; BENZ, p. 154. *H'* is the Phoenician spelling of the name of the Mesopotamien god dÉ.A. It preserves an old pronunciation, since É was pronounced *ha*(*y*) in Old Sumerian and Palaeosyrian. Letter *h* occurs rarely in Phoenician proper names and Neo-Assyrian transcriptions of Phoenician names are uncommon. However, notations with *ḫ* are found in Aramaic and North-Arabian names as well: *Dādi-ḫābi* (*PNA* I/2, p. 363a), *Maḫīrānu* (*PNA* II/2, p. 674b), which corresponds to *Mhrn* (HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 572, and below, p. 112, n. 15), d*Nu-ḫa-a-a*, which is *Nhy* (M. KREBERNIK - A. SIMA, *Nuhay*, in *RLA* IX, Berlin 1998-2001, p. 611). It is hard to believe that D.O. EDZARD, rev. in *BiOr* 34 (1977), p. 194, n. 8, knows only one example of West-Semitic [h] expressed in Akkadian by signs with *ḫ*: *ḫi-ḫi-bi-e* = *hiḫbī'*, "has hidden" (*EA* 256, 7).

[69] LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 27.8. Compare J.-J. HESS, *Über das präfigierte und infigierte* ع *im Arabischen*, and E. LITTMANN, *'Ain und die emphatischen Laute*, in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 2 (1923), p. 219-223 and 274-275.

[70] Cf. R. JAKOBSON, *Mufaxxama. The 'Emphatic' Phonemes in Arabic*, in E. PULGRAM (ed.), *Studies Presented to Joshua Whathmough*, 's Gravenhage 1957, p. 105-115 (see p. 112-113).

[71] *EA* 74, 20.

[72] A. UNGNAD, *VAS* VI, Leipzig 1908, No. 6, 8.

[73] For proper names formed from the Semitic root *hll*, see M. NOTH, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 205. The pattern *qatūl* is used in Phoenician for adjectives and the suffix *-ay* is often attested, especially in proper names; cf. J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 135, §197c, and p. 140, §205.

[74] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* IX, 14, 2, §284. This is the expected transcription, since *a* in open unstressed syllable, preceding a non-reduced one, changes into *ə*, which is expressed in Greek by ε or υ, for example in ΒΑΛΕΖΩΡΟΣ for *Ba'l-'azōr* (JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Against Apion* I, 18, §124: ΒΑΛΕΖΩΡΟΣ).

[75] References in E. FRAHM, *Lulî*, in *PNA* II/2, Helsinki 2001, p. 668-669. The Assyrian transcription reflects the frequent elision of an initial *'a-/ha-* syllable, like in *Ḫirūmu* < *'Aḫirōm* or *Dād* < *Hadad*.

[76] C. BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed., Halle 1928, p. 554.

B.C.[77] The annals of Sargon II do not name **Halūlay* by his proper name or surname, but call him ^{m}*Si-il-ṭa*, "the potentate"[78]. They seem to indicate that **Halūlay* received military aid from the Assyrians in his attempt to crush a rebellion on Cyprus[79], thus confirming the report by Menander, who specifies that the rebels were Citians. These events would explain the presence of the "Cyprus Stele" at Citium and the homage paid by seven Cypriot kings to Sargon II on this particular occasion, but they do not imply that **Halūlay* was recognized as overlord on all Cyprus, and one should avoid assimilating the Citians mentioned by Menander with the people of the entire island[80].

The second part of Menander's notice, dealing with Shalmaneser V's invasion of Phoenicia, refers to earlier events. Unfortunately, the short reign of Shalmaneser V (726-722 B.C.) is ill-documented, since no royal annals are known and even the Eponym Chronicle entries are destroyed for his reign. Among the main known events of the reign was his campaign in Phoenicia, begun but apparently not concluded. It led to the submission of most Phoenician cities on the mainland, but Tyre managed to resist for five years, i.e. until the death of Shalmaneser V, followed by the Assyrian dynastic crisis in 722 B.C.

Citium remained in the hands of **Halūlay* until his death, sometime between 699 and 697 B.C.[81] In 701, Sennacherib waged war against the Phoenician cities — among them Sidon and Tyre — which, after the death of Sargon II in 705, have ceased to pay their annual tribute[82]. *Lu-li-li* fled then to Cyprus, most likely to Citium, where he may have been the victim of a plot, but the exact implication of the phrase report-

[77] R. DEUTSCH, *A Hoard of Fifty Hebrew Clay Bullae from the Time of Hezekiah*, in R. DEUTSCH (ed.), *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff*, Jaffa-Tel Aviv 2003, p. 45-98 (see p. 86-88, No. 36).

[78] A. FUCHS, in N. NA'AMAN, *Sargon II and the Rebellion of the Cypriote Kings against Shilṭa of Tyre*, in *Orientalia* 67 (1998), p. 239-247 (see p. 242); N. NA'AMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 62), p. 359-360. One should compare the use of *ši-il-ṭe*$_4$ in *SAA* III, 17, 10; cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100), Leuven 2000, p. 185 with n. 147.

[79] N. NA'AMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 62), p. 242-244 and 247; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 62), p. 360.

[80] This error is made by E. FRAHM, *art. cit.* (n. 75), p. 668b.

[81] E. FRAHM, *art. cit.* (n. 75), p. 668.

[82] Sennacherib boasts of having deported Phoenician workmen and sailors to employ them for building ships or palaces and sailing down the Tigris: D.D. LUCKENBILL, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP 2), Chicago 1924, p. 73, lines 58-61; p. 104, lines 53-56. Among them must have been the Tyrians commanded by an Aramaean, called Śagīb; they are mentioned in *SAA* XVII, 159 and 184, two fragments that may belong to the same letter: *ibid.*, p. XLI, n. 77.

ing his death, *šaddāšu ēmid*, "he went to his fate", are so far subject to doubt[83].

Curium funerary inscription

Phoenician penetration on Cyprus continued unabated in the 7th century B.C., its focal point being possibly Carthage more than Citium. West of Limassol, in the centre of the Episkopi Bay enclosed between the promontories of Zeugari and Aspron, the royal city of Curium was located on a branch of the Kouris River. Curium lay wholly open to the southwest gales, but had a long stretch of sandy shore towards the southeast, on which small vessels could be drawn up. The town was situated on a rocky elevation and was further defended by a strong wall, a large portion of which could still be traced. It was surrounded by cemeteries, where the oldest graves go back to the 11th century B.C. and reveal mainly contacts with the West, hardly with the East. The sanctuary of Apollo Hylates (Ὑλάτης) with its rich metallic furniture shows that Curium was an important city in the 8th-7th centuries B.C., where many artists and craftsmen were active[84], some of whom were Phoenicians. This is confirmed by a fortuitous discovery made in 1969 on the grounds of the ancient cemetery, close to the church of St. Ermogenis. Countrymen from Episkopi found there an archaic Phoenician inscription in two lines, engraved below a typically Phoenician blank window from a built tomb[85]. The inscription, datable to the 7th century B.C., is very fragmentary and the parallel single line of the Cypriot syllabic inscription is still in a poorer condition. The first half of the inscription is completely lost, as well as the end. Only two letters are recognizable in line 2: ...]*t z*[.... In the comments accompanying his decipherment of the inscription, M. Sznycer rightly stresses that the second letter of line 1, read by him as *w*, has an unusual shape[86]. Its head rather suggests *n*, similar to the *n* of the Baal of Lebanon inscriptions, and the writer would indeed propose interpreting it as *n* despite the fact that the downstroke is descending obliquely to the right. Since there is no apparent division of the words in

[83] W.R. GALLAGHER, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: New Studies*, Leiden 1999, p. 94.

[84] D. SOREN, *Kourion*, in *OEANE*, New York-Oxford 1997, Vol. III, p. 304-306; D. BUITRON-OLIVER, *Kourion: The Evidence for the Kingdom from the 11th to the 6th Century B.C.*, in *BASOR* 303 (1997), p. 27-36. For Apollo's sanctuary in particular, see D. BUITRON-OLIVER, *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion: Excavations in the Archaic Precinct*, Jonsered 1996.

[85] O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 88-91 and Pl. VII.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

the inscription, line 1 could then be read as follows: ...’]*mn bkry hṣd*[*ny*...], “...cr]aftsman at Curium, Sido[nian...]”.

Since this is a funerary inscription, the name of the deceased and his patronymic should be mentioned at first, but the beginning of the epitaph is completely lost. Its remaining part provides further indications on the identity of the man: “craftsman at Curium, Sidonian”, most likely in the sense of “Phoenician”, like in Greek literature. A proper name *bkry*, introduced by the conjunction *w*, is not appropriate in this place and an anthroponym *bkry* is so far unknown in Phoenician. Instead, *’mn*, “craftsman”, is attested in Punic[87] and *kry* perfectly corresponds to the Akkadian transliteration $^{\text{uru}}$*Ku-ri-i* of the city name in Esarhaddon’s inscriptions[88]. The presence of the Cypriot syllabic inscription and the ethnic qualification “Sidonian” clearly indicate that Curium was no Phoenician colony. There was nevertheless a settlement of specialized Phoenician craftsmen, certainly sculptors and builders, as shown by the style of the limestone block on which the inscription was engraved, and by similar findings.

Ayia Irini necropolis

A necropolis from the Geometric and Archaic periods has been discovered near the coast of the Morphou Bay, at Ayia Irini, well-known for its sanctuary excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929[89]. About 1960 clandestine diggers started opening the graves, but in 1970-1973 regular excavations were conducted by an Italian archaeological mission in the area called Palaeokastro. Tomb 43 yielded a Phoenician epitaph from the first part of the 7th century B.C. and a similar date can be attributed to one of the Phoenician jar inscriptions recovered for the Museum of Nicosia.

The reading of the last mentioned inscription remains somewhat uncertain[90], but the epitaph engraved on a limestone slab reads *‘bd’ bn Kmrd*[91]. The father’s name seems to be a Greek patronymic in

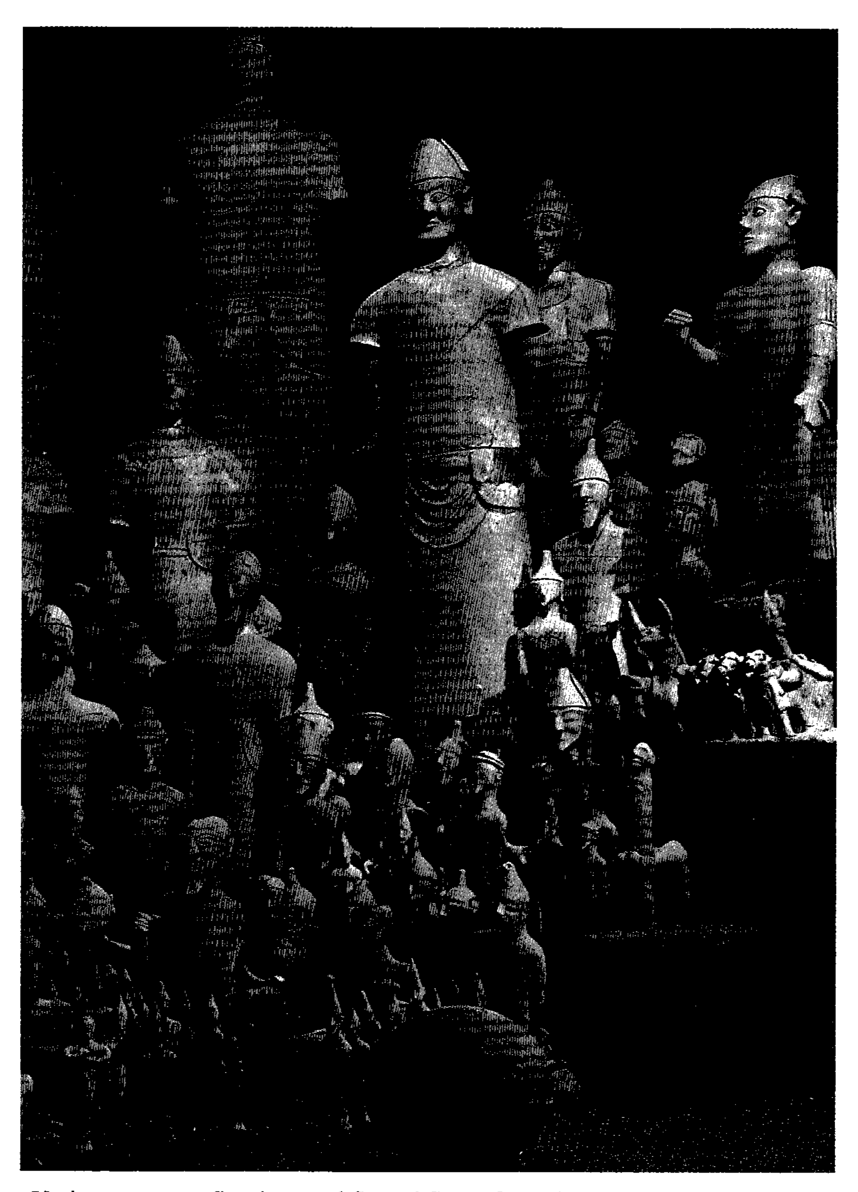
[87] *DNWSI*, p. 71-72.

[88] R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO. Beih. 9), Graz 1956, p. 60, line 67. This has been noticed already by M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 91.

[89] E. Gjerstad, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* II, Stockholm 1935, p. 642-824. See also G. Ikosi, *Unpublished Terracottas in Ajia Irini*, in *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 26-27 (1991-92), p. 33-84, and *The Terracottas from Ajia Irini: Techniques and Clays*, in P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria* III, Jonsrerd 1992, p. 267-309. See next page.

[90] O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 94-96 and Pl. IX, 1-3.

[91] M.G. Guzzo Amadasi, *L’iscrizione fenicia dalla tomba n. 43*, in L. Rocchetti, *Le tombe dei periodi geometrico ed archaico della necropoli a mare di Ayia Irini “Paleokastro”*, Roma 1978, p. 114-116, where alternative readings *Kmrr, Kmrd, Kmdr*, and *Kmdd* are proposed. However, the big difference in the length of the shaft clearly distinguishes *r* and *d*.



Votive terracotta figurines and Sacred Stone from the sanctuary at Ayia Irini, 7th-early 6th century B.C. (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet. Photo: Margaret Sjöblom).

-ιδ-[92], formed on Κόμαρ(ος), which is a proper name attested in Crete and in Egypt[93]. Since this interpretation is uncertain, further speculation on the origins of the person buried there are unwarranted.

Ins. Ph. 4 from Chytroi

Another Phoenician funerary inscription was found in 1908 at Chytroi (Kythrea)[94], the centre of a small Cypriot kingdom situated between Ledra (Nicosia) and Salamis. It is a fragment of a terra-cotta sarcophagus with four incomplete lines and with one or more lines missing completely above the part preserved. The fragment is kept in the Museum of Nicosia with the inventory reference "Ins. Ph. 4". The script suggests a date in the first part of the 7th century B.C., approximately at the time of Esarhaddon whose inscriptions mention a king of Chytroi[95]. Dots separate the words of the inscription, helping a correct reading and interpretation.

Since kings are warned in line 2 not to disturb the deceased, the sarcophagus probably belonged to a king of Chytroi. If *my* in line 1 is the indefinite pronoun introducing the usual imprecation against anyone tampering with the grave, the preceding *š* must belong to the end of the clause identifying the deceased. Assuming that the latter was a king, the *š* would be the final letter of *Ktrš*, "Chytroi", corresponding to Neo-Assyrian uru*Ki-it-ru-si*[96]. The Greek ending -ς may be transcribed in Phoenician by *š*, which was adopted in most dialects as mark of the Greek unvoiced sibilant. This spelling seems to occur on Cyprus in the inscription *l'ntš* on a "Red-Slip" vessel from the 8th century B.C., found at Citium[97]. It probably means "(belonging) to Onatas"[98]. The spelling in

[92] A. Meillet - J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, 3rd ed., Paris 1960, p. 419, §628.

[93] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, Oxford 1987, p. 269a; D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum Papyrologicum*, Milano-Varese 1971, p. 169a. See also Κομαρίς in Attica: M.J. Osborne - S.G. Byrne, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II, Oxford 1994, p. 269b.

[94] *RÉS* 922 (cf. 1928); O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 104-107 and Pl. VIII, 2, with earlier literature.

[95] R. Borger, *op. cit.* (n. 88), p. 60, line 64.

[96] West-Semitic *š* corresponds to Neo-Assyrian signs with *s*: E. Lipiński, *La correspondance des sibilantes dans les textes araméens et les textes cunéiformes néo-assyriens*, in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Linguistica Camito-Semitica* (Quaderni di Semitistica 5), Firenze 1978, p. 201-210.

[97] *RÉS* 1524; O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 114-115 and Pl. XV, 1; M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 29), D 6.

[98] The proper name 'Ονάτας occurs on Thera in the 2nd century B.C.: P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 351b.

-*š* is attested also in Hellenistic times, when the name of Ptolemy may be written *Ptlmyš*[99]. Taking these observations into account, as well as parallel formulas of funerary inscriptions[100], one can partly restore the fragmentary text as follows:

1) [...*mlk.ktr*]*š.my*[.*h'*...]	"[..., king of Chytr]oi. Whoever [he is,...]
2) [...']*m.mlk.h'.'m*.['*dm.h'*...]	[...b]e he king or [be he commoner...]
3) [...'*l.yp*]*tḥ.hqbr*.[*z*...]	[...let not o]pen [this] grave [...]
4) [...]*z.k.'y* '[*r*...]	[...] this [...], for they did not ga[ther...]".

Chytroi was certainly no Phoenician colony, but Phoenician influence had to be strong there, if local kings were buried in sarcophagi with a Phoenician inscription. One can assume that Phoenician artists and craftsmen from Salamis, distant less than 40 km, have moved also to Chytroi.

Golgoi amphora

An indication that Phoenicians did not confine themselves to the coast, but penetrated into the interior of the island as early as the 7th century B.C., is provided also at Golgoi by a Phoenician amphora with a painted inscription *šb'l*[101]. This is a proper name meaning either "sheep of Baal" or "(belonging) to Baal", with the determinative pronoun *š* followed by a *genetivus subiectivus*[102]. The three-pronged *š* appears here in its earliest shape, properly described by J.B. Peckham[103], and it is identical with the *š* of the *Šlmy* jar inscription from 'Azor, that should be dated to the second half of the 7th century B.C.[104] At any rate, the *b* and the *l* of the *Šb'l* inscription belong typologically to the 7th century as well.

Golgoi is firmly localized north of the present-day village of Athienou, where recent excavations dealt only with Bronze Age strata

[99] *TSSI* III, 36, 4.6.8. One should notice that Greek σ/ς was indicated at that time by *ṯ* in Minaic, though s^3 and *ṯ* were still distinct phonemes: A.F.L. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar*, Manchester 1984, p. 59, §M2:2.

[100] Especially the inscription of Tabnit, king of Sidon in the early 5th century B.C.: *KAI* 13 = *TSSI* III, 27.

[101] O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 113-114 and Pl. XIV, 3-4.

[102] J. Friedrich - W. Röllig, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 217, §310, 2. Cf. Lipiński, *Semitic*, §51.18-21.

[103] J.B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (HSS 20), Cambridge, Mass., 1968, p. 170-172.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 125-127.

from the late 16th to the 12th century B.C. and, after a gap, simply noticed a revival in the Iron Age, in the 11th century B.C. (Stratum I)[105]. The city lies about 20 km northwest of Citium and might be regarded as an outpost from Citium, unless it was a dependency of Idalium, situated 12 km to the south-west. This would explain why no king of Golgoi is listed in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon. Neither Greek sources mention a king of Golgoi, although a local coinage seems to have existed in the 5th-4th centuries B.C.[106], while Greek syllabic and Eteocypriot inscriptions[107], as well as high quality sculptures from the 6th-5th centuries B.C., discovered by L. Palma di Cesnola in one or two sanctuaries near the chapel of St. Photios[108], witness the presence of a prosperous city.

Idalium inscriptions

A grave of Idalium yielded a Bichrome IV vase, datable to the 6th rather than 7th century B.C., with a Phoenician inscription *'gms*, painted in black before firing. The reading appears quite certain on the photograph, eliminating the unusual shapes of *r* and *n* in the traditional reading *rgmn*[109], but lowering the date of the object, especially because of the shape of *s*. The inscription probably provides the name of the owner, which seems to be called ''Αγεμος, an anthroponym attested in Euboea in the 4th or 3rd century B.C.[110] The object thus reveals the presence of a Phoenician artist or craftsman, not of a Phoenician colony.

The two bronze blinkers from Idalium with the inscription *B'n'* should instead date from *ca.* 700-650 B.C.[111] However, this does not mean that they have been brought to Idalium in the 7th century B.C. and been offered then to the sanctuary of Athena, where they are believed to

[105] T. DOTHAN - A. BEN-TOR, *Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus: 1971-1972* (Qedem 16), Jerusalem 1983.

[106] O. MASSON, *Golgoi*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 194.

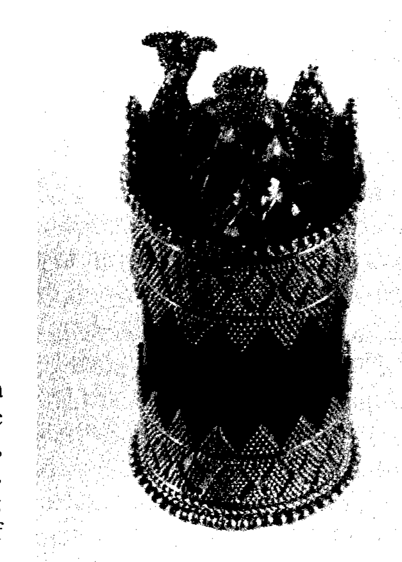
[107] *ICS*, p. 275-301. See also O. MASSON, *Kypriaka IX. Recherches sur les antiquités de Golgoi,* in *BCH* 95 (1971), p. 305-334.

[108] L. PALMA DI CESNOLA, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* I, Berlin 1855; cf. J. MYRES, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York 1914. On Palma di Cesnola, see A.G. MARANGOU, *Life and Deeds. The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola, 1832-1904*, Nicosia 2000.

[109] *RÉS* 1522. This reading has not been corrected previously, neither by J.B. PECKHAM, *op. cit.* (n. 103), p. 17, n. 23, nor by O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 112-113 and Pl. XIV, 1-2.

[110] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 6a.

[111] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Le Ba'ana' d'Idalion,* in *Syria* 63 (1986), p. 379-382, 421-422, and in E. GUBEL (ed.), *De Feniciërs in de mediterrane wereld / Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen,* Brussel/Bruxelles 1986, p. 158, Nos. 130-131.



Agate pendant, 4.5 cm high, of a gold necklace from the Archaic period (700-600 B.C.), found at Arsos, near Golgoi. (Cyprus Museum, J 100. Photo: Courtesy of the Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum).

have been found about 1850. The name *Ba'ana'* does not even seem to be properly Phoenician, although it was borne by a king of Sidon towards the end of the 5th century B.C.[112] The name is Canaanite: it is borne by two prefects of "Solomon", one in the Jezreel valley (I Kings 4, 12), the other in the Akko plain (I Kings 4, 16). It reappears in a Jewish-Aramaic surrounding in Ezra 2, 2 and Neh. 3, 4; 7, 7; 10, 28, and may be borne in the 7th century by a woman called *fBa-an-na-a*[113]. It is an abbreviated name[114], the first element of which is *Ba'al* and the second one *nātan*, "he gave", which corresponds to Phoenician *yatōn*. The *l* of *Ba'al* has been elided in front of the following consonant[115], unless it was assimilated to *n*, as the cuneiform spelling *fBa-an-na-a* might suggest[116]. The final syllable *-tan* has been elided as well and replaced by the hypocoristic ending *-a'*. A partial shortening of this name is provided

[112] *TSSI* III, 29; L. MILDENBERG, *Baana,* in *Michael Avi-Yonah Memorial Volume* (ErIs 19), Jerusalem 1987, p. 28*-35*.

[113] *SAA* XII, 27, 18; *PNA* I/2, p. 267. However, the reading of the sign AN is uncertain.

[114] *Pace* R. ZADOK, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosopography* (OLA 28), Leuven 1988, p. 62, n. 13.

[115] Cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §17.2 and §27.2. Only Punic examples are given by J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 29, §51a.

[116] The spelling *-an-na-* may indicate compensatory vowel length as well, thus *Ba'ānā'*. Intervocalic ' in *Ba'al* is generally not marked in Neo-Assyrian spelling.

by *B'ntn*, attested at Tell 'Arqa[117]. The original owner of the bronze blinkers may have been on Cyprus, possibly in the frame of a military expedition, but it is also possible that only the horse harness and trappings have reached the island.

Cypriot kings in Esarhaddon's list

If no inscription witnesses a Phoenician presence at Idalium in the 7th century B.C., the list of ten Cypriot kings paying tribute to Esarhaddon and beginning with the ruler of Idalium[118] reveals a Phoenician intermediate agent. Two royal names, 'Ακέστωρ and ''Αρητος, appear in Neo-Assyrian with an initial *E* instead of *A*, while *E* replaces *I* in the place name 'Ιδάλιον[119]. These are typical features of spoken Phoenician, illustrated later by Greek and Latin transcriptions[120]. Besides, the intervocalic dental τ of ''Αρητος, ''Αδμητος, and Βουθύτης (-του) is indicated in Neo-Assyrian by *su*[121], which corresponds to Phoenician *š*, used on Cyprus as an equivalent of Greek final -τος/-θος, like in the place name Λάπηθος/ Λάπαθος, in Phoenician *Lpš*[122]. The Cypriot articulation of *t* in certain conditions probably explains this notation of the dental, possibly pronounced as [θ] or the like, and indicated in Phoenician by "š". Also the form *Nu-ri-ia* for Marium seems to imply a Phoenician misspelling **Nry* for **Mry*. Since Greek μ was called μῦ like νῦ, which is obviously linked to Semitic *nūn*, the error can best be explained by a mishearing or misinterpretation of the spelling μῦ-ῥῶ-ἰῶτα. As a matter of fact, Marium was an almost unknown region for the Phoenicians and no Phoenician inscription has been found so far in this area. It is not surprising therefore that this city is mentioned at the end of the list.

The beginning of the list seems to follow an itinerary from Idalium to Chytroi and to Salamis, but no geographical order is recognizable further

[117] P. Bordreuil, *Nouveaux apports de l'archéologie et de la glyptique à l'onomastique phénicienne,* in *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1983, Vol. III, p. 751-755 and Pls. CXLII-CXLIII (see p. 751-752 and Pl. CXLII, 1).

[118] R. Borger, *op. cit.* (n. 88), p. 60, lines 63-71.

[119] See below, p. 63. There is no need to discuss opinions that are not based on a proper understanding of Neo-Assyrian spellings and of Phoenician phonetic rules, as in the case of O. Masson, *Encore les royaumes chypriotes dans la liste d'Esarhaddon,* in *Centre d'Études Chypriotes. Cahiers* 18 (1992), p. 27-30; C. Dobias-Lalou, *Notes d'onomastique chypriote,* in *Mélanges Olivier Masson,* Paris 1998, p. 77-81, in particular p. 77-79.

[120] J. Friedrich - W. Röllig, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 39, §75b, and p. 43, §82-83.

[121] See below, p. 63, 70, 71, 76, 86-87.

[122] J. Friedrich - W. Röllig, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 27, §47b. For a discussion of the occasional equivalence of *š* and spirant *t* in the spelling of Akkadian texts, see W. von Soden, *Die Spirantisierung von Verschlusslauten im Akkadischen: Ein Vorbericht,* in *JNES* 27 (1968), p. 214-220 (see p. 218-220).

on. The list dates from 673 B.C. and is reproduced without modification in the similar list of Ashurbanipal's vassals[123], where two changes have nevertheless been made among the tributaries from other regions. In the inscriptions of Esarhaddon, the vassal kings are listed because they contributed to the construction and embellishment of the royal palace at Nineveh. The circumstances in Ashurbanipal's annals, written in 647 but referring to the king's expedition to Egypt in 667, are different: the vassals brought their tribute to the new suzerain and provided him with troops and ships. It is hard to assess whether all the Cypriot kings of 673 were still in 667 at the head of their city-states and whether they really paid homage in 667 to the new Assyrian king, providing military forces for his campaign to Egypt. An earlier text of Ashurbanipal would certainly help answering this question, but two variant spellings in a royal name from Ashurbanipal's list confirm that this was no simple copy of Esarhaddon's. The name of *E-re-(e-)su* is written there *E-re-e-du* or ^{m}*E-re-e-li*[124], what should be a mistake for ^{m}*E-re-e-tu,* as suggested by the great similarity of the signs LI and TU. Now, these spellings are close to the Classical Greek form ''Αρητος of the king's name, without the change *t* > *s* discussed above, and they must imply some new contacts with Cypriot kings or their messengers.

An examination of the list will provide, as a side effect, an insight into the spread of Phoenician influence on Cyprus.

Idalium

The first Cypriot king is ^{m}*E-ki-iš-tu-ra šar* ^{uru}*E-di-(')il* or *E-di-'-li*, or again *E-di-'-al*. *E-di-'-il* is commonly recognized as the town of Idalium, present-day Dhali, nearly 25 km north-west of Larnaca. The oldest settlement goes back to about 1200 B.C. and is certainly connected with the extraction and processing of copper in the nearby area. Intense commercial activity is reflected in the large amount of imported items[125]. The upper class of the population was certainly Greek in the 7th century B.C., as shown by the name of the king. It is incontestable that he bears the Greek name 'Ακέστωρ[126], that is "Saviour". Euripides (*ca.* 485-*ca.* 406 B.C.)

[123] M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige* (VAB 7), Leipzig 1916, Vol. II, p. 140, lines 36-45; R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals,* Wiesbaden 1996, p. 19, C II 50-59, and p. 212.

[124] R. Borger, *op. cit.* (n. 123), p. 19.

[125] P. Gaber, *Idalion,* in *OEANE*, New York-Oxford 1997, Vol. III, p. 137-138; M. Hadjicosti, *The Kingdom of Idalion in the Light of New Evidence,* in *BASOR* 308 (1997), p. 49-63.

[126] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 23b.

attributes this epithet to Apollo[127], who was the main god of the Cypriot Greeks. He had assumed the features of an ancient local deity and was identified with the Phoenician god Resheph[128]. At Idalium, Apollo was worshipped especially under the name of *to-A-po-lo-ni to-A-mu-ko-lo-i* (dative)[129], in Phoenician *Ršp (h)mkl*[130], obviously ὁ 'Απόλλων ὁ ''Αμυκλος, from Amyclae ('Αμύκλαι) in southern Peloponnesus[131]. One of the inscriptions even specifies *Ršpmkl b'dyl*[132], "Resheph of Amyclae who is at Idalium", clearly indicating that this god's worship was transplanted to Idalium from another place, obviously Amyclae.

However, the epithet of Apollo has been related to the probable Eteocypriot name Mukla of Amathus[133], that should appear in a bilingual inscription from this site, where the Eteocypriot text *u-mi-e-sa-:i-***mu-ku-la**-*:i-la-sa-na* parallels Greek ἡ πόλις ἡ 'Αμαθουσίων[134]. But 'Αμυκλαῖον, which is the name of the temple of Apollo of Amyclae[135], is also the name of Apollo's sanctuary at Gortyn, on Crete[136], and this old toponym may have designated Amathus as well. The fact is that no Apollo of Amathus is known, while the pre-Dorian Greek population which emigrated to Cyprus was native from the Peloponnesus. This is indicated by the common Arcado-Cypriot dialect of Greek, spoken also

[127] EURIPIDES, *Andromache* 900.

[128] LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 187-188.

[129] In syllabic Greek: *ICS* 220.

[130] In Phoenician inscriptions from Idalium: *CIS* I, 89-94 = *KAI* 38-40 = A. CAQUOT - O. MASSON, *Deux inscriptions phéniciennes de Chypre,* in *Syria* 45 (1968), p. 295-321 (see p. 302-313). For the origin and meaning of this epithet, see E. LIPIŃSKI, *Resheph Amyklos*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 87-99.

[131] For the Apollo sanctuary at Idalium, see R. SENFF, *Das Apollonheiligtum von Idalion. Architektur und Statuenausstattung eines zyprischen Heiligtums*, Jonsered 1993. The cult at Amyclae, in the Peloponnesus, goes back to Mycenaean times, but Apollo is believed to have supplanted the earlier god Hyacinthus ('Υάκινθος) only in the 8^{th} century B.C.; cf. the summarized presentation by N.G.L. HAMMOND, *The Peloponnese*, in *CAH* III/1, 2^{nd} ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 696-744 (see p. 732-733); Y. LAFOND, *Amyklai*, in *Der Neue Pauly* I, Stuttgart-Weimar 1996, col. 634 with recent literature. See also E. BUSCHOR, *Vom Amyklaion*, in *AM* 52 (1927), p. 1-23.

[132] *CIS* I, 90 = *KAI* 38 = *TSSI* III, 34, line 2.

[133] E. SCAFA, *La bilingue di Amatunte (ICS n. 196) ed i rapporti tra eteocyprioti e greci*, in *Lingue e culture in contatto nel mondo antico e altomedievale*, Brescia 1993, p. 517-528; ID., *Sul nome eteociprio di Amatunte,* in *RDAC* 1996, p. 159-163.

[134] *ICS* 196. E. SCAFA, *art. cit.* (n. 133), proposes translating *i-la-sa-na* either as a verb meaning "erected" ("This statue, the city of Mukla erected for ...") or as the name of Alashiya ("This statue is from the city of Mukla in Alashiya for ...").

[135] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* V, 18.23.

[136] See the references in E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 130), p. 99 with n. 44.

in Pamphylia, and by Laconian isoglosses[137]. Now, the site of the Amyklaion, excavated by the German School at Athens in 1925, seems to have had continuous occupation since Mycenaean times and the local cult of Apollo is there older than the sanctuary built in the 8^{th} century B.C.[138] The pre-Dorian city of Amyclae probably lay nearby at Palaeopiryi, the largest Late Helladic settlement discovered so far in Laconia, but not yet excavated.

We do not know whether a particular royal ideology was implied by the name 'Ακέστωρ, but it is remarkable that the same name was borne in the 7^{th} century B.C. by a king of Paphos, whose name is engraved on a silver bowl[139].

Chytroi

The second Cypriot king is ^{m}*Pi-la-a-gu-ra(-a) šar* ^{uru}*Ki-it-ru-si*. ^{uru}*Ki-it-ru-si* is commonly identified with Chytroi (Χύτροι), present-day Kythrea, where a Phoenician inscription from the first part of the 7^{th} century B.C. was found[140]. The name of its sovereign is not Πυλαγόρας[141], but Φιλαγόρας, a personal name of which there is evidence on Cyprus[142].

Salamis

From Chytroi, the road would spontaneously lead the traveller to Salamis, where Esarhaddon's list names ^{m}*Ki-(i-)su* or *Qí-(i-)su šar* ^{uru}*Si-(il-)lu-(u/*u_8*-)a*. The identification of this town with Salamis on Cyprus, in Greek Σαλαμίς, is sometimes considered uncertain[143], but there is no

[137] J. V. KARAGEORGHIS, *The Ancient Cypriot Dialects*, in Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί 17 (1953), p. 3-14; V. KARAGEORGHIS, *The Greek Language in Cyprus: The Archaeological Background,* in *Greek Language in Cyprus*, Nicosia 1988, p. 1-8; M. SAKELLARIOU, *Achéens et Arcadiens,* in *Greek Language in Cyprus*, Nicosia 1988, p. 9-17; J. KARAGEORGHIS, *L'apport des gloses à notre connaissance du dialecte chypriote ancien,* in *Greek Language in Cyprus*, Nicosia 1988, p. 181-198; L. DUBOIS, *L'arcadien et le chypriote: deux dialectes cousins,* in *Mélanges Olivier Masson*, Paris 1998, p. 83-92. See also below, p. 72.

[138] N.G.L. HAMMOND, in *op. cit.* (n. 131), p. 732-733. According to V.R. d'A. DESBOROUGH, *The Greek Dark Ages*, London 1972, p. 84, it is "certain that the sanctuary of Amyclae remained in use throughout the Dark Ages".

[139] T.B. MITFORD, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, Philadelphia 1971, p. 374, No. 217a; *ICS* 180a, p. 412.

[140] See here above, p. 58-59.

[141] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 395c.

[142] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 458b. See also *ICS*, p. 122, 387; O. MASSON - T.B. MITFORD, *Les inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos* (Augrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern 4), Mainz a/R 1987, No. 47.

[143] *ICS*, p. 217 and 312.

other serious alternative. Salamis occupied the centre of the large Famagusta Bay which looks towards the Syro-Phoenician coast, and would naturally be one of the places where Phoenicians would first land. There is no natural harbour beyond that afforded by the mouth of the Pediaeus. The Bronze Age city was situated about 2 km from the sea, at Enkomi, but Salamis was built on the sea shore, precisely near the mouth of the Pediaeus, and it yielded exceptional remains which can claim to be regarded as Phoenician.

The place name could be of Semitic origin as suggested by the similar name of *Šlmy*[144], ^{uru}*Šal-me-ia*[145], ^{uru}*Šal-mi-ia*[146] or ^{uru}*Šal-ma(-a)*[147] in texts from Ugarit. The Greek syllabic vocalization of the ethnicon *Se-la-mi-ni-o-se*[148] would indicate a city name *Šelāmi*, which became *Šilōwi* or *Šelōwi* under joint influence of the Phoenician *ā* > *ō* change and of the passage from the intervocalic *m* to *w*. As for the ruler's name in Esarhaddon's list, there have been attempts at interpreting it as 'Ακέσας, which hardly corresponds to the written form. There is the Greek name Κίσσος or Κισσός, "ivy", attested on the islands of Delos, Naxos, Samos, and Thasos, with its Attic counterpart Κιττός in Crete and Euboea[149], but it does not explain either the long *ī* of ^{m}*Ki-i-su*, possibly resulting from the contraction of *ay,* or the diphthong *ey*, if one reads ^{m}*Ke-i-su*. Since the same name is apparently borne in the 7th century B.C. by a king in north-eastern Arabia[150], it might be the West-Semitic *Qīš* < *Qayš*, borne by the father of king Saul of Israel, as well as by other biblical characters[151]. It is attested in Nabataean (*Qyšw*), in Ṣafaitic and Thamudic, also under the contracted form[152]. *Qays* appears

[144] *KTU* 4.33, 3; 4.49, 2; 4.51, 14; 4.68, 18; 4.382, 29.

[145] RS. 19.42, in J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* VI, Paris 1970, No. 79, lines 2 and 5.

[146] RS. 19.46, *ibid.*, No. 138, line 18; RS. 20.03, published by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, p. 92, No. 26, lines 21 (*Ša-al-mi-ia*) and 30.

[147] RS. 17.340, in J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 51, line 6'; RS. 17.62, *ibid.*, p. 67, line 23' (*Ša-al-ma*); RS. 19.74 and 19.129, in ID., *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* VI, Nos. 95, line 6, and 111, line 11.

[148] *ICS* 338, 4; 385; 395; 427b, 2.

[149] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 256a-b. The identification with Κίσσος is accepted by G. NEUMANN, *Beiträge zum Kyprischen* XV. 47. *Die Namen der "zehn Könige von Iadnana"*, in *Kadmos* 33 (1994), p. 4-6 (see p. 5).

[150] R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 88), p. 56, col. IV, 62.

[151] Patronymic of king Saul: I Sam. 9, 1.3; 10, 11.21; 14, 51; II Sam. 21, 14; I Chron. 8, 30.33; 9, 36.39; 12, 1; 26, 28. Other characters: I Chron. 23, 21.22; 24, 29; 29, 12; Esther 2, 5.

[152] A. NEGEV, *Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm* (Qedem 32), Jerusalem 1991, p. 58, No. 1031; HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 481 (*QS*), possibly p. 482 (*QŠ*); *Safaitic Cairns*, p. 603.

further as a tribal name[153] and as Καεις in a Greek transcription[154]. The name *Qys*[1] occurs also in South-Semitic as a personal and a tribal name with two attestations in Minaic[155]. The noun *qīšu* and its feminine derivative *qīštu* appear in a number of Amorite and Akkadian names, generally determined by a theophorous element[156]. The name means "allotted gift" and the basic meaning of the verb *qyš* is the same in Akkadian and in Arabic, where the sense "to measure out", "to apportion", still occurs quite often, although the connotation "to measure", "to compare" is better attested nowadays[157]. In Phoenician, there is one possible example of the use of *qš* in anthroponomy beside the name of the king of Salamis. A feminine name *Qšḥt* occurs at Carthage and it probably means "gift of a sister"[158].

However, if one reads ^{m}*Ke-i-su*, the Lycian proper name Κεισος should be taken into account as well[159]. It may appear with the contraction of the diphthong in a patronymic attested on an ostracon from Tell Ǧemmeh, dating to the first half of the 7th century B.C. and apparently listing Philistines. The first line reads *lhrš.bnkš*[160], what can be understood: "for Horaš, son of Kēš". In this hypothesis, Esarhaddon's vassal from Salamis would have been of Anatolian origin.

Instead, if the king of Salamis in the first half of the 7th century B.C. was a Semite, the rich "royal" tombs of the 8th and 7th centuries should be attributed to rulers of Phoenician descent. In any event, it is noteworthy that their funerary furniture includes many objects of Phoenician workmanship[161], that Phoenician inscriptions on vases dating from the

[153] J. CANTINEAU, *Le Nabatéen* II, Paris 1932, p. 143.

[154] H. WUTHNOW, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des Vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, p. 60, 164.

[155] HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 492.

[156] M. BIROT, *Noms de personnes,* in *ARM* XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 43-249 (see p. 171-172); I.J. GELB, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (AS 21), Chicago 1980, p. 341; J.J. STAMM, *Akkadische Namengebung*, Leipzig 1939, p. 259; *AHw*, p. 924a; *CAD*, Q, p. 280.

[157] R. ZADOK, *op. cit.* (n. 114), p. 140-141, seems to distinguish the Akkadian noun from the Arabic one semantically.

[158] *CIS* I, 6058. The explanation retained by BENZ, p. 407, who relates the name to *qšḥ*, "to be hard", is unlikely from the semantic and onomastic points of view. There are no examples for the use of this root in personal names.

[159] L. ZGUSTA, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, p. 221, §571.

[160] IDAM, No. 84.208, published by J. NAVEH, *Writing and Scripts in Seventh-Century B.C.E. Philistia: The New Evidence from Tell Jemmeh,* in *IEJ* 35 (1985), p. 8-21 and Pls. 2-4 (see No. 1, p. 11-12 and Pl. 3). The name *Hrš* may be related to Greek Ορας and Epichoric Lycian *Hura*; cf. L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 379, §1100-1 and 2.

[161] V. KARAGEORGHIS (ed.), *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis,* I and III, Nicosia 1967 and 1973-74.

9th and 8th centuries B.C. have been recovered at Salamis[162], and that Phoenician-type jars were used for a certain number of children's graves unearthed at Salamis[163]. The possibly Semitic name of king Qish would seem to indicate that Salamis in the 8th and 7th centuries, if not already in the 9th century B.C., was a Phoenician kingdom. This would offer a suitable framework for the various discoveries attesting to the Phoenician past of the town.

Leaving Salamis in the south-western direction, one reaches the coastal site of Palaeokastro, south of Pyla, where a Phoenician dedication to *Ršp-Š*[..] from the 7th century B.C. was discovered, probably in 1902[164]. Two signs are apparently missing at the end of the inscription and one wonders whether the god was no "Resheph of Salamis", *Ršp Š[lm]*[165]. Citium lies further to the south-west, but Esarhaddon's inscriptions do not mention any king in this city, possibly depending then from Sidon-Tyre[166].

Paphos

The fourth Cypriot ruler listed by the Assyrian scribes is ^{m}*I-tu-u/ú-an-da-ar šar* ^{uru}*Pa-ap-pa*. There is no hesitation in identifying *Pa-ap-pa* with Πάφος, already mentioned in the *Odyssey* VIII, 363, present-day Kouklia, situated in the southwest of the island[167]. Similarly, the name of

[162] M. SZNYCER, *art. cit.* (n. 27).

[163] Y. CALVET, *Sur certains rites funéraires à Salamine de Chypre*, in *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie*, Paris 1980, p. 115-121.

[164] *RÉS* 1214, published again by A. CAQUOT - O. MASSON, *art. cit.* (n. 130), p. 295-300. Although the large head of Bes discovered on the same spot fits in the socle bearing the inscription, as noticed by A. HERMARY, *Deux ex-voto chypriotes reconstitués*, in *La Revue du Louvre* 34 (1984), p. 238-240, their disproportion does not suggest that they originally formed one monument. As for the restitution *Ršp-Š*[*d*], proposed by M. SZNYCER (*ibid.*, p. 239), it does not fill up the space broken off.

[165] One wonders whether the second element of the divine name *Ršp*^{d} *Š3rm'n3*^{d} on an Egyptian stele from the 15th century B.C. refers to the god *Šalmān*, or is an older form of the name of Salamis. For this stele (Aberdeen 1578), see I. CORNELIUS, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al* (OBO 140), Fribourg-Göttingen 1994, p. 36-37 and Pl. 9, RR11, with former literature, but without mentioning this possible interpretation of *Š3rm'n3*^{d}, already proposed by M. LIDZBARSKI, in *ZA* 20 (1898), p. 328, and repeated by M. YON, *Salamine*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 385-386.

[166] The existence of the city in the 7th century B.C. with a Phoenician population is demonstrated by two jars and a fragment bearing short Phoenician inscriptions: *RÉS* 1520 and 1521, dated by B. PECKHAM, *op. cit.* (n. 103), p. 16, from the 7th century B.C., and Inscr. Ph. 9 in the Museum of Nicosia, dated to the same period by O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 119. Photographs *ibid.*, Pls. XIII, 3-4 and XVI, 3.

[167] For Paphos and the history of its excavations, see F.G. MAIER - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Paphos*, Nicosia 1984. The final reports of the German excavations at Palaeopaphos are

its ruler is identified with the Greek personal name Ἐτέϝανδρος, "really manly", borne by a king of Paphos called *E-te-wa-to-ro-se* in syllabic Greek[168]. Since the Greek syllabic inscription dates from the 7th century B.C.[169], this is probably the same king as the one mentioned in Esarhaddon's texts. The cuneiform use of *-u/ú-* in the middle of the name aims at expressing Greek *-wa-*, like Neo-Assyrian scribes do for the same syllable in Anatolian names, for example *Pa-na-am-mu-u*[170] for **Panāmuwa*. Instead, it is remarkable that the cuneiform spelling marks the *n* contiguous to the occlusive, while Cypriot and Pamphylian texts omit it constantly[171]. It seems therefore that this omission was no regular feature of the spoken language.

It is worth recalling that on the site of Skales, 2 km south-east of Kouklia, an enigmatic epigraph in partly Phoenician characters, dating from the 10th century B.C., came to light[172] and that there is evidence of the existence of Phoenician elements at a later period in the Greek kingdom of Paphos, notably during the 5th-3rd centuries B.C.[173]

Soli

From Paphos, the list of Esarhaddon brings us to Soli, on the modern site of Soloi. Soli was situated on the northwest coast of the island, in the recess of the Bay of Morphou. The city stood on the left bank of the Clavius River and covered the northern slope of a low hill detached from the main range, extending towards the south, where prolific veins of copper were exploited in Antiquity. The Canadian excavations of the years 1964-1974 seem to have shown that the site of the classical city was continuously inhabited from the 11th century B.C. onwards[174].

Esarhaddon's inscriptions mention ^{m}*E-re-(e-)su šar* ^{uru}*Si-il-li/lu*. The identification of ^{uru}*Si-il-li/lu* with Soloi is generally accepted[175], despite

published by F.G. MAIER (ed.), *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern*, Konstanz/Mainz a/R 1977 ff.

[168] *ICS* 176; T.B. MITFORD, *op. cit.* (n. 139), No. 1.

[169] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 168c; O. MASSON, *Paphos*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 342-343.

[170] References in *PNA* III/1, p. 983.

[171] M. LEJEUNE, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris 1972, p. 146-147, §143.

[172] Cf. here above, p. 45 and n. 28.

[173] See below, p. 106.

[174] V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Contribution to the Early History of Soloi in Cyprus*, in *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 6 (1973), p. 145-149; J. DES GAGNIERS - TRAN TAM TINH, *Soloi, Dix campagnes de fouillles (1964-1974)* I, Laval 1985; R. GINOUVÈS - TRAN TAM TINH, *Soloi, Dix campagnes de fouillles (1964-1974)* II, Sainte-Foy 1989.

[175] *ICS*, p. 217; *PNA* I/2, p. 398.

the different vocalization of the toponym which may have been influenced by that of Salamis. Instead, the name of the ruler, *E-re-(e-)su*, has defied satisfactory interpretation, since insufficient attention has been paid to the phonetic value of the Neo-Assyrian *s* signs, and to the equivalence of Greek *A* = Neo-Assyrian *E*. The variant spellings *E-re-e-du* and ^{m}*E-re-e-li*, a mistake for ^{m}*E-re-e-tu*[176], confirm the interpretation of the name as Ionic ’Ἄρητος, "desired", a personal name well-known in Homeric literature[177] and attested on the islands Chios, Samos, and Thasos[178], while the dialectal variant ’Ἄρατος occurs elsewhere[179]. The syllabically written form ’Ἄρϝατος is still attested at Paphos in the 6th century B.C.[180], but the Neo-Assyrian transliteration of the name shows no trace of the digamma, contrary to ^{m}*I-tu-u/ú-an-da-ar*, and it reflects the Ionic α > η change[181].

No Phoenician vestiges have been discovered so far at Soloi, but the necropolis of Vouni, a one period (classical) stronghold situated 4 km west of Soloi, has yielded a pithos with the Phoenician inscription *lmlk*, "(belonging) to the king", dating probably from the 5th or 4th century B.C.[182] Re-used in a tomb, this vase had previously belonged to the royal administration of the Persian period, supposed to have occupied the palace of Vouni, the architecture of which shows Achaemenian features.

Curium

Esarhaddon's scribes lead us from Soloi to Curium, with no apparent geographical order, and mention ^{m}*Da-ma-su šar* ^{uru}*Ku-ri-i*. *Ku-ri-i* is commonly accepted as the name of the royal town of Curium, 10 km west of Limassol, and ^{m}*Da-ma-su* is recognized as the Greek personal name Δάμασος, "subduer"[183]. Its interpretation as Δάμας or Δαμᾶς[184] is less likely, because the final ς of the nominative is rarely marked in cuneiform transliteration. The bilingual inscription from Curium, dating probably to the 7th century B.C., was already mentioned above[185].

[176] See here above, p. 62, 63.
[177] *Iliad* XVII, 494, 517, 523, 535; *Odyssey* III, 414, 440.
[178] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 58b.
[179] *Ibid.*, p. 56c.
[180] *Ibid.*, p. 56c; cf. T.B. Mitford - O. Masson, *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos* (Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern 2), Konstanz 1983, No. 12a and p. 89-90.
[181] A. Meillet - J. Vendryes, *op. cit.* (n. 92), p. 98-99, §147.
[182] O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 86-88.
[183] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 114b; *PNA* I/2, p. 374a.
[184] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 114a.
[185] See here above, p. 55-56.

Tamassus

From Curium, we are brought to Tamassus, which lies between Politiko and Pera, almost at the exact geographical centre of the island, by an ancient mining centre[186]. Esarhaddon's list mentions ^{m}*Ad-me-(e-)su šar* ^{uru}*Ta-me-si/su*, which is called Τεμέση in the *Odyssey* I, 184, where the context leaves no doubt about the equation *Ta-me-si* = Τεμέση = Τάμασος or Ταμασσός. In fact, people go "to Temese for bronze", ἐς Τεμέσην μετὰ χαλκόν, as says Athena, clearly indicating that this was the main centre of the Cypriot copper mines. In the same passage, *Odyssey* I, 183 refers to the inhabitants of Temese as speaking a foreign (non-Greek) language (ἐπ’ ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους), obviously the Eteocypriot that must have been spoken in several parts of the island, especially in its centre. The language of the ruling class in the 7th century B.C. was nevertheless Greek, as shown by the name of the king ^{m}*Ad-me-(e-)su*, that must correspond to Ionic ’Ἄδμητος, "indomitable" (Doric ’Αδμᾶτος). The final *su* should indeed be explained as indicated above[187]. This personal name is found already in the *Iliad*[188], where it is borne by a king of Thessaly[189], then later by a ruler of the Molosses[190], and it occurs frequently in inscriptions from the Aegean Islands and Cyrenaica[191].

So far only two Phoenician inscriptions from the 4th century B.C. have been unearthed at the site of Tamassus, but they are significant and important also for the earlier history of the island. Both have been found in 1885 by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter who for ten years (1885-1894) dealt with the sanctuaries and the cemeteries of Tamassus. The inscriptions were discovered in the rural sanctuary of Apollo at Phrangissa, between Pera and Kambia, near the copper mines which probably explain the existence of numerous sanctuaries around Tamassus, with a second one

[186] A description of the site, as well as a history of Tamassus and of the archaeological excavations at the site, are provided by H.-G. Buchholz - K. Untiedt, *Tamassos. Ein antikes Königreich auf Zypern*, Jonsered 1996. For the Tamassus inscriptions, see *ICS*, p. 222-224 (syllabic: *ICS* 214-216, 342); H.-G. Buchholz, *Schriftzeugnisse aus den Augrabungen in Tamassos, Zypern*, in A. Heubeck - G. Neumann (eds.), *Akten des 7. Internationalen Mykenologischen Colloquiums*, Nürnberg 1983, p. 63-77; H.-G. Buchholz - G. Neumann, *Eine kypro-syllabische Inschrift aus Tamassos*, in *Kadmos* 29 (1990), p. 138-143.
[187] See here above, p. 62.
[188] *Iliad* II, 713-714; XXIII, 289, 391, 532.
[189] Apart from the *Iliad* texts, see Pindar, *Pythian Odes* IV, 126; Plato, *Symposium* 208D; cf. *PW* I, col. 377-380.
[190] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I, 136, 2; cf. *PW* I, col. 380.
[191] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 14b-c.

dedicated to Apollo on the left bank of the Pediaeus River, between Politiko and Pera. Both inscriptions are bilingual, Phoenician and syllabic Greek, and both are dedicated to Apollo, identified in Phoenician with Resheph[192]. However, one is addressed *to-i A-pe-i-lo-ni / to-i E-le-i-ta-i*, i.e. τῷ 'Απείλωνι τῷ 'Ελείτᾳ, "to Apeilon of Helos", in Phoenician *Ršp 'lyyt*[193], the other *to-i A-po-lo-ni to-i A-la-si-o-ta-i*, i.e. τῷ 'Απόλλωνι τῷ 'Αλασιώτᾳ, "to Apollo of Alashiya", in Phoenician *Ršp 'lhyts*[194].

The dialectal form 'Απείλων of Apollo's name in the first inscription differs from his Dorian name 'Απέλλων at Amyclae. This implies a proto-form 'Απέλyον, like Cypriot αἶλος and Classical ἄλλος must go back to *ἄλyος, "other"[195]. The epithet 'Ελείτας is most likely a derivative of 'Ελος (genitive 'Ελε-ος)[196], the city Helos on the Laconian Gulf, south of Amyclae[197]. The Phoenician surname *'lyyt* of Resheph is a transliteration of *E-le-i-ta-i*, but the second *y* should have been engraved after *t*, thus **'lyty*, since the diphthong *ai* was not yet contracted to *ē* in the Cypriot dialects of the early 4th century B.C.[198]

The Phoenician epithet *'lhyts* of Resheph in the second inscription is based on the Greek nominative 'Αλασιώτας, not on the dative. The spelling with *h* corresponding to *s* in syllabic Greek confirms the Arcado-Cypriot and Laconian change of secondary intervocalic *-s-* into *-h-*[199]. The loss of the sibilant in Laconian should probably be explained by the influence of the Arcadian substratum, since Arcadian is likely to have been once spoken throughout the Peloponnesus before it was shut in by the Dorian migration. These inscriptions thus contain linguistic information about the origins of the Greek population on Cyprus.

The beginnings of the Cypriot kingdom of Tamassus may be dated to the 8th century B.C., when copper mining was flourishing in this area. In the same period begins the development of Amathus, and the Phoenician high-commissioner appears then at Carthage (Cyprus). These events are

[192] O. MASSON, *Tamassos*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 435-436.
[193] *ICS* 215; *RÉS* 1212 = *KAI* 41.
[194] *ICS* 216; *RÉS* 1213.
[195] M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 171), p. 171, §176.
[196] The etymological meaning of the city name is "marshy land". Classical adjectives derived from this noun are ἑλειήτης and ἕλειος.
[197] *Iliad* II, 584, mentions Helos next to Amyclae.
[198] M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 171), p. 230-231, §242.
[199] O. HOFFMANN, *Die griechischen Dialekte* I, Göttingen 1891, p. 201-202; E. SCHWYZER, *Griechische Grammatik* I, München 1939, p. 217; M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 171), p. 94, §83-3; p. 98-99, §88; E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 222.

certainly connected and the mention of the king of Carthage immediately after the king of Tamassus in Esarhaddon's list reveals a link between the two places also in the mind of the Assyrian scribes[200].

Carthage

ᵐDa-mu-u/ú-si šar ᵘʳᵘQar-ti-ḫa-da-as-ti is undoubtedly the king of *Qart ḥadašt*, the Phoenician "new town" on Cyprus. The explanation of the ruler's name is less obvious. Although it would seem that a Greek etymon should be ruled out in a city called Carthage, the Cypriot name Δαμῶς has to be taken into consideration, as well as two Semitic interpretations, very different from one another. Following E. Gjerstad, the writer suggested that the personal name in question be attached to the name of Tammuz/Dumuzi[201], but a properly Phoenician etymology would connect the name with the theophorous element *Damu*, *D'm* in Phoenician[202], followed by the perfect *'ōš* of the verb *'wš*, "to give". The verbal form corresponds perfectly to the cuneiform spelling, in which the variants *si/su* appear indicating that the final vowel has no phonetic value. Further, the form *'ōš* agrees with the vocalization of Phoenician verbs *mediae wāw* in the perfect *qal*, third person masculine singular[203]. The element *'š* is abundantly attested in Phoenician-Punic anthroponomy, but it always appears at the beginning of the name[204] and can then be interpreted in three different ways: "man of", the noun *'īš* in the construct state, followed by a divine name; or "given by", the passive participle of *'wš* followed by the divine name; or again "has given", the perfect qal of the same verb followed by the divine name which would then be the subject. The existence of the feminine personal name *'š'štrt*[205] proves at least that the verb *'wš* was in fact used in anthroponomy. If this interpretation of the name of the king of *Qart ḥadašt* is accepted, its Phoenician alphabetic spelling would be **D'm'š*, "Damu has given".

[200] However, local inscriptions do not provide any Phoenician proper names before the 5th century B.C.: H.-G. BUCHHOLZ, *Gedanken zu einer Prosopographie von Tamassos, Zypern*, in *Onomata. Revue Onomastique* 13 (1989-90), p. 72-82; cf. ID., *Antike Personen in Tamassos, Zypern*, in *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft* 27 (1990), p. 55-70.
[201] E. GJERSTAD, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV/2, Stockholm 1948, p. 449-450 with n. 9; ID., *The Phoenician Colonization and Expansion in Cyprus*, in *RDAC* 1979, p. 230-254 (see p. 239). Cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 46), p. 213-215.
[202] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Le dieu Damu dans l'onomastique d'Ébla*, in L. CAGNI (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985*, Napoli 1987, p. 91-99; T.N.D. METTINGER, *The Riddle of Resurrection. "Dying and Rising Gods" in the Ancient Near East*, Stockholm 2001, p. 137-146.
[203] J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 109, §167.
[204] BENZ, p. 277-278.
[205] *CIS* I, 846, 3; 5129, 3-4.

However, the syllabically written name *Ta-ma-wo-se* (genitive), attested in the 5th or 4th century B.C.[206], fits the cuneiform spelling very well and represents a Cypriot tradition. In fact, this man's son was Δαμοθίας, a name which occurs on Cyprus also at Soloi, where Damothias' father was called Δαμοκλῆς[207]. These names are formed with the Dorian noun δᾶμος, "people", while the ending -Ϝος of *Ta-ma-wo-se* is likely to be here hypocoristic[208].

Since **D'm'š* is not attested so far in Semitic, a Greek interpretation of ᵐ*Da-mu-u/ú-si* is more likely. If this is correct, this name provides a quite important information, since it would show that a king with a Greek name governed *Qart-ḥadašt* in the 7th century B.C., less than a century after the Sidonian governorship of *Ab/ḥiṭōb*, known from the Baal of Lebanon inscriptions[209]. Also later kings of Amathus bear Greek names, like *Wo-ro-i-ko* in the 5th century B.C. and his later namesake 'Ροῖκος in the 4th century[210]. On the other hand, a king of Amathus *ca.* 360 B.C., known from the syllabic Greek legend *E-pi-pa-lo* of his coins[211], certainly bore the Phoenician name Abibaal.

Ledra

The next king is ᵐ*U-na-sa-gu-su šar* ᵘʳᵘ*Li-di-ir*. There is no doubt that ᵘʳᵘ*Li-di-ir* is Ledra, present-day Nicosia[212], and that the ruler bears the typically Cypriot name of 'Ονασαγόρας[213], "Beneficial to the agora". However, considering that Neo-Assyrian *ú* also transcribes *wa* and that intervocalic ξ may occasionally be assimilated to σσ[214], one should also consider the possibility that ᵐ*U-na-sa-gu-su* stands for *Ϝανασσαγόρας, classical 'Αναξαγόρας, "Chief of the agora". The name is attested in the Cypriot syllabic spelling *Wa-na-ka-sa-ko-ra-se*[215] and it was borne in the 5th or 4th century B.C. by a king of the Cypriot city of Soloi[216]. However, the Cypriot spelling *-ka-sa-* and the later cuneiform practice of marking ξ by two signs v*k-s*v[217] suggest discarding this interpretation. At any rate, the cuneiform sign *ra* is missing in all the copies of the Neo-Assyrian list, either as the result of a scribal mistake, or because of an abbreviation *-agoras/-agoros* > *-agos* in the Greek name itself[218]. Instead, the scribes marked the final *su* indicating the Greek nominative ending, although this is usually not expressed in writing, as for instance in *Pi-la-a-gu-ra(-a)*.

The epigraphy of Ledra is still very poor and it is therefore not surprising that we do not possess a single Phoenician inscription from that town. The steatite vase from the 11th century B.C., bought in the 19th century at Nicosia, cannot be regarded as a piece of evidence for a Phoenician presence in this region of Cyprus[219].

Marium

The last king of the list is ᵐ*Bu-ṣu-su* or ᵐ*Pu-ṣu-su šar* ᵘʳᵘ*Nu-ri/*ZALÁG-*ia/e*. Given the frequency of the *m* > *n* change in Semitic languages[220], also in Akkadian[221] and in Phoenician-Punic[222], it is probable that *Nu-ri-a/e* is Marium, the present-day Polis-tis-Khrisokhou[223] on the northwest coast of the island. The cuneiform spelling would correspond to *Nōriy-*, derived from *Māriy-* and also reflecting the *ā* > *ō* change resulting from a Phoenician intermediary in the transmission of the place name.

[206] *ICS* 429 with Fig. 143 and Pl. LXVI, 2; C. Traunecker - Fr. Le Saout - O. Masson, *La Chapelle d'Achôris à Karnak* II, *Texte*, Paris 1981, p. 266-267, No. 17.

[207] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 115b-c, 119b.

[208] For the -Ϝος suffix, see A. Meillet - J. Vendryes, *op. cit.* (n. 92), p. 387-388, §581. The interpretation "giant enemy", as well as the reference to Δαμυσος and to W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3rd ed., Braunschweig 1911, Vol. I, p. 270, in *PNA* I/2, p. 375a, cannot be correct.

[209] See here above, p. 46-47.

[210] O. Masson, *Variétés Chypriotes* III. *Une nouvelle monnaie d'Amathonte au nom du roi Wroikos*, in *RDAC* 1982, p. 150-151 and Pls. XXXI-XXXII. Other Greek royal names of the late 5th century and the first part of the 4th century B.C. at Amathus are Pyrrhus, Zotimus, Lysander: *ICS* 198-201; P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 397, 198c, 292a; M. Amandry, *Le monnayage d'Amathonte revisité*, in *Mélanges Olivier Masson*, Paris 1998, p. 35-44 and Pls. XI-XII.

[211] P. Perdrizet, *Statère chypriote au nom d'Epipalos*, in *Revue Numismatique*, 4th ser., 2 (1898), p. 207-209; G.F. Hill, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Cyprus*, London 1904, p. xxvii and 6, No. 17, Pl. II, 1; *ICS* 202, p. 211-212; P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 159b.

[212] *ICS*, p. 229-232. Remains of the ancient city have recently been discovered at the site where the new parliament building has to be erected.

[213] *ICS* , p. 229 and n. 2; index on p. 414a; P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 349b. The element ονασ- was already recognized by K.L. Tallqvist, *APN*, p. xix. *ICS* 438b, p. 424, also mentions 'Ονασαγόρος.

[214] M. Lejeune, *op. cit.* (n. 171), p. 73 and 117. This change occurs with ἀνάσσοω, "to reign", and ἄνασσα, "queen", both derivatives of Ϝανακ-; cf. *ibid.*, p. 103, §93-2; p. 108, §98-4.

[215] *ICS* 432 with Pl. LXVII, 1; C. Traunecker - Fr. Le Saout - O. Masson, *op. cit.* (n. 206), p. 268, No. 20.

[216] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 35c.

[217] See below, p. 81, n. 254.

[218] This is the opinion of G. Neumann, *Beiträge zum Kyprischen* XV. 46. *Personennamen auf* -ako, in *Kadmos* 33 (1994), p. 4.

[219] For this vase, see here below, p. 110-113.

[220] Lipiński, *Semitic*, §11.7; §27.30; §29.26; §41.35.

[221] W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, Roma 1952, p. 31-32, §31b, c, f.

[222] J. Friedrich - W. Röllig, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 29, §54a, and here above, p. 62.

[223] *ICS*, p. 150-153.

The ruler's name, ^{m}*Bu-ṣu-su* or ^{m}*Pu-ṣu-su,* has been interpreted as Πυθέας, but the cuneiform spelling does not lend itself to this explanation and the name is never attested on Cyprus. As for *Φύσος, a possible variant of Φυσίς[224], it implies the exceptional indication of the Greek nominative ending -ς and does not take the difference of *ṣu* and *su* into account. Therefore, if ^{m}*Bu-ṣu-su* correctly reproduces the personal name in question, one could consider a name like Βουθύτης, Βουθύτου in the genitive, "Sacrificer of oxen". This qualification was attributed to Pythagoras[225] and may thus be used also as a proper name. In this interpretation, we could retain the equivalence between the Greek intervocalic *t* and the Neo-Assyrian *s*, as we did in the case of *Ad-me-(e-)su* and *E-re-(e-)su*, while the choice of the sign *ṣu* to render the Greek θυ must reflect the peculiar sibilant sound announcing the Laconian shift θ > σ in front of a vowel, attested as such in the 5th century B.C. in literary works[226]. If this explanation is correct, it has a bearing on the question of the native dialect spoken by some segments of the Greek population of Cyprus and on the origins of the worship of Apollo Amyklos. The region of Marium yielded one of the earliest Eteocypriot inscriptions, painted on the shoulder of a jug dated to about 750 B.C.[227] It is not impossible therefore that ^{m}*Bu-ṣu-su* is an Eteocypriot name. However, Marium also provided several Greek syllabic inscriptions[228], the earliest going probably back to the beginning of the 7th century B.C., since its four signs *Pi-lo-ti-mo* (Φιλότιμος)[229] appear to be contemporary with the Archaic white-painted jug on which they are written[230]. The name of the king may thus be Greek as well.

The mention of a king of Marium in Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's texts fits the archaeological evidence. The site was occupied from *ca.* 1000 B.C. on, as shown by the earliest architectural remains, but the city flourished particularly in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., when a largely excavated sanctuary was erected at Marium[231].

[224] G. NEUMANN, *art.cit.* (n. 134), p. 5. Φυσίς is attested at Eretria (Euboea), in the 3rd century B.C.: P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 78), p. 477b.

[225] PROCLUS, *In primum Euclidis librum commentarius*, ed. G. FRIEDLEIN, Leipzig 1873, §426F.

[226] A. MEILLET - J. VENDRYES, *op. cit.* (n. 92), p. 64-65, §89; M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 171), p. 61, §49.

[227] Kouklia Museum 569: V. TATTON-BROWN (ed.), *Cyprus BC: 7000 Years of History*, London 1979, p. 100-101, No. 314.

[228] *ICS*, p. 150-188.

[229] *ICS* 167h, p. 411; P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 470b.

[230] V. TATTON-BROWN, *op. cit.* (n. 227), p. 101, No. 315.

[231] W.A.P. CHILDS, *The Iron Age Kingdom of Marion,* in *BASOR* 308 (1997), p. 37-48.



Terracotta ram-horned Ammon of Siwa from the Meniko sanctuary (northwest of Tamassus). Archaic period (600-500 B.C.), when several Cypriot cities were subdued by pharaoh Amasis (568-526 B.C.). (Cyprus Museum. Photo: Courtesy of the Director of Antiquities and the Cyprus Museum).

3. Persian Period (6th-4th Centuries B.C.)

No information is available concerning the situation on Cyprus in Neo-Babylonian times, except that Polycharmus alludes to direct contacts between Naucratis and Cyprus[232], possibly in that period, and that Herodotus records the conquest of the island by pharaoh Amasis (568-526 B.C.), who subdued several cities and imposed them a tribute[233]. His good relations with Cyrene might explain the introduction of the cult of Zeus Ammon in the island[234].

[232] POLYCHARMUS OF NAUCRATIS, in *FGH* III C, §640, Frg. 1. The date 688/5 B.C. given in the text is too high, since Naucratis was founded towards the end of the 7th century B.C., as shown mainly by pottery, examined lately by D. PIEKARSKI, *Die Keramik aus Naukratis im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn*, Wiesbaden 2001; cf. T.F.R.G. BRAUN, *The Greeks in Egypt,* in *CAH* III/3, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 32-56 (see p. 38).

[233] HERODOTUS, *History* II, 182. Cf. DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* I, 68.

[234] HERODOTUS, *History* II, 181, mentions an alliance concluded between Amasis and Cyrene. — For the worship of Zeus Ammon in Cyprus, one can consult E. LIPIŃSKI, *Zeus Ammon et Baal Ḥammon,* in *Religio Phoenicia* (Studia Phoenicia IV), Namur 1986, p. 307-332 (see p. 310-317). For Cypriot staters with the head of Zeus Ammon on the reverse, see A. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES, *Monnaies trouvées en 1991 près d'Alyki à Larnaca,* in *BCH* 119 (1995), p. 629-638, in particular p. 635-637.

Cyprus surrendered to Cambyses (529-522 B.C.), probably in 526/5 B.C. In fact, Herodotus states explicitly that Cambyses added "Egypt and the Sea" to Cyrus the Great's dominions, using the official Persian nomenclature of provinces, attested at Behistun (DB I, 15) and Susa (DSaa)[235]. The submission of the Cypriot kings is understandable, if Cambyses had created a Persian navy in the years prior to 525 B.C., i.e. on the eve of the surrender of Cyprus and just in time to avert the threat of Egypt, which under Amasis had become a strong sea power[236]. Evelthon (Εὐέλθων) of Salamis, the most powerful of the Cypriot city-kings, seems nevertheless to have resisted the general move. His reign is commonly dated to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.[237], when he appears as the first city-king of Cyprus to strike coins with the Greek syllabic legend giving his name[238]. Herodotus regards him as father of Siromos, grandfather of Chersis, and great grandfather of Gorgos, Onesilos, and Philaon[239], who were active around 500 B.C. and in the early 5th century. However, there is no place for two generations between Evelthon and the three last mentioned brothers. Σιρώμος, i.e. *Ḥirōm*[240], must thus be a Phoenician placed by Cambyses on the throne of Salamis. The Greek syllabic legend *Si-ro-mo-se* appears on Cypriot coins from that period[241], assigned earlier to Paphos[242] but linked now with Salamis[243], although their iconography differs from the Salaminian one[244]. There is no direct report on the death or removal of Evelthon by Cambyses, but the unexpected apparition of Ḥirōm in the king-list of Salamis reveals an intervention of the Great King, disposing of a navy and reposing confidence in his new Phoenician subjects. The news of the accession conflicts in Persia after the death of Cambyses, in 522 B.C., probably favoured the return of the local dynasty to power at Salamis. Chersis (Χέρσις) struck then coins with his name written in syllabic Greek[245].

The Greek cities of Cyprus joined the Ionian revolt in 499/8, except Eteocypriot Amathus that the Greeks besieged[246]. Already in 498, the Persians ran troops across from Cilicia and fell upon Cyprus: a Cypriot army under city-kings was beaten in the central plain and, though some pro-Greek cities, especially Soloi, stubbornly defended their walls, in a year all was over[247]. After the failure of the Ionian revolt, in which

[235] HERODOTUS, *History* III, 19 and 34. At Behistun, the Old Persian version records Darius' provinces as follows: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, **Egypt, Beside the Sea** (*tyaiy drayahyā*), Sardis, Ionia, Media, etc. (R.G. KENT, *Old Persian* [AOS 33], New Haven 1953, p. 117). For DSaa, see F. VALLAT, *Deux nouvelles "chartes de fondation" d'un palais de Darius Ier à Suse*, in *Syria* 48 (1971), p. 53-59, Pls. III-IV, in particular p. 58. Cyprus and Samos, which is mentioned explicitly by Herodotus (III, 44), cannot have been subject to Cyrus, although they may have acted jointly with him in some particular case, as XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia* I, 1, 4; VII, 4, 1; VIII, 6, 8, suggests. This historical novel cannot counterbalance Herodotus' statement and does not justify the dating of the Cypriot surrender to Persia about 545 B.C., as argued by E. GJERSTAD, *op. cit.* (n. 201), p. 471-472, still followed by V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Cyprus*, in *CAH* III/3, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 57-70 (see p. 69). Cf. H.J. WATKIN, *The Cypriot Surrender to Persia*, in *JHS* 107 (1987), p. 154-163. A synthesis of the political and military history of Cyprus in the Persian period is given by E. RAPTOU, *Athènes et Chypre à l'époque perse (VIe-IVe s. av. J.-C.)*, Lyon 1999, p. 237-262, but this book deals mainly with archaeological material showing the relations between Cyprus and Greece.

[236] H.T. WALLINGA, *The Ancient Persian Navy and Its Predecessors*, in H. SANCISI-WEERDENBURG (ed.), *Achaemenid History* I. *Sources, Structures and Synthesis*, Leiden 1987, p. 47-77.

[237] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 162. Cf. *PW. Suppl.* III, Stuttgart 1918, col. 446.

[238] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. LXXXIII-XC and 46-49, Pl. IX, 1-17; B.V. HEAD, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks* (ed. by G.F. HILL), London 1932, p. 19, No. 47, and Pl. 9, 47. Cf. *ICS* 319.

[239] HERODOTUS, *History* V, 104; cf. V, 113; VIII, 11.

[240] Recent *s* becomes *h* in Cypriot Greek and this sound is indicated later by the rough breathing, like in ὕγ-γεμος for σύγ-γεμος, "pregnant": O. HOFFMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 199), p. 201-202; E. SCHWYZER, *op. cit.* (n. 199), p. 217; M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 171), p. 94, §83-3; cf. p. 98-99, §88. In Greek syllabic script, used in Cyprus at the time of Herodotus, the sounds *hi*, *hu*, etc., were traditionally indicated by *si*, *su*, etc: D. MEISTER, *Die griechischen Dialekte* II, Göttingen 1889, p. 247. This spelling is followed by Herodotus.

[241] A.J. SELTMAN, *Some Cypriot Coins*, in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th ser., 4 (1964), p. 75-82 (see p. 78); H.A. TROXELL - W.F. SPENGLER, *A Hoard of Early Greek Coins from Afghanistan*, in *American Numismatic Society. Museum Notes* 15 (1969), p. 1-19 (see p. 12-14); O. MASSON, *Notes de numismatique chypriote*, in *Revue Numismatique*, 6th ser., 30 (1988), p. 29-31.

[242] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), Pls. VII, 1-3 and XXI, 1-2; cf. J.-P. SIX, *Du classement des séries cypriotes*, in *Revue Numismatique*, 3rd ser., 1 (1883), p. 247-374 and Pls. VI-VIII (see p. 352-354 and Pl. VII, 14); *ICS*, p. 116-117 and Pl. VIII, 1-3.

[243] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 147c, s.v. Εἵρωμος with a reference to *ICS* 320.

[244] While Evelthon's coins represent a ram, the staters and tetrobols of *Si-ro-mo-se* have, on the obverse, a man-headed bull kneeling to the right, and usually an astragalus on the reverse: G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), Pls. VII, 1-3 and XXI, 1-2; cf. above, n. 242.

[245] *ICS* 322. Cf. *PW. Suppl.* III, Stuttgart 1918, col. 245.

[246] HERODOTUS, *History* V, 104, 105, 108, 114. In fact, Amathus was a city preserving Phoenician traditions as well, as shown by the name *Yknšm*[*š*] of a graffito inscribed on a bowl and by the use of Phoenician to write the non-Semitic name *'mryk* in another inscription from Amathus: M. SZNYCER, *Une inscription phénicienne d'Amathonte*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 389-390 (*lyknšm*[*š*]); ID., *Une nouvelle inscription phénicienne d'Amathonte (Chypre)*, in *Semitica* 49 (1999), p. 195-197 (*l'mryk*).

[247] HERODOTUS, *History* V, 108-116. A Neo-Elamite tablet dated in 494 B.C. (R.T. HALLOCK, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* [OIP 92], Chicago 1969, No. 1527) mentions 1150 workmen from Kupru (Cyprus) sent to work in Elam. These are likely to be Greeks deported from the island after the failure of the Ionian revolt, as suggested by M. HELTZER, *The Persian Invasion to Cyprus and the Date of the Submission of Evagoras*, in

Cypriots participated, the Persians used the Phoenicians in the administration of various kingdoms of the island. Citium was particularly favoured in such a political atmosphere, but in western Cyprus also Marium experimented a Phoenician rule in the first part of the 5th century B.C. and, on the northern coast, this was the case of Lapethos as well.

Marium

The site of Marium yielded many Greek inscriptions, mainly written syllabically[248], but so far did not provide any Phoenician epigraph. However, two Phoenician letters appear on coins issued between 470 and 450 by king Sasmas, son of Doxandros[249]. His Phoenician connections are demonstrated by his Cypro-Phoenician name[250] and by the two letters *ml* replacing the syllabically written ethnic name *Ma-ri-e-u-se* on the reverse of two coins bearing his name on the obverse[251]. Despite their usual stance, these letters have to be read *lm* in the left-to-right direction. They strictly correspond to the syllabic Greek legend *Ma-ri-e-u-se*, "of Marium", and mean "(belonging) to Marium", *l-M*(*ry*). The incorrect engraving of the dies reveals the lack of experience in dealing with Phoenician script and indicates that the master of the mint was a Greek. At any rate, Pseudo-Scylax §103 qualifies the city as Greek[252]: Μάριον Ἑλληνίς.

Lapethos

His appreciation of the situation at Lapethos, on the present-day site of Lambousa near the northern coastline, is different, since he specifies: Λήπηθις Φοινίκων. In fact, Phoenician influence at Lapethos was strong, despite the fact that most rulers bore Greek names. The name of the first known king of Lapethos appears in the Phoenician legend of his

Πρακτικὰ τοῦ τρίτου διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ συνεδρίου I, Nicosia 2000, p. 717-719 (see p. 719). Other Neo-Elamite documents referring to Cypriot workmen are quoted by H. KOCH, *Achämeniden-Studien*, Wiesbaden 1993, p. 39. The evident traces of a siege of Paphos and of violent destructions (F.G. MAIER - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *op. cit.* [n. 14], p. 192-203) are not connected necessarily with the events of 499/8. A later conflict may explain these archaeological findings as well.

248 *ICS*, p. 150-185, and O. MASSON, *Inscriptions chypriotes retrouvées ou disparues*, in *Syria* 48 (1971), p. 427-452 (see p. 427-434: "Inscriptions syllabiques de Marion en Pologne").

249 *ICS*, p. 181-182.

250 For the theophorous element *Ssm* of his name, see LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 292-296.

251 O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 79-81 and Pl. I, 1-2.

252 For Pseudo-Scylax, see below, p. 267-268.

coinage that represents the helmeted head of Athena on both sides. The king's name, written on the reverse, can be read *Dmwnks*, what is traditionally interpreted as Δαμόνικος or Δημόνικος[253]. However, final Greek -ος is expressed by *š* in the Phoenician inscriptions from Lapethos. Considering thus that *ks* is the usual Semitic transcription of ξ in Late Babylonian, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Punic[254], one should recognize in *Dmwnks* the Greek proper name Δαμῶναξ or Δημῶναξ, attested also on Cyprus[255]. This is confirmed by the Phoenician spelling with *w*, since this name is a composite of δᾶμο-/δῆμο- and Ϝαναξ[256], a name fit particularly for a ruler. The king's name was thus Demonax. Since the coin in question should be dated about 500 B.C.[257], at any rate before 450 B.C., the use of the Phoenician script may echo the installation of a Phoenician administration after the collapse of the Ionian revolt of 499/8 B.C.

The next king of Lapethos known thanks to his coinage already bears the Phoenician name *Ṣdqmlk*, but the helmeted head of Athena is further represented on both sides of the coins. E.S.G. Robinson conjectured that Demonax I had taken part in the Ionian revolt and was subsequently replaced by Ṣidqimilk[258]. This is a plausible suggestion. The longer legend on the obverse of Ṣidqimilk's coins can now be read confidently *l-Ṣdqmlk mlk Lpš*, "(belonging) to Ṣidqimilk, king of Lapethos"[259].

A Phoenician name occurs again among the kings of Lapethos in the 4th century B.C. and Phoenician legends appear even on coins of kings

253 O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 98 with Fig. 1 on p. 97 and Pl. XI, 1.

254 For post-biblical Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic, see already S. KRAUSS, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* I, Berlin 1898, p. 6. For Late Babylonian, only Alexander is mentioned by W. RÖLLIG, *Griechische Eigennamen in den Texten der babylonischen Spätzeit,* in *Orientalia* 29 (1960), p. 376-391 (see p. 382), but 'Αλέξιππος, written ^{m}*A-lik-si-e-up-pu-su*, is already listed by B.A. BOWMAN, *Anu-uballiṭ-Kefalion*, in *AJSL* 56 (1939), p. 231-243 (see p. 236), and Ξένον, written ^{m}*Ik-si-nu-nu*, appears in G.J.P. MCEWAN, *Arsacid Temple Records,* in *Iraq* 43 (1981), p. 131-143 (see p. 132-133: AB 244, line 18). In the Carthaginian inscription *CIS* I, 5510, 11, "Naxos" is written *Nks* (not *Nws*; cf. below p. 387, n. 254), and Latin *Felix* is transcribed *Plks* or *Plkš* in Neo-Punic inscriptions (JONGELING, *Names*, p. 199).

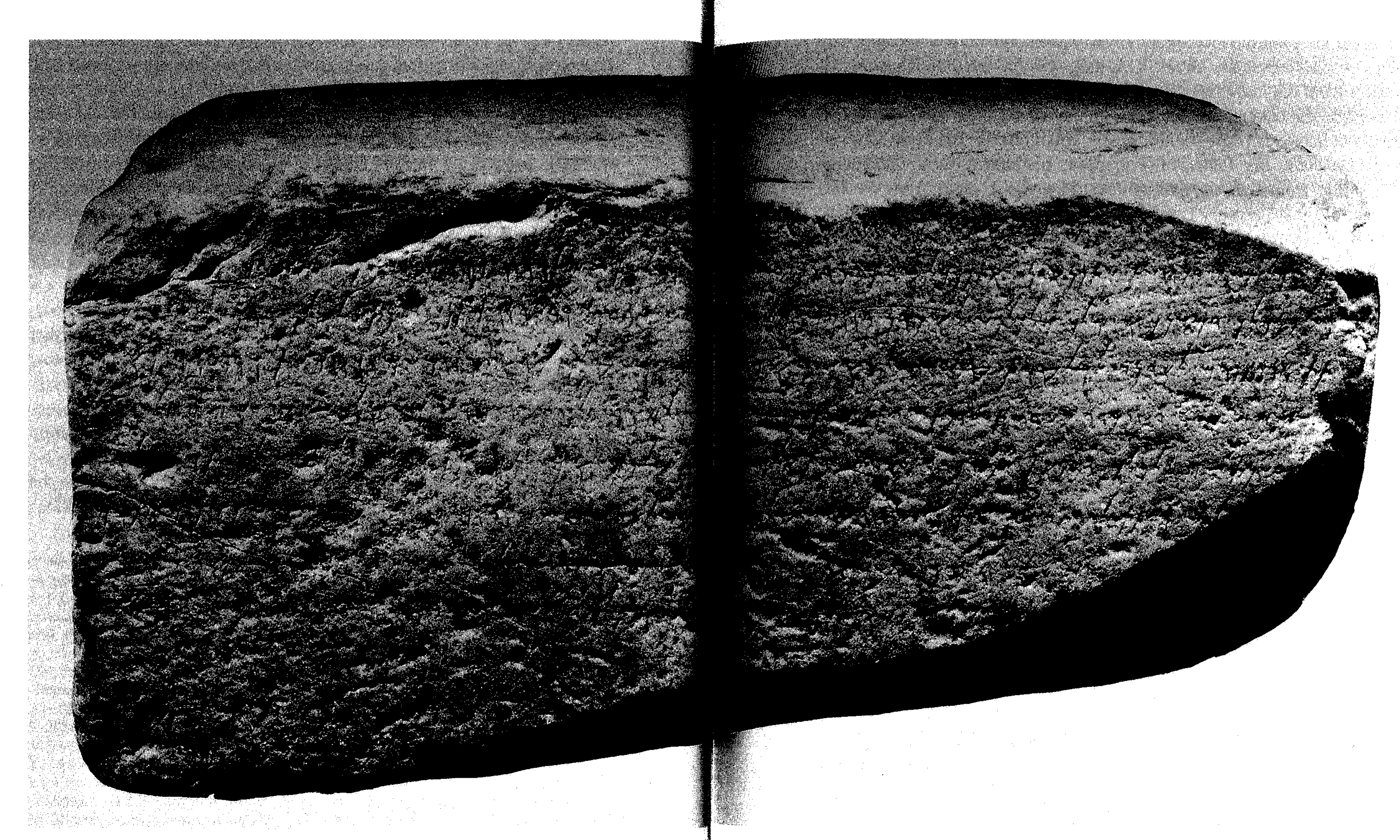
255 P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 119b and 129c.

256 M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 171), p. 322, §372.

257 O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 98, following E.S.G. ROBINSON, *Greek Coins acquired by the British Museum 1938-48* , in *The Numismatic Chronicle,* 6th ser., 8 (1948), p. 43-65 (see p. 61).

258 E.S.G. ROBINSON, *loc. cit.* (n. 257). This conjecture was regarded as "tempting and plausible" by J.C. GREENFIELD, *Larnax tēs Lapethou III Revisited*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 391-401 (see p. 395).

259 O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 98-99 and Pl. XI, 2-5.



Larnaca-tis-Lapithou inscription III (Cyprus Museum; Courtesy of the Director of Antiquities and Cyprus Museum).

bearing a Greek name. The Phoenician legend *lmlk 'ndr m Lpš* can thus be read on a stater datable to *ca.* 415-390 B.C.[260] The inscription follows the known pattern of royal titles: "(belonging) to king Andros[261], k(ing) of Lapethos", but the iconography with Athena on the obverse and Heracles on the reverse are Greek. This king was followed by Demonax II, known from the monetary legends of his coins with standing and armed Athena on the obverse and Heracles on the reverse. The complete legend on his coins reads *⌈l⌉'dmnks mlk Lpš*[262]. It is unlikely that he is identical with *Dmwnks*, the father of Praxippos, mentioned in a Phoenician inscription from Larnaca-tis-Lapithou (III), which dates from the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.[263]

The approximate date of this inscription can be established by comparison with another inscription from Larnaca-tis-Lapithou (II), dated in 274/272 B.C.[264] Both are dedications made respectively by *Prm* (Larnaca-tis-Lapithou III) and by Yatanbaal (Larnaca-tis-Lapithou II), members of the same family, as it seems, whose ancestor was Gerashtart. He was the father of *Prm*[265], "in charge of Lapethos", and the great-great-grandfather of Yatanbaal, "chief of the land"[266]. The dedication of 274/272 B.C. was made by Yatanbaal at the beginning of his appointment as "chief of the land"[267], while *Prm*'s inscription must be placed towards the end of his career. In fact, it mentions dedications in the fourteenth year of Praxippos, son of Demonax (line 2), in the third (line 3)

[260] O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 100, Fig. 2 on p. 97, and Pl. XI, 6.

[261] The abridged form ''Ανδρος of a series of Greek proper names, like Andragoras, Androcles, etc., seems to be attested at Idalium in 222/1 B.C.: T.B. MITFORD, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin: The Inscribed Pottery* (Kadmos, Suppl. 2), Berlin 1980, No. 227, 8; cf. P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 40b.

[262] O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 100, Figs. 3-4 on p. 97, and Pl. XI, 7-9; J.C. GREENFIELD, *art. cit.* (n. 258), p. 393-395 with Figs. 2-3.

[263] A.M. HONEYMAN, *Larnax tēs Lapethou, a Third Phoenician Inscription,* in *Le Muséon* 51 (1938), p. 285-298; P. MAGNANINI, *Le iscrizioni fenicie dell'Oriente*, Roma 1973, p. 125-127. Authors agree that the initial letters *pš* of line 3 constitute the end of the name Praxippos, the first part of which is lost at the end of line 2.

[264] *KAI* 43 =*TSSI* III, 36.

[265] The name of *Prm* does not seem to be Semitic, but it may be Φόρμος, a name borne by an Athenian in HERODOTUS, *History* VII, 182. Considering the geographical location of Lapethos, on the northern coast of Cyprus, an Anatolian name can also be taken into account, for example Παραμοας or Πιρωμις; cf. L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 417 and 432, §1203-1 and §1266.

[266] The genealogical tree of this family is reconstructed by A. PARMENTIER, *Phoenicians in the Administration of Ptolemaic Cyprus,* in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 403-412, in particular p. 408-409.

[267] *Ibid.*, p. 408-409.

and fifteenth (line 6) years of Barikshamash (*Brkšmš*)[268], king of Lapethos, and on further dates probably missing in the fragmentary end of the inscription.

Now, as A.M. Honeyman had noted[269], the order of the dedications is the same in both inscriptions, that is, first the latest dedication in the time, which provides the occasion for the inscription and which is dated to the day, then the earlier dedications in chronological order and with the date given only to the month. Subsequently, *Prm*'s inscription dates from the fourteenth year of Praxippos, son of Demonax, while the other dedications recorded in the text must be dated to the third and fifteenth regnal years of Barikshamash, an earlier king of Lapethos, and probably to other regnal years in lines 7-9, which are scarcely legible and do not allow to ascertain the final date formulae. The span of time taken into consideration amounts therefore to at least twenty-eight years, and the last dedication can be regarded as the final act of a long career, "as a record among the living ones" (line 3). There are two generations between the end of *Prm*'s career and the beginning of Yatanbaal's office as "chief of the land". This represents a span of about forty years and suggests dating *Prm*'s inscription *ca.* 315 B.C. Subsequently, *[Prks]pš* in lines 2-3 of the Larnaca-tis-Lapithou inscription is the same person as Praxippos, the last ruler of Lapethos, deposed by Ptolemy I in 313 B.C.[270] His reign, that lasted at least for fourteen years, started therefore about 328 B.C. Because of the standard coinage introduced by Alexander, no local coins of Praxippos have ever been found and no coins can be attributed so far to his father Demonax. It is likely therefore that Demonax (III) reigned *ca.* 331-328 B.C., that a lost date in the last lines of *Prm*'s inscription was referring to his reign, and that he was a member of the dynasty displaced by Artaxerxes III *ca.* 350 B.C., but was allowed by Alexander to return to the throne of Lapethos, occupied during almost two decades by Barikshamash.

[268] The name *Barīkšamaš,* "Blessed by the Sun-god", is widely attested among Aramaeans in the Persian period; cf. M.D. COOGAN, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murašû Documents* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 7), Missoula 1971, p. 18-19. It does not occur otherwise in Phoenician anthroponomy, but might be Phoenician as well. For the passive participle *barīk* in Phoenician, see J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 86, §140b.

[269] A.M. HONEYMAN, *Observations on a Phoenician Inscription of Ptolemaic Date,* in *JEA* 26 (1940), p. 57-67, Pl. II (see p. 66, n. 7).

[270] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIX, 79, 4. Two persons are distinguished by P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 385a, and E. LIPIŃSKI, *Praxippos*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 362.

E.S.G. Robinson had suggested that the Demonax of *Prm*'s inscription was the grandson of Demonax II[271], who ruled at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. On the other hand, following the same principle of papponymy, Praxippos may be a grandson of the ruler displaced by Artaxerxes III *ca.* 350[272]. This would imply a reign of an unattested yet Praxippos I between Demonax II and Barikshamash. This Praxippos would have been one of the nine kings of Cyprus who rebelled against Artaxerxes III *ca.* 351 B.C[273]. When the revolt was suppressed, "*Brkšmš*, a faithful Phoenician, was placed on the throne of Lapethos by the Great King" and ruled until the time of Alexander[274]. A coin with Heracles on the obverse and Athena with a Phoenician legend to be read *br* on the reverse very likely belongs to *Brkšmš*, abridged to *Br*[275], and the qualification "Lapethos of the Phoenicians", attributed to the city by Pseudo-Scylax[276], must refer to the period of his reign.

On the basis of the preceding, the sequence of the kings of Lapethos can be reconstructed as follows:

Dmwnks	Demonax I	*ca.* 520-495 B.C.
Ṣdqmlk	Ṣidqimilk	*ca.* 495-470 B.C.
- - -	- - -	- - -
'ndr	Andros	*ca.* 415-390 B.C.
Dmnks	Demonax II	*ca.* 390-365 B.C.
	Praxippos I(?)	*ca.* 365-350 B.C.
Brkšmš	Barikshamash	*ca.* 350-332 B.C.
Dmwnks	Demonax III	*ca.* 331-329 B.C.
[Prks]pš	Praxippos II	*ca.* 328-313 B.C.

In the toponym Lapethos, Λάπαθος / Λάπηθος, Phoenician *š* corresponds to Greek θ[277], like Neo-Assyrian *su* transliterates τ in Greek names of Esarhaddon's list or like Neo-Assyrian *ṣu* there equates θ > σ[278]. The direct background of these equations is to be looked for in Greek dialectal features rather than in a phoneme belonging to another

[271] E.S.G. Robinson, *art. cit.* (n. 257), p. 64.
[272] J.C. Greenfield, *art. cit.* (n. 258), p. 395.
[273] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVI, 42, 3-5.
[274] J.C. Greenfield, *art. cit.* (n. 258), p. 395.
[275] E.S.G. Robinson, *art. cit.* (n. 257), p. 65; J.C. Greenfield, *art. cit.* (n. 242), p. 395, n. 13, and Fig. 4 on p. 398 (the terms "left" and "right" should be inverted).
[276] Pseudo-Scylax, *Periplus* §103.
[277] Contrary to the reading in *KAI* 43, in P. Magnanini (*op. cit.* [n. 263], p. 124), and in *TSSI* III, 38, line 5, one should read *Lpš* instead of *Lpt*. The third letter is damaged, but J.-B. Chabot already noticed in a manuscript note that *š* ought to be restored.
[278] Cf. here above, p. 62.

language[279], viz. Eteocypriot which is not represented so far at Lapethos. Neither did the city yield a single syllabic Greek or Phoenician inscription, although several Greek alphabetic texts were found at the site. The Phoenician inscriptions from this region, mentioned above, were discovered on the smaller site of Larnaca-tis-Lapithou, ancient Narnaka, which lies on the southern side of the mountain range, about 8 km southwest of Lambousa as the crow flies.

The northern coast of Cyprus between capes Kormakiti (ancient Crommyon) and St. Andreas does not seem to have possessed other Phoenician centres, although one should mention the epigraph *š 'ng* incised clumsily on a fragment found south of Liveras, near Cape Kormakiti[280]. The inscription probably means "of Anog", apparently a proper name formed from the same adjective as biblical Hebrew *'ānog*, "delightful". This epigraph at least reveals a Phoenician presence or activity in the north-western corner of the island.

The northern coast of Cyprus is a rock-bound shore of no very tempting aspect, behind which the mountain range rises up steeply and possibly explains the absence of a king of Lapethos in Esarhaddon's list. Also Keryneia (Κερύνεια), on the site of present-day Kerynia, about 10 km east of Lapethos, is missing in this list. The history of this small kingdom is still very obscure[281] and, except for Pseudo-Scylax §103, it is not even mentioned in the Persian period, when the kings of Lapethos seem instead to have played a certain role, as shown by their coinage from the 5th and 4th centuries with Phoenician legends[282]. We only hear of Kerynia in 315 B.C., when an unnamed king of Kerynia sided with Antigonus, and in 312 B.C., when Ptolemy I gave its territory to the king of Salamis[283]. Even the local Greek epigraphy, either alphabetic or syllabic, is very poor.

Citium

In the third and greatest of the expeditions conducted by Persia against Greece, in 480 B.C., kings from Cyprus participated with 150 ships in the fleet which Xerxes I collected to accompany his land

[279] This was the opinion of A.M. Honeyman, *art. cit.* (n. 263), p. 289.
[280] Cyprus Museum, Ins. Ph. 11: O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 96-97 and Pl. X, 1, propose reading *š'k/np*.
[281] *ICS*, p. 268-269; E. Oberhummer, *Keryneia 2.*, in *PW* XI/1, Stuttgart 1921, col. 344-347; T.B. Mitford, *Further Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus*, in *AJA* 65 (1961), p. 93-163 (see p. 131-133).
[282] O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 100 and Pl. XI, 6-9.
[283] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIX, 59, 1 and 79, 4.

army[284]. The only city mentioned explicitly by Herodotus is Salamis with its king Gorgos[285], but Herodotus refers also to Phoenicians among the Cypriot crews, probably alluding to Citium[286], and he mentions Timonax, most likely the king of a Cypriot city having a naval force[287]. Other qualifications of Cypriot crews, like Athenians, Arcadians, Ethiopians, can hardly be taken at their face value, and Herodotus attributes them to his Cypriot informants with a connotation of disbelief, as it seems.

The defeat of Xerxes' fleet at Salamis, followed by Pausanias' victory over the Persian forces at Plataea, in 479, prompted a new anti-Persian revolt on Cyprus in *ca.* 478-470[288], apparently led by Stasikypros, king of Idalium[289]. The city was then besieged by the Persian forces and by their Phoenician allies from Citium, apparently without success[290].

It is commonly assumed that Baalmalok I[291] was king of Citium at that time and that the beginning of his reign is to be placed about 479 B.C. The assumption is that Baalmalok I was placed on the throne of Citium after the Persian debacle of 479 B.C.[292] However, a more likely occasion was the Persian reconquest of Cyprus in 497 B.C., followed by measures aiming at consolidating the Persian power with the help of

[284] HERODOTUS, *History* VII, 90; cf. DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XI, 44.

[285] Compare HERODOTUS, *History* V, 115; VII, 90 and 98.

[286] HERODOTUS, *History* VII, 90. One can hardly understand the opinion of K. NICOLAOU, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 317-318 (cf. also p. 321), about the population of Citium in the early 5th century B.C. He assumes that the "overwhelming majority of its population must have been Greek".

[287] HERODOTUS, *History* VIII, 93.

[288] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I, 94, 1-2; DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XI, 44, 1-2.

[289] F.G. MAIER, *Factoids in Ancient History: The Case of Fifth-Century Cyprus*, in *JHS* 105 (1985), p. 32-39. The mention of Soloi, Salamis, and Paphos by AESCHYLUS, *Persae* 892-896, which was produced in 472 B.C., does not imply that these cities played a leading role in the revolt.

[290] This siege probably constitutes the background of the longest syllabic Greek inscription from Cyprus found *ca.* 1850 and offered in 1862 by Duke de Luynes to the Numismatic Cabinet of the National Library in Paris. It is published in *ICS* 217, p. 235-244, Pls. 34-36. The text reproduces the agreement made by king Stasikypros and the city of Idalium with a group of physicians who have taken care of people wounded during the siege of the city.

[291] The vocalization of the Phoenician proper name is provided by the Neo-Assyrian transliteration ^{m}*Ba-'-al-ma-lu-ku*; cf. *PNA* I/2, p. 242. The predicate is a verbal form, not a noun, as assumed by the usual "Baalmilk" transcription of the name of the kings of Citium.

[292] E. BABELON, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques. Les Perses achéménides, les satrapes et les dynastes de leur empire. Cypre et Phénicie*, Paris 1893, p. CXXVII.

Cypro-Phoenicians. One could assume therefore that Baalmalok I became king of Citium *ca.* 495 B.C.

He clearly founded a new dynasty and introduced a new coinage, but it is still undecided whether Citium was a royal city before that date. Neither historiographic texts nor inscriptions mention an earlier king of Citium and the two anepigraphic series of coins that preceded the issues of Baalmalok I and follow the Persic standard[293] do not need to have been minted by a local ruler. They can be dated at the end of the 6th and beginning of the 5th century B.C. and be struck by officials of the Persian administration under Darius I (521-486 B.C.).

At any rate, the rather lengthy reign of Baalmalok I must antedate the fall of Idalium. In fact, the "Larnaca hoard"[294], buried *ca.* 478-470 B.C., contains coins of Baalmalok I overstruck by the king of Idalium who was followed by two other kings before Idalium fell to Citium[295]. On the other hand, Baalmalok I's son and successor Azzibaal[296] bears the double title of "king of Citium and Idalium"[297]. The incorporation of Idalium into the kingdom of Citium must thus have occurred in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., in the early years of Azzibaal's reign.

The last series of the Idalium coinage[298], represented by tetrobols with sphinx and lotus, bears the Cypro-syllabic sign *sa*, which is generally regarded as an abbreviation of the name of Stasikypros[299]. In fact, the element Στασι- of proper names is spelt *Sa-ta-si-* in the Cypriot syllabary[300]. Stasikypros, who had dedicated the famous bronze tablet *ICS* 217 which records the siege of Idalium by the "Medes and Citians", would thus be the last independent king of Idalium. The bronze tablet

[293] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. XXIX-XXX, Pls. II, 7; XIX, 1-2; E. BABELON, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* II/1, Paris 1907, col. 597-602.

[294] This hoard, originally containing about 700 coins, was found in 1933: M. THOMPSON - O. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York 1973, No. 1272. It was reexamined by A. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES, *Le trésor de Larnaca (IGCH 1272) réexaminé*, in *RDAC* 1984, p. 140-161, with former literature.

[295] G.F. HILL, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1940, p. 154-155; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. LII and 25-28.

[296] The vocalization of the Phoenician proper name, formed with *'zz*, is provided by the Neo-Assyrian transliteration ^{m}*A-zi-ba-'-al*; cf. *PNA* I/1, p. 239a. The same name was borne *ca.* 500 B.C. by a king of Arwad, but it is misspelled Αγβαλος or Αρβαλος in the manuscripts of HERODOTUS, *History* VII, 98. Parallel names, like Αζεμιλκος, *'zy'l*, Αζιηλ confirm the presence of a suffix and indicate that the name means "Baal is my strength" (BENZ, p. 374), not "Baal is strong", as proposed in *PNA* I/1, p. 239.

[297] A.M. HONEYMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 104-106; P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 122, No. 11, and p. 134, No. 3.

[298] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. XLIX and 28, Pl. V, 13-16.

[299] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. XLIX and LI; *ICS*, p. 250-252.

[300] Cf. M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 156), p. 86, §75-1.

proves that it had surmounted the peril of the siege in question, but Idalium fell a few years later to Citium, possibly *ca.* 460 B.C. or a few years earlier, after the much debated Cimonian campaigns at the mouth of the Eurymedon (Köprüçay or Pazarçay) and along the coast of Cyprus[301]. This is a "compromise" date between 470 B.C., proposed by E. Gjerstad, and 450 B.C., suggested by G.F. Hill[302]. Since the circumstances, in which Idalium was submitted by the Citians, are unknown, the evidence of destruction discovered at the site by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition can be related to this event as well as to the unsuccessful siege of the city under Baalmalok I. At any rate, the excavations conducted since 1991 by Maria Hadjicosti at the acropolis of Idalium have uncovered remains of an impressive architectural complex, prior to the administrative building from the 5th-4th centuries B.C., which the 130 Phoenician inscriptions discovered so far in its rooms clearly connect with the Citian occupation of the city[303]. These inscriptions, engraved or written with ink on ostraca, plaster fragments or marble slabs, have an economic and administrative character. Only a few inscriptions are written in syllabic Greek, which was used in the previous period.

The extension of the authority of the Phoenician king of Citium to the territory of Idalium and possible Citian attempts at increasing the Phoenician influence further on the island may have prompted the endeavour on the part of the Greek-aligned cities of Cyprus to overthrow Citium. Helped by an Athenian expedition led by Cimon, they besieged Citium and Idalium in 450/449 B.C. Reporting these events, the manuscripts of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* XII, 3, 3 read Κίτιον καὶ Μάλον

[301] EPHORUS, in *FGH* II A, §70, Frgs. 191-192. An epigram attributed to SIMONIDES refers perhaps to the same events: T. BERGK (ed.), *Poetae Lyrici Graeci III. Poetae Melici*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1914, Frg. 142, p. 487-493. For the studies of these episodes see M. SORDI, *La vittoria dell'Eurimedonte e le due spedizioni di Cimone a Cipro*, in *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 1 (1971), p. 33-48.

[302] E. GJERSTAD, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 479-480, n. 5, followed by O. MASSON, *ICS*, p. 238 and 273; G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 154-155, followed by J.B. PECKHAM, *op. cit.* (n. 103), p. 20, n. 42, and M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 12.

[303] S. HADJISAVVAS, *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1999*, in *BCH* 124 (2000), p. 665-699 (see p. 679). See also M. HADJICOSTI, *Excavations at Idalium*, in *Centre d'Études Chypriotes. Cahier* 24/2 (1995), p. 25-28, as well as the *Chronique*, in *BCH* 117 (1993), p. 740; 118 (1994), p. 678; 119 (1995), p. 822; 120 (1996), p. 1074; 121 (1997), p. 907; 122 (1998), p. 675; 123 (1999), p. 612; 125 (2001), p. 757-758; 126 (2002), p. 711. A fragment of an ostracon from the 4th century B.C., found in 1974, was published by F.M. CROSS, *A Phoenician Inscription from Idalion: Some Old and New Texts Relating to Child Sacrifice*, in *Scripture and Other Artifacts. Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King*, Louisville 1994, p. 93-107. The Phoenician characters, preserved over three lines, do not provide any translatable sequence of words.

ἐξεπολιόρκησε. A scribal mistake ΜΑΛΟΝ < ΙΔΑΛΟΝ is certainly more acceptable than a confusion of PI with Λ on the assumption that the reading was Μάριον[304]. The original text or Diodorus' source seems thus to have alluded to Cimon's attack against both cities depending then from Azzibaal or Baalmalok II. On the other hand, it is unlikely that both Citium and Idalium have been seized by Cimon. Diodorus' source most likely read ἐπολιόρκησε or ἐξεπολέμησε, "he waged war". Cimon died on this campaign[305] and the Athenians had to raise the siege of Citium. After the naval battle off Salamis "against Phoenicians, Cilicians, and Cypriots"[306], the Athenian fleet abandoned Cyprus. Athenian support was withdrawn in 449/8 B.C., following the "Peace of Callias" which ended hostilities between Athens and Persia and recognized each party's sphere of influence[307]. The negotiations, according to the most circumstantial account by Diodorus[308], took place in Cyprus.

Citium probably withstood the siege successfully and Baalmalok II, the second king of Citium and Idalium, ascended the throne sometime in this period. Two inscriptions are dated in his reign: one, a dedication to 'Anat, is dated to the third year of his reign[309]; the other — of uncertain provenance — is an undated dedication to Astarte[310].

[304] H.B. MATTINGLY, *The Jordan Hoard (IGCH I 484) and Cimon's Last Campaign*, in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Numismatics*, London 1986, p. 59-64.

[305] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I, 112, 2-4; DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XII, 4, 6; PLUTARCH, *Cimon* 19, 1; *Pericles* 10, 7; CORNELIUS NEPOS, *Cimon* 3, 4; ARISTODEMUS, in *FGH* II A, §104, Frg. 13. Cf. G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 122-125; P. SALMON, *La politique égyptienne d'Athènes (VIe et Ve siècles avant J.-C.)*, 2nd ed., Bruxelles 1981, p. 198-201 and 292-294; E. RAPTOU, *op. cit.* (n. 235), p. 247-249. The alleged veneration of Cimon by the people of Citium, as reported by PLUTARCH, *Cimon* 19, reflects the literary panegyric genre of the account and does not prove that the bulk of the population was Greek, as stated by K. NICOLAOU, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 321.

[306] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I, 112, 4.

[307] H. BENGTSON, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* II. *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., München 1975, p. 64-69, §152. Cf. P. SALMON, *op. cit.* (n. 305), p. 201-206 and 294-295; A.R. BURN, *Persia and the Greeks*, in I. GERSHEVITCH (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* II. *The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, Cambridge 1985, p. 292-391 (see p. 337); D.M. LEWIS, *The Thirty Years' Peace*, in *CAH* V, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1992, p. 121-146 (see p. 121-127). These authors rightly support the authenticity of the Peace of Callias, despite doubts still expressed in some quarters. See A.B. BOSWORTH, *Plutarch, Callisthenes and the Peace of Callias*, in *JHS* 110 (1990), p. 1-13.

[308] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XII, 4, 4, very likely quoting EPHORUS' *History*, written in the mid-4th century B.C..

[309] P. BERGER, *Mémoire sur deux nouvelles inscriptions phéniciennes de l'île de Chypre*, in *CRAI* 1887, p. 15-30; *RÉS* 453; A.M. HONEYMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 104-105, Fig. 2; P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 122, No. 11.

[310] A.M. HONEYMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 22), p. 106, Fig. 2; P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 134, No. 3.

At that time, Phoenicians regained control of Salamis, since a certain Abdemon became then its king[311]. His rule was probably imposed on the city by Darius II in the aftermath of the so-called "Epilycus Treaty", concluded in 424/3 by the Persian king with Athens[312] and renewing the stipulations of the "Peace of Callias", which recognized each party's sphere of influence. Abdemon was native from Citium according to Theopompus (4th century B.C.), who was writing in a period relatively close to the events[313]. If the unique stater with Gorgon and the Phoenician legend *l'b* on the obverse and Heracles on the reverse[314] was minted at Salamis, it may bear the preposition *l-* followed by an abbreviation of the name *'Abd-'Amon*, "Servant of Am(m)on"[315]. The representation of Heracles might even confirm Abdemon's connections with Citium, since Heracles is a characteristic feature of the Citian coinage. As for the small coins with the doubtful Phoenician letters *'b*, previously assigned to Salamis and linked with Abdemon, they have been attributed more recently to Caria[316].

Other coins probably issued by Abdemon are staters representing his tutelary deity, Zeus Ammon, on the reverse with the syllabic Greek legend *ba-sa-la*, "k(ing of) Sala(mis)", while Hermes appears on the obverse. These coins date indeed from the late 5th century B.C. and they are attested in the Idalium hoard (*IGCH* 1275), buried at the end of that century[317].

Little enough is known of Abdemon except that in 412/11 B.C. Evagoras I ousted him and restored the Greek rule at Salamis. This event seems to be echoed in Euripides' play *Helena*, performed in 412 B.C.:

[311] THEOPOMPUS OF CHIOS, in *FGH* II B, §115, Frg. 103 (111); DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIV, 98; ISOCRATES, *Evagoras* IX, 19-20 (without mentioning Abdemon's name).

[312] ANDOCIDES, *On the Peace* 28-29; cf. H. BENGTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 307), p. 101-103, §183.

[313] THEOPOMPUS OF CHIOS, *loc. cit.* (n. 311). DIODORUS, *loc. cit.* (n. 311), calls him "Tyrian", while ISOCRATES, *loc. cit.* (n. 311), writes that "he came from Phoenicia".

[314] O. MASSON, *Notes de numismatique chypriote V. Statère du roi 'AB(D...)*, in *Revue Numismatique*, 6th ser. 24 (1982), p. 14-16; N.M. WAGGONER, *Early Greek Coins from the Collection of Jonathan P. Rosen*, New York 1983, No. 750.

[315] This is the meaning of Abdemon's name, borne by several Phoenicians: BENZ, p. 149; *DCPP*, p. 2a. It is by no means *'Abdḥamon*, as stated by J.B. PECKHAM, *op. cit.* (n. 103), p. 20, n. 41.

[316] H. TROXELL, *Carians in Miniature*, in *Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg*, Wetteren 1984, p. 249-257 (see p. 253-254). For the earlier attribution of these coins, see G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. XCVIII-C and Pls. XI, 5-11; XXIV, 4-5; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 127, n. 1; O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 124-125 and Pl. XVIII, 2-4.

[317] A. DESTROOPER-GEORGIADES, *art. cit.* (n. 234), p. 635-637.

the personage of Teucer, the mythical ancestor of the Greek rulers of Salamis, should represent Evagoras who had just landed in Cyprus with the aim of liberating Salamis from Phoenician domination[318]. Evagoras I established himself as ruler in 411 B.C. and his subsequent policy aimed at strengthening Hellenism in Cyprus by cooperation with Athens[319]. He even attempted to overrun all the island, defying the power of Persia. For thirty years he maintained himself as an independent monarch and his might probably explains the subdued role played by Baalrom, the contemporaneous king of Citium (*ca.* 415-392 B.C.), to whom no inscription can be attributed and whose coinage with the legend *l-B'lrm* or *l-mlk B'lrm* is extant only in a small number[320], contrasting with the prestigious silver and gold issues of Evagoras I[321]. The position of Baalrom in the order of the kings of Citium is nevertheless assured by the analysis of the coins, and the length of his reign can be fixed with some probability by assuming that a reign period within one generation can be estimated at 22 to 27 years.

Baalrom's successor to the throne of Citium was Milkyaton, son of Baalrom, known both from inscriptions and from coinage[322]. Milkyaton's father does not bear the royal title[323] and cannot be identified therefore with king Baalrom. There is also a third Baalrom, son of 'Abdimilk, known from a Phoenician-Cypriot bilingual from Idalium, dated to the fourth year of Milkyaton (388 B.C.)[324]: his title

[318] EURIPIDES, *Helena* 87-90 and 147-150; cf. H. GRÉGOIRE - R. GOOSSENS, *Les allusions politiques dans l'Hélène d'Euripide*, in *CRAI* 1940, p. 206-227.

[319] K. SPYRIDAKIS, *Evagoras I. von Salamis*, Berlin 1935; E.A. COSTA, *Evagoras I and the Persians, ca. 411 to 391 B.C.*, in *Historia* 23 (1974), p. 40-56; M.-J. CHAVANE - M. YON, *Salamine de Chypre* X. *Testimonia Salaminia* 1, Paris 1978; P. SALMON, *Les relations entre la Perse et l'Égypte du VIe au IVe siècle av. J.-C.*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed), *The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations* (OLA 19), Leuven 1985, p. 147-168 (see p. 159-161); E. RAPTOU, *op. cit.* (n. 235), p. 250-261.

[320] E. BABELON, *op. cit.* (n. 292), p. CXXIX-CXXX, 99-100, Pl. 18, Nos. 22-23; G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. XXXIII-XXXV, 20, Pls. IV, 17 and XIX, 4-5. Political circumstances and lack of precious metal rather than a short reign should explain this fact, despite the opinion of E. BABELON, *loc. cit.*, followed by G.F. HILL, *loc. cit.*; J.B. PECKHAM, *op. cit.* (n. 88), p. 20, and others. Baalrom's reign was the period when the Idalium hoard (123 silver coins), discovered in 1869 by R.H. Lang in the Apollo temple, was buried, perhaps in fear of an impending Evagoras I's attack; cf. M. THOMPSON - O. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *op. cit.* (n. 294), No. 1275.

[321] M. AMANDRY - O. MASSON, *Monnaies d'argent d'Évagoras Ier*, in *Revue Numismatique*, 6th ser., 30 (1988), p. 34-41.

[322] M. YON, *Milkyaton*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 293-294.

[323] *CIS* I, 88 = M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *op. cit.* (n. 29), F 1; *CIS* I, 90 = *KAI* 38 = *TSSI* III, 34 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 119, No. 5. See also the inscription quoted below, p. 94 with n. 331.

[324] *CIS* I, 89 = *KAI* 39 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 118, No. 4 = *ICS* 220.

'dnn, "our lord", in Greek *o wa-na-xe*, shows that he was of royal blood[325].

Milkyaton is known to have reigned at least thirty years[326] and the year 391 B.C. can, in fact, be shown to be the first year of his reign. In 387 B.C., with the aid of Athenian forces under Chabrias, Evagoras I extended his rule over the greater part of Cyprus[327]. He did not install Demonicus, son of Hipponicus[328], as king of Citium, as was believed previously: the coins once attributed to this supposed king must be assigned now to Demonax II of Lapethos[329], but the lack of any inscription dated in the 5th year of Milkyaton may be regarded as an indication of a difficult year 387 B.C., even if Citium was not captured by the Greeks, possibly thanks to the parleys leading to the Peace of Antalcidas, in 386 B.C.[330] Evagoras refused to agree to this treaty, though the Athenians withdrew their support, since by its terms they have recognized the lordship of Persia over Cyprus.

The royal inscription found at Citium[331] indicates that Milkyaton had to wage war against Evagoras and his Paphian allies already in the first year of his reign, in 391 B.C. Although the style and language of the inscription in question inspire some reservations[332], this text should be quoted here:

1) *trpy 'z 'š yṭn' mlk Mlkytn mlk Kty w'dyl bn B'lrm wkl 'm Kty l'dnm l-B'l 'z bmṣ'nm*
2) *'bn w'zrnm h-Pp[y]m l'gd ln mlḥmt [b]ymm [.] lyrḥ zyb št 1 lmlky 'l Kty w'dyl wyṣ'*

[325] According to ISOCRATES, *Evagoras* 72, the title *wanax* was borne at Salamis by royal sons and daughters. Cf. G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 114-115.

[326] A Phoenician-Cypriot bilingual is dated to his 30th regnal year: *RÉS* 1212 = *KAI* 41 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 128-129, No. 1 = *ICS* 215.

[327] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XV, 2, 4; ISOCRATES, *Evagoras* 62.

[328] ISOCRATES, *To Damonicus* 2.

[329] See here above, p. 84.

[330] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 134-135; cf. H. BENGTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 307), p. 188-192, §242.

[331] M. YON - M. SZNYCER, *Une inscription phénicienne royale de Kition (Chypre)*, in *CRAI* 1991, p. 791-823 (see p. 801-821). Hardly any additional information is provided by M. YON - M. SZNYCER, *A Phoenician Victor Trophy at Kition*, in *RDAC* 1992, p. 157-185, and M. SZNYCER, *Nouvelles précisions et réflexions à propos de l'inscription phénicienne, récemment publiée, de Milkyatôn, roi de Kition et d'Idalion*, in *Philokypros*, Salamanca 2000, p. 285-292; ID., *À propos du "trophée" dans l'inscription phénicienne de Milkyatôn, roi de Kition et Idalion*, in K. GEUS - K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica-Libyca-Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huß* (Studia Phoenicia XVI; OLA 104), Leuven 2001, p. 99-110.

[332] Cf. Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Studia Phoenicia XV; OLA 90), Leuven 2000, p. 17.

3) *[']ln[m mḥ]nt 'š Kty l'gd lm mlḥmt bmqm [']z bym h' bnty wytn ly wl[k]l 'm Kty*
4) *[B]'l '[z ']z wnṣḥt bkl 'bn wb'zrnm h-Ppym wyṭn't 'nk wkl 'm Kty 'yt htrpy '*
5) *z l-B['l] 'z 'dny kšm' qlm yb[r]km*

1) "King Milkyaton, king of Citium and Idalium, son of Baalrom, and all the people of Citium set up this trophy for their Lord, for the Mighty Baal. When
2) our enemies and their Paphian allies took the field to do battle with us, on the [.] day of the month of Zib, in the first year of his reign over Citium and Idalium,
3) then the army of the men of Citium came forth against them to do battle with them at this place. On that day I erected it, since the Mighty Baal gave strength to me and to all the people of Citium,
4) and I prevailed over all our enemies and their Paphian allies, and I set up this trophy — I and all the people of Citium —
5) for my Lord, the Mighty Baal, because he heard their voice. May he bless them!"

An incomplete inscription of Milkyaton from Idalium refers probably to the same event[333]. Its second line should be read: *nsḥt 't 'by hyṣ'm w'zrnm*, "I prevailed over my enemies who came forth (to battle), and over their allies", whose qualification followed probably in the lost part of the inscription.

This military success of Milkyaton, who was supported by the kings of Soli and Amathus, and has secured the aid of Artaxerxes II[334], prompted Evagoras I to conclude a treaty with the Athenians in the summer of 390 B.C.[335] Athenian forces under Chabrias reached Cyprus in 387 B.C.[336] and helped Evagoras I to attack Citium and to gain control of the greater part of the island. Although the Peace of Antalcidas, in 386 B.C., put an end to Athenian support of Salamis, Evagoras I still managed to carry on hostilities in alliance with Achoris of Egypt (394-381 B.C.) and the Pisidians[337]. According to Isocrates[338], he equipped a

[333] *CIS* I, 91 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 119, No. 8. The inscription was dated to the 6th year of Milkyaton by J.B. PECKHAM, *op. cit.* (n. 103), p. 19 with n. 40.

[334] EPHORUS, in *FGH* II A, §70, Frg. 76, where 'Ωτιεῖς of Stephen of Byzantium should be corrected into Κιτιεῖς: C.J.C. REID, *Ephoros, Fragment 76, and Diodoros on the Cypriote War*, in *Phoenix* 28 (1974), p. 123-143; DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIV, 98, 2; LYSIAS, *Against Andocides* 28; cf. G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 129.

[335] H. BENGTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 307), p. 182, §234.

[336] XENOPHON, *Hellenica* V, 1, 10.

[337] H. BENGTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 307), p. 184, §237.

[338] ISOCRATES, *Panegyric* 161; *Evagoras* 23 and 62;

large fleet and attacked the Phoenicians on the mainland with so much vigour as even to take Tyre by assault. But Diodorus says nothing of this attack and Isocrates' panegyric must be read with caution. At last Evagoras I was totally defeated in a sea battle off Citium, in 381 B.C.[339], and compelled to flee to Salamis. There, although closely blockaded by the Persians operating from Citium[340], he managed to hold his ground and took advantage of dissensions among the Persian commanders to conclude peace under an express stipulation that he should retain his royal dignity, and be simply bound to pay a yearly tribute to the Persian monarch[341]. In 374 B.C. he was assassinated in palace intrigue.

The epigraphic material from the reign of Milkyaton is considerable. There is inscribed coinage from his reign, with coins dated by regnal years[342], and seven inscriptions are explicitly dated: four Phoenician ones, dated to his first, second, third, and fourth years[343], and three Phoenician-Cypriot bilinguals dated to his fourth, seventeenth (or nineteenth), and thirtieth years[344]. Four of them are dedicated to the god Resheph under one title or another[345], one to the Mighty Baal (*B'l 'z*)[346], one to Melqart[347], and one to Eshmun-Melqart[348]. Apart from these dated inscriptions there are others for which a certain or probable date can be proposed: one can be assigned very likely to the first year of Milkyaton's reign[349] and another to one of his early years[350]. The fragments of

[339] POLYBIUS, *History* XII, 25, 2, quoting Ephorus; DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XV, 2, 1-2 (cf. XV, 4).

[340] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XV, 4. The naval port of Citium, built in the 5th-4th centuries B.C. and uncovered to the north of the Bamboula hill, was undoubtedly a major basis of the Persian fleet; cf. E. RAPTOU, *op. cit.* (n. 235), p. 127-129, with former literature; also O. CALLOT, *Les hangars du port de Kition (Ve-IVe s. av. J.-C.)*, in S. SWINY et al. (eds.), *Res Maritimae*, Atlanta 1997, p. 71-82; M. YON, *Les hangars du port chypro-phénicien de Kition. Campagnes 1996-1998 (Mission française de Kition-Bamboula)*, in *Syria* 77 (2000), p. 95-116.

[341] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XV, 9, 2. Cf. H. BENGTSON, *op. cit.* (n. 307), p. 200-201, §252. The submission of Evagoras should be placed early in 380 B.C.; cf. M. HELTZER, *art. cit.* (n. 247).

[342] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 211), p. XXXV-XXXVII, 20, Pls. IV, 18 and XIX, 7-8; E. BABELON, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* II/2, Paris 1910, col. 755.

[343] There are two Citium inscriptions (see above, n. 331, and *CIS* I, 88 = M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *op. cit.* [n. 29], F 1), one Idalium inscription (*CIS* I, 90 = *KAI* 38 = *TSSI* III, 34), and one of the inscribed marble bowls (see below, n. 351).

[344] *CIS* I, 89 = *KAI* 39 = *ICS* 220; *RÉS* 1213 = *ICS* 216; *RÉS* 1212 = *KAI* 41 = *ICS* 215.

[345] For Resheph, see LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 179-188.

[346] See *ibid.*, p. 315-316.

[347] See *ibid.*, p. 226-243.

[348] See *ibid.*, p. 289-292.

[349] *CIS* I, 91; see above, p. 95 with n. 333.

[350] *CIS* I, 44 = M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *op. cit.* (n. 29), B 40.



Fragment of the inscription engraved on a marble bowl with the indication of "the 4th year of king Milkyaton" (Metropolitan Museum, New York, Inv. No. 74.51.2276).

inscribed marble bowls from Citium can be assigned to his reign as well, since they were dated by his regnal years, one having preserved the mention of "year 4"[351].

On one of the marble bowls and in two other inscriptions occurs the title *mlṣ hkrsym*[352], borne by an official of Milkyaton. The term *mlṣ* is correctly translated here by "interpreter"[353], while the *krsym* are "Cretans"[354], by no means Corsicans or Qerosites[355]. They may have been mercenaries in Milkyaton's army, since Crete had a reputation as the home of mercenary slingers and archers[356]. The presence of an official "interpreter" suggests that they did not speak Greek, certainly under-

[351] E. LIPIŃSKI, *The Inscribed Marble Vessels from Kition*, in Z. ZEVIT - S. GITIN - M. SOKOLOFF (eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*, Winona Lake 1995, p. 433-441.

[352] *CIS* I, 22, 44, and 88 = M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *op. cit.* (n. 29), A 9A/B, B 40, and F 1.

[353] *DNWSI*, p. 575; Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 332), p. 290-291. Cf. also M. HELTZER, *The Biblical Words for "to translate" and "translate" and Their Origin*, in *UF* 32 (2000), p. 237-242.

[354] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Notes d'épigraphie phénicienne et punique*, in *OLP* 14 (1983), p. 129-165 and Pls. II-VI (see p. 146-152). "Cretan", Κρής and Κρῆσσα, was used as personal name in Cyrenaica: P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 273a.

[355] Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 332), p. 243, translates *mlṣ hkrsym* by "interpreter of the Corsic language", while Y. GARFINKEL, *MLṢ HKRSYM in Phoenician Inscriptions from Cyprus, the QRSY in Arad, HKRSYM in Egypt, and BNY QYRS in the Bible*, in *JNES* 47 (1988), p. 27-34, connects various names without paying sufficient attention to the different spellings and the various historical contexts.

[356] H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* I, München 1926, p. 132, 149-150.

stood by the Phoenicians of Citium, but a Subminoan language, "Eteocretan" or "Cydonian"[357]. A non-Greek-speaking people, in fact, inhabited eastern Crete until Hellenistic times and finds from ancient Praesus, Drerus, and Psychro include Eteocretan inscriptions from the 6th-3rd centuries B.C. in the Greek script but an unknown tongue, probably derived from Minoan[358]. Such foreign auxiliaries, if emigrated to Cyprus, were trustier than Greeks, especially if they had to battle against Greek Cypriots and their Athenian allies.

Relations between Cyprus and Crete were initiated already in the 13th century B.C.; they were followed about 1100 B.C. by the arrival of Cretan refugees in Cyprus and their establishment mainly along the south coast. Archaeological findings provide ample evidence of these relations and of this limited emigration[359]. Thereafter communication appears to have remained open and it is probably through this channel that the bronze bowl with a Phoenician inscription had reached Cnossos in the 9th century B.C. and was found at Tekke, in the northern necropolis of Cnossos[360], that a Levantine goldsmith arrived on the island about 900 B.C. to be buried later in the same cemetery, and that a re-used, apparently Phoenician cippus was found in an early Iron Age cemetery at Cnossos[361]. In the 10th-8th centuries B.C., the same route carried various Orientalia and brought eastern craftsmen from Cyprus and beyond. Ori-

[357] HOMER, *Odyssey* III, 292-293; XIX, 175-177; STRABO, *Geography* X, 4, 6.

[358] Y. DUHOUX, *L'étéocrétois. Les textes - la langue*, Amsterdam 1982. Eteocretan was by no means a Semitic tongue, as argued by C.H. GORDON, *The Decipherment of Minoan and Eteocretan*, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1975, p. 148-158.

[359] V. KARAGEORGHIS, *art. cit.* (n. 235), p. 513-514; J. BOARDMAN, *The Islands*, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 754-778 (see p. 776); H. MATTHÄUS, *Cyprus and Crete in the Early First millennium B.C. A Synopsis with Special Reference to New Finds from the Idaean Cave of Zeus*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 127-156; A. KANTA - A. KARETSOU, *From Arkadhes to Rytion. Interactions of an Isolated Area of Crete with the Aegean and the East Mediterranean*, *ibid.*, p. 159-173.

[360] The *editio princeps* by M. SZNYCER, *L'inscription phénicienne de Tekkè, près de Cnossos*, in *Kadmos* 18 (1979), p. 89-93 and Pls. I-II, was followed by the complete decipherment of the inscription by E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 354), p. 129-133 and Pl. II. Erroneous readings occur in the decipherments proposed by F.M. CROSS, *Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts*, in *BASOR* 238 (1980), p. 1-20 (see p. 15-17), and É. PUECH, *Présence phénicienne dans les îles à la fin du IIe millénaire*, in *RB* 90 (1983), p. 365-395 (see p. 374-395). See also below, p. 182-184.

[361] J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean*, in H.G. NIEMEYER (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen* (Madrider Beiträge 8), Mainz a/R 1982, p. 261-275; ID., *Cypriaca and Creto-Cypriaca from the North Cemetery of Knossos*, in *RDAC* 1984, p. 122-137; N. KOUROU - A. KARETSOU, *An Enigmatic Stone from Knossos: A Reused Cippus?*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 243-254.

ental craftsmanship thus stands behind the triad of hammered bronze images in the temple of Apollo at Drerus[362] and the bronze shields from the Idaean Cave[363]. The position of the island on sea-routes to and from Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt secured it an important place in the history of cultural development and traces of Phoenician seafaring can be found, for example, at Phalasarna[364] and at Kommos[365].

In the eastward movement, people native from Crete were coming to Cyprus for various reasons, also during the Persian and the Hellenistic periods. 'Ονάσανδρος Κρής is recorded in Cyprus in the 4th century B.C.[366]; 'Αγίας, son of Δαμόθετος, native from Crete, is on Cyprus between 164 and 145 B.C.[367] Also in the 2nd century B.C., Πραξαγόρας records his father Σωσιάναξ and his mother Νικώ, who all came from Crete to Cyprus[368]. As for the epitaph of [... ἡ γ]υνὴ ἡ Λεύκου from Salamis[369], it provides the excellent Cretan name Λεῦκος[370]. Cretan

[362] Sp. MARINATOS, *Le temple géométrique de Dréros*, in *BCH* 60 (1936), p. 214-285 and Pls. XXVI-XXXI; P. DEMARGNE - H. VAN EFFENTERRE, *Recherches à Dréros*, in *BCH* 61 (1937), p. 5-32, 333-348, and Pls. I-IV.

[363] H. MATTHÄUS, *Die Idäische Zeus-Grotte auf Kreta. Griechenland und der Vordere Orient im frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, in *Archäologische Anzeiger* 2000, p. 517-547, with former literature. See also below, p. 184-185.

[364] The site was described by T.A.B. SPRATT, *Travels and Researches in Crete* II, London 1865, p. 227-235. Reports on recent excavations are provided by E. HADJIDAKI, *Excavations at the Classical/Hellenistic Harbour of Phalasarna, Western Crete, Greece*, in *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 16 (1988), p. 254-256; ID., *Preliminary Report of Excavations at the Harbour of Phalasarna in West Crete*, in *AJA* 92 (1988), p. 463-479. See also F.J. FROST, *The Last Days of Phalasarna*, in *The Ancient History Bulletin* 3 (1989), p. 15-17; ID., *Tectonics and History at Phalasarna*, in S. SWINY et al. (eds.), *Res Maritimae*, Atlanta 1997, p. 107-116. See also below, p. 179.

[365] J.W. SHAW, *Phoenicians in Southern Crete*, in *AJA* 93 (1989), p. 165-183; J.W. & M.C. SHAW (eds.), *Kommos* IV. *The Greek Sanctuary*, Princeton-Woodstock 2000. According to G. MARKOE, *The Phoenicians on Crete: Transit Trade and the Search for Ores*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 233-241, Phoenician interest in Crete is explainable by the presence of iron ores. See also below, p. 180.

[366] *SEG* XXVIII, 1302. The author thanks Prof. M. Heltzer, Haifa, for this information.

[367] I. NICOLAOU, *The Ethnics in Hellenistic Cyprus*, in Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί 32 (1968), p. 23-44 (see p. 32, No. 19); I. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 9), Göteborg 1976, A 11 and Δ 2; W. PEREMANS et al., *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* II, Louvain 1952, p. 222, No. 4284.

[368] W. PEEK, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I, Berlin 1955, No. 1076; I. NICOLAOU, *The Ethnics in Hellenistic Cyprus*, in Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί 31 (1967), p. 15-36 (see p. 20-21, No. 13); I. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU, *op. cit.* (n. 351), Π 45; W. PEREMANS et al., *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* VI, Louvain 1968, p. 113-114, No. 15234.

[369] *OGIS* 154 = T.B. MITFORD, *Seleucus and Theodorus*, in *Opuscula Atheniensia* I, Lund 1953, p. 130-171 (see p. 169, n. 133); W. PEREMANS et al., *op. cit.* (n. 367), p. 116, No. 15267.

[370] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 286a.

troops stationed on Cyprus are mentioned in Greek inscriptions from the area of Salamis, datable in the 2nd century B.C., between 142 and 131 B.C.: τὸ κοινὸν / ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τασσομένων Κρητῶν[371]. Milkyaton's *krsym* were their predecessors who came to Cyprus about 400 B.C. or earlier, while other *krsym* were serving in Egypt at the time of the first Persian domination, as shown by the Phoenician inscription *hkrsym* on a jar from Elephantine[372]. Nothing suggests that there was a connection between these *hkrsym* and those of Citium, although a Phoenician from Citium visited the temple of Osiris at Abydos in that period and inscribed his name on a wall there[373]. The purpose of his travel to Egypt is of course unknown.

Commercial ties of Citium with Athens are evidenced at the time of Milkyaton's son and successor Pumayyaton thanks to Demosthenes' speech *Against Lacritos*, delivered about 350 B.C.: a certain Antipatros from Citium invests in the shipping of wool, goat skins, and amphorae with wine to Pontus[374]. The Greek name 'Αντίπατρος, attested often at Citium[375], was used as a translation of the Phoenician name *Šēm*[376], designating the first-born son regarded as the "counterpart of the father", precisely 'Αντίπατρος in Greek[377]. *Šēm* was the name given in the Bible to Noah's first-born son and this onomastic element appears in many Amorite proper names[378]. Among related Phoenician names of Citians, one can mention *Šm'dn*, "the master's first-born", as suggested

[371] Lines 2-3 in *OGIS* 153 = *SEG* XIII, 553 = T.B. Mitford, *art. cit.* (n. 369), p. 135, No. 8.); lines 1-2 in *OGIS* 108 = *JHS* 12 (1891), p. 191, No. 45 = T.B. Mitford, *art. cit.*, p. 151, n. 68. For Cretan mercenaries in Ptolemaic armies, see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (BÉFAR 169), Paris 1949 (2nd ed., 1987), p. 248-286 and 1152-1169 (prosopography).

[372] M. Lidzbarski, *Phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine*, Berlin 1912, p. 13, No. 33a.

[373] M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* III, Giessen 1915, p. 98-99 O = *KAI* 49, 13.

[374] Demosthenes, *Against Lacritos* 33. Phoenician trade on the coasts of the Euxine Sea (Black Sea) in the 4th century B.C. may favour the Phoenician interpretation of the name "Αδων appearing on silver coins of Chersonese at the end of the 4th century B.C., notwithstanding the contrary opinion of V. Stolba, *Barbaren in der Prosopographie von Chersonesos (4.-2. Jh. v. Chr.)*, in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus*, Tübingen 1996, p. 439-466 (see p. 441-442).

[375] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 46c.

[376] In the Phoenician-Greek bilingual *IG* II-III², 8388 = *CIS* I, 115 = *KAI* 54 from Piraeus, 'Αντίπατρος appears as the Greek equivalent of Phoenician *Šm*. This funerary inscription dates from the 4th century B.C.

[377] M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* I, Giessen 1902, p. 151, n. 1.

[378] H.B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore 1965, p. 217-219; I.J. Gelb, *op. cit.* (n. 156), p. 189-192.

by its equivalent Σώπατρος[379], "father continued" or the like, and the feminine name *Šmzbl*, "prince's first-born". The first name occurs in a bilingual inscription from Demetrias, in Thessalia, dating to the 3rd century B.C.[380], while the second one occurs at Citium[381], where it is borne by the wife and the mother of a *rb srsrm*, "chief of the brokers".

This title, borne by six generations of members of the same family from the early 5th to the mid-4th century B.C. is so far unique in Phoenician. It reveals the existence of an important institution at Citium in the field of economy and finances. The first and the fifth *rb srsrm* were called *Prsy*, "Persian", a name that may suggest the Persian origin of the family, but more likely alludes to the "Persianizing" behaviour or the Persian connections of its founder, surnamed *Prsy*.

The wealth and the economic dynamism of the kingdom of Citium appears from the purchase of the territory of Tamassus by Pumayyaton. According to Duris (*ca.* 340-*ca.* 260 B.C.), Pumayyaton bought it for 50 talents from Pasikypros, the last king of Tamassus[382]. In his twenty-first year, i.e. in 341 B.C., Pumayyaton, in fact, is called "king of Citium, Idalium, and Tamassus"[383], while he was king only of Citium and Idalium in his eighth year[384], i.e. in 354 B.C. This purchase was a significant investment, since Tamassus was the chief seat of the mining operations carried on in search of copper, but it is unlikely that the incorporation of Tamassus into the kingdom of Citium was an exclusively economic enterprise. Concurrently with this expansion of the Citian power basis, a new revolt had erupted and been suppressed on Cyprus. The failed re-conquest of Egypt, attempted about 352 B.C. by Artaxerxes III (358-338 B.C.)[385], was followed by new revolts in Phoenicia and on Cyprus. Here Nicocles,

[379] The name occurs frequently on Cyprus and in the Aegean: P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 419-420.

[380] I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *op. cit.* (n. 367), Σ 48; cf. O. Masson, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens dans le monde hellénistique*, in *BCH* 93 (1969), p. 679-700 (see p. 699, No. 6); W. Röllig, *Alte und neue phönizische Inschriften aus dem ägäischen Raum*, in *NESE* 1 (1972), p. 1-8 (see p. 4-5); M. Sznycer, *Deux noms de Phéniciens d'Ascalon et de Démétrias (Thessalie)*, in *Semitica* 29 (1979), p. 45-52, Pl. II; F. Vattioni, *I Fenici in Tessalia*, in *AION* 42 (1982), p. 71-81; P. Magnanini, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 142, No. 3. The patronymic *Ḥ'r* probably means "free, freed", and is translated Διόδωρος, "Zeus' gift".

[381] *KAI* 34 = M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 29), B 45, line 4.

[382] Duris, *Histories*, in *FGH* IIA, §76, Frg. 4, p. 139, quoted by Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* IV, 167c.

[383] *CIS* I, 10 = *KAI* 32 = M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 29), A 2.

[384] *CIS* I, 92 = P. Magnanini, *op. cit.* (n. 263), p. 120, No. 7.

[385] We have no narratives of this event but, late in 351 B.C., it is mentioned by Demosthenes, *On the Liberty of the Rhodians* 11 (cf. Isocrates, *Philip* 101), as having just happened.

son and successor of Evagoras I, had been murdered and succeeded by his brother, Evagoras II, who reigned for four years. He was then expelled by Pnytagoras, who in 351 B.C. headed an anti-Persian coalition of nine Cypriot city-kings[386]. The mention of nine kings instead of the expected twelve or thirteen — since Citium, Lapethos, possibly Keryneia, have to be added to the ten kingdoms listed by Esarhaddon — may indicate that Citium and some other cities did not join the coalition and that Pumayyaton was rewarded thereafter with Tamassus for his fidelity to the Persian monarch. The revolt was suppressed by Idrieus of Caria, whom Artaxerxes sent to Cyprus with forty warships and 8,000 mercenaries under Phokion of Athens. Most of the cities were soon intimidated, but Pnytagoras resisted in Salamis and, after Evagoras II had been denounced to Artaxerxes for some double-dealing, he was allowed to make peace[387]. Concurrently with these events, which certainly went on longer than the years 351-350 into which Diodorus crowds them, Pumayyaton would have extended his power to the kingdom of Tamassus, allowing a compensatory sum of 50 talents to Pasikypros.

Pumayyaton reigned in Citium till the time of Alexander the Great and beyond, but he is called simply "king of Citium and Idalium" in an inscription dated to his thirty-fourth year[388], i.e. 328 B.C. Since it is known that Pnytagoras of Salamis was rewarded by Alexander the Great with a city in Cyprus[389] for his distinguished service in the siege of Tyre, in 332 B.C., it is save to conclude that Pumayyaton, who had obviously lost favour with Alexander[390], was forced to cede Tamassus to Pnytagoras. Yet, in 332 B.C., in his thirtieth year, he had made a large issue of gold coins, probably to pay the expenses of the siege of Tyre[391], and he had offered Alexander a splendid sword, which the Macedonian was wearing at the battle of Gaugamela, on Octobre 1st, 331 B.C.[392] But from 331 B.C. until 323 B.C., i.e. until the year of Alexander's death on June 13th, 323 B.C., Pumayyaton did not issue any coins[393], obviously

[386] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVI, 42, 4.

[387] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVI, 46, 1-3.

[388] M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 29), A 29, with a better photograph in K. Nicolaou, *op. cit.* (n. 22), Pl. XXXVI, 5. Also in *CIS* I, 11 = M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 29), A 1, dated to his thirty-seventh year.

[389] Duris, *Histories*, *loc. cit.* (n. 382); cf. Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 20, 6.

[390] H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* II, München 1926, p. 339-340, No. 680.

[391] Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 20, 3. The explanation is proposed by G.F. Hill, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 151.

[392] Plutarch, *Alexander* 32.

[393] B.V. Head, *Historia numorum*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1911 p. 788.

because this privilege was denied to him, while Alexander permitted the great trading centres of Phoenicia, Cilicia, and Babylon to strike independent coinage[394]. Besides, the name of Citium does not appear among the Cypriot cities whose kings organized sumptuous festivities in the spring of 331 B.C. to honour Alexander returning from Egypt, like Nicocreon, the son and successor of Pnytagoras, and Pasicrates of Soloi[395]. One can only speculate why Pumayyaton had lost favour with Alexander in 332, possibly in connection with the siege of Tyre[396].

After the ten year gap, Pumayyaton resumed striking an independent coinage and continued to do so until his forty-seventh year (325 B.C.), which coincides with the date of his alliance with Antigonus, who "allowed only coins of the pure Alexander type to be issued in his dominions"[397]. Ptolemy I's victory over Antigonus, the capture of Citium and the murder of Pumayyaton in 312 B.C.[398] mark the end of an era in Cyprus. Following the annexation of the island to Ptolemaic Egypt the local coinage ceased to exist, but Phoenician inscriptions continued to be carved, especially at Citium and at Larnaca-tis-Lapithou.

On the basis of the preceding pages, following dates can be proposed for the Phoenician kings of Citium:

B'lmlk	Baalmalok I	*ca.* 495-465 B.C.
'zb'l	Azzibaal	*ca.* 465-440 B.C.
B'lmlk	Baalmalok II	*ca.* 440-415 B.C.
B'lrm	Baalrom	*ca.* 415-392 B.C.
Mlkytn	Milkyaton	391-362 B.C.
Pmy(y)tn	Pumayyaton	361-312 B.C.

The reigns of Milkyaton and Pumayyaton are documented at Citium by a number of Phoenician inscriptions that cannot be dated more precisely and some of which may date from the early 3rd century as well[399].

[394] W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* I, Cambridge 1951, p. 130-131.

[395] Plutarch, *Alexander* 29. Cf. H. Berve, *op. cit.* (n. 390), p. 279, 307, 321, Nos. 268, 610, 642.

[396] G.F. Hill, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 151.

[397] G.F. Hill, *op. cit.* (n. 295), p. 158, n. 3.

[398] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIX, 62, 1; 79, 4. Cf. M. Yon, *Les derniers rois phéniciens de Kition,* in *Alle soglie della classicità. Studi in onore di S. Moscati*, Pisa-Roma 1996, Vol. I, p. 441-450.

[399] Beside the *Corpus* published by M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 29), to which the royal inscription from Milkyaton's first year must be added (see above, n. 331), one should mention in particular: S. Hadjisavvas - A. Dupont-Sommer - H. Lozachmeur, *Cinq stèles funéraires découvertes sur le site d'Agios Georghios, à Larnaca-Kition, en 1979,* in *RDAC* 1984, p. 101-116 and Pls. XIX-XXI; M. Sznycer, *Inscriptions phéniciennes sur jarres de la nécropole d'"Agios Georghios",* in *RDAC* 1984, p. 117-121 and Pl. XXII.

It is in this period that a Jewish settlement is first attested at Citium by Phoenician funerary inscriptions[400]. Such settlements on Cyprus later became well populated, possibly as a consequence of the influence and expansion of Alexandrian Judaism at the time of the Ptolemies, but hard evidence is so far missing[401].

Phoenician presence is attested during the Persian period also in other regions of Cyprus. From Alassa, 12 km north of Curium as the crow flies, comes a jar inscription dated *b 35 lmlk*, "in (year) 35 of the king [...]"[402]. Its script suggests the 5th century B.C. The main interest of the inscription resides in the reference to a long reign and in its provenance from a region in which Phoenician inscriptions are rare. If this king is a ruler of Curium, it might be Stasanor, mentioned in Herodotus' *History* V, 113. No other king of Curium in the 5th century B.C. is known so far. A Greek alphabetic graffito from Karnak (Egypt), datable to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C., mentions Βαλσαμών Φιλοδήμου Λέδριος[403]. The name Βαλσαμών is an evident transcription of Phoenician *B'lšm'*, "Baal heard", a name attested at Citium in the same period[404]. The man's provenance thus witnesses the presence of a Phoenician component in the population of Ledra (Nicosia), albeit Hellenized already in the 4th century B.C., as shown by the man's patronymic Φιλοδήμος and by the spontaneous use of the Greek language and script.

4. Hellenistic Period (3rd-1st Centuries B.C.)

After Alexander's death in 323 B.C. Cyprus passed first to Antigonus, then to Ptolemy I, who suppressed the Cypriot city-states in 311/10 B.C. Demetrius I Poliorcetes conquered the island in 306, but Ptolemy I recovered it in 295/4 B.C. Cyprus remained then in the hands of the Ptolemies during two and a half centuries, until the annexation by Rome in 58 B.C. and its administrative union with the province of Cilicia.

400 M. Heltzer, *Epigraphic Evidence concerning a Jewish Settlement in Kition (Larnaca, Cyprus) in the Achaemenid Period (IV Cent. B.C.E.)*, in *Aula Orientalis* 7 (1989), p. 189-206; Id., *Phoenician Epigraphic Evidence about a Jewish Settlement in Kition (Larnaca,) in the Achaemenid Period (IV Cent. B.C.E.)*, in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1991, Vol. II, p. 503-509.

401 No evidence is provided, for instance, by W.M. Davis, *Ancient Naukratis and the Cypriots in Egypt*, in *Göttinger Miszellen* 35 (1979), p. 17-23; Id., *The Cypriots in Naukratis*, in *Göttinger Miszellen* 41 (1980), p. 7-19.

402 O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 91-94 and Pl. VIII, 1; J. Naveh, *Unpublished Phoenician Inscriptions from Palestine*, in *IEJ* 37 (1987), p. 25-30 and Pls. 1-2 (see p. 28).

403 O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 101-102 and Pl. XXI, 1.

404 M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 29), C 2, line 3.

Under Ptolemaic rule, the local coinage ceased to exist and culture in general, and artistic production in particular, were chiefly dependent on Alexandria and other centres of the Hellenistic world. These circumstances brought about a rapid Hellenization of Eteocypriot and Phoenician areas, but Phoenician inscriptions and names nevertheless witness the survival of the Phoenician language and traditions. Moreover, families of Phoenician descent, like Zeno's at Citium[405], seem to have belonged to the intellectual elite of the island, even to its governing spheres, like the clan of Gerashtart, Yatanbaal, and Heragoras, who in the 3rd century B.C. assumed the high administrative office of *rb 'rṣ*, "chief of the land", probably corresponding to the στρατηγὸς τῆς νήσου of the later period[406]. A member of an earlier generation of this family, *Prm* who was active in the second part of the 4th century B.C.[407], bore the title *'š 'l Lpš*, which would imply that he was governor of Lapethos[408]. This title corresponds to the later Greek title ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, well attested in various cities on Cyprus[409].

This influential family was native from the ancient territory of the kingdom of Lapethos, the geographic position of which had a strategic importance for the Ptolemies in the 3rd century B.C. Egypt was then the dominant naval power of the eastern Mediterranean and the Ptolemaic sphere of power extended over the Cyclades to Samothrace. The harbours and coast towns of Rough Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria were largely in Ptolemies' hands[410] and Lapethos, on the northern coast of Cyprus, occupied a central position in this area.

It is perhaps worth recalling here that a possibly Hellenized Phoenician bore the aulic title of στρατηγὸς τῆς νήσου καὶ Κιλικίας towards

405 For Zeno of Citium (333/2-264 B.C.), the founder of the Stoicism, see A. Roobaert, *Zénon de Kition*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 500, with former literature. See also below, p. 169.

406 A. Parmentier, *art. cit.* (n. 266), p. 404-407. The title στρατηγὸς τῆς νήσου appears for the first time in the period 217-209 B.C.; cf. R.S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, p. 252-262.

407 See here above, p. 84-85.

408 J.C. Greenfield, *art. cit.* (n. 258), p. 396. The erroneous bibliographic reference to this study seems to indicate that it was unknown to A. Mehl, *Griechen und Phoiniker im hellenistischen Zypern - ein Nationalitätenproblem?*, in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus*, Tübingen 1996, p. 377-414. On p. 387-389, *hṣw'* (not *swy*) *'š 'l* (not *'l*) *lpš* is regarded as one title, while the religious title *ṣw'* is followed in reality by the civic title *'š 'l lpš*. The hypothetic reading *ṣwy*, proposed by M. Sznycer, *Nouvelle lecture d'un mot à la première ligne de l'inscription phénicienne de Larnaca-tis-Lapithou conservée au Musée de Nicosie*, in *RDAC* 1988-II, p. 59-61, Pl. XVII, hardly corresponds to the traces that show the lower part of an *'ayin*.

409 T.B. Mitford, *art. cit.* (n. 369), p. 153-156.

410 Theocritus, *Idylls* XVII, 86 ff.

the end of the Ptolemaic period. The man, called Diogenes son of Noumenios, dedicated, in 38 B.C., a Greek inscription found at Salamis[411]. Now, both his name and his patronymic occur as Greek interpretations of Phoenician proper names. Νουμήνιος is explicitly attested as translation of *Bnḥdš*, "Son of the New Moon"[412], while Διογένης is a name borne, for instance, by a Tyrian and an Arwadian[413]. The element -γένης corresponds to Phoenician *Bn-*[414], while Διο- replaces Baal. Now, the Phoenician name *Bnb‘l* is attested precisely at Memphis, in Ptolemaic times, *ca.* the 2nd century B.C.[415] This case might thus suggest that the title "strategos of the island (Cyprus) and of Cilicia" could be attributed traditionally to a personality of Phoenician descent.

Lapethos was by no means the sole region of Cyprus where Phoenician inscriptions were still written in Ptolemaic times. It is remarkable, for instance, that the fragmentary dedication to Astarte of Paphos, found near the site of Palaepaphos, dates precisely from the 3rd century B.C.[416] Also the Phoenician jar inscription from Nea Paphos with the name of a smelter (*h-nsk*) should be dated about 300 B.C.[417] At Citium, some inscriptions may date from the 3rd rather than 4th century B.C. Besides, a marble funerary stele from the 3rd century, found at Carthage in Africa, mentions a Citian: *bn ’šmn’dny ’š Kty*[418]. Likewise, a similar stele from Piraeus, dating from the same period, bears the bilingual epitaph of another Citian: Νουμένιος Κιτιεύς / *’nk Mḥdš bn Pnsmlt ’š Kty*[419]. Also at Demetrias in the 2nd century B.C., a bilingual funerary stele records the memory of Σώπατρος Διοδιώρου Κιτιεύ(ς) / *Šm’dn bn Ḥ’r*

411 J. Pouilloux, *Deux amis: le stratège Diogénès fils de Nouménios et le gymnasiarque Stasicratès fils de Stasicratès,* in Πρακτικὰ τοῦ πρώτου διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ συνεδρίου I, Nicosia 1972, p. 141-150. Cf. E. Van 't Dack, *Notices cypriotes*, in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Studia Paulo Naster oblata* II. *Orientalia Antiqua* (OLA 13), Leuven 1982, p. 321-326 (see p. 323 and n. 11 with further literature).

412 A. Parmentier, *art. cit.* (n. 266), p. 406 with n. 21.

413 M.-F. Baslez, *Cultes et dévotions des Phéniciens en Grèce: les divinités marines,* in *Religio Phoenicia* (Studia Phoenicia IV), Namur 1986, p. 289-305 (see p. 296-297 with n. 54 and references to *IG* II-III², 10468 and 2598, 23).

414 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

415 *RÉS* 1, 1.1.3; M. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.* (n. 377), p. 152-158 and 284.

416 O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 81-86 and Pl. I, 3.

417 D. Michaelides - M. Sznycer, *A Phoenician Graffito from Tomb 103/84 at Nea Paphos,* in *RDAC* 1985, p. 249-256 and Pl. XL; É. Puech, *Notes sur des inscriptions de Kition et Kato Paphos,* in *Semitica* 39 (1990), p. 99-109 (see p. 108-109).

418 *RÉS* 1225; cf. A. Ferjaoui, *Recherches sur les relations entre l'Orient phénicien et Carthage,* Carthage 1992, p. 178.

419 *KAI* 57. The stele from Athens with the bilingual epitaph of a third Citian seems to be somewhat earlier: *KAI* 55. See also Chapter V, p. 171.

h-Kty[420]. An Attic dedication to Aphrodite Urania by a lady native from Citium and called Aristocleia, probably Phoenician *’Arīšot*, dates from the second half of the 4th century B.C.[421] However, the lack of Phoenician inscriptions from the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. in Cyprus implies a progressive cultural change, due most likely to the effects of Ptolemaic rule. Phoenician names in Greek transcription or adaptation nevertheless continue to witness the presence and the activity of Phoenicians, like Heracleides, son of Hermodamas[422], a Citian whose name probably recovers a Phoenician anthroponym in Melqart. A more evident case is provided in 264 B.C. at Idalium, where Γηρύσμων, son of Μνασέας, bears the Phoenician name *Gēr-’Ešmūn*[423].

420 See here above, p. 100-101.

421 *IG* II-III², 4636.

422 P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 203a, sub. 18.

423 P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 93), p. 107c.

CHAPTER IV

PHOENICIANS IN ANATOLIA

Phoenician commercial and cultural expansion towards the northern regions of the "Fertile Crescent", especially Anatolia, can be traced back at least to the 9th century B.C., probably to the 11th century.

1. Trading with Warkatili

In his speech to Wenamon, Sakar-Baal, king of Byblos, refers to fifty Sidonian *ber*-ships in trading association with Warkatil(i), who seems to bear an Anatolian name, as suggested in the preceding chapter (p. 37). The nature of the ships involved confirms this interpretation. The *bỉr* or *br* ships appear indeed in contexts showing that they were river-boats or vessels engaged in coasting trade. The same word (*br*) occurs in Ugaritic[1] and in Greek (βᾶρις)[2], with a vocalization corresponding to Coptic *baare*[3]. The frequent use of the syllabic spelling *b3r3* or *b3ỉr3* in Egyptian indicates that this word, first attested in Late Egyptian and lacking an etymology, is no native name of a boat, but a loanword[4]. It does not designate a warship[5] but a galiot, most likely a coaster. Such ships could easily reach Cilicia sailing from Sidon northwards along the Lebanese and Syrian coast. The Report of Wenamon does not name Warkatili's harbour, and proposing a particular port would just be a guesswork[6].

[1] G. DEL OLMO LETE - J. SANMARTÍN, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica* I, Sabadell-Barcelona 1996, p. 115a. Egyptian and Ugaritic *br* have been correlated by A. ALT, *Ägyptisch-Ugaritisches,* in *AfO* 15 (1945-51), p. 69-74 (see p. 69-71).

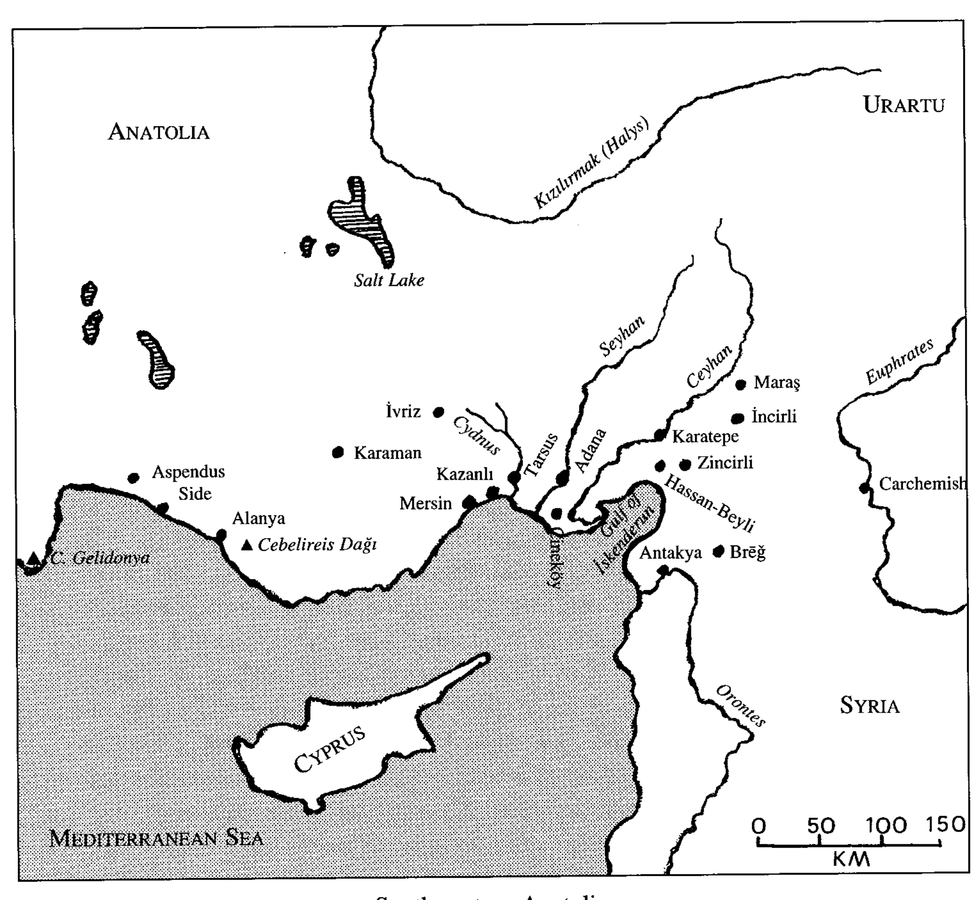
[2] References in A. WIEDEMANN, *Herodots zweites Buch*, Leipzig 1890, p. 387-388. According to P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968, Vol. I, p. 165b, βᾶρις was certainly borrowed from Egyptian ("emprunt égyptien certain") and Latin *barca* derives from βᾶρις.

[3] W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, p. 42a; W. WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965-77, p. 26. The word is not mentioned in the dictionaries of J. Černý and W. Vycichl.

[4] It was rightly not listed by Y. MUCHIKI, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic*, Atlanta 1999.

[5] As stated incorrectly by W.G.E. WATSON, *Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon (1)*, in *UF* 27 (1995), p. 533-558 (see p. 545), and in *JSS* 47 (2002), p. 118. D. JONES, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, London 1988, p. 136-137, No. 30, describes *br* as a "boat used for transport".

[6] For a guide in possible choices, see R.L. VANN, *A Classification of Ancient Harbors of Cilicia*, in S. SWINY et al. (eds.), *Res Maritimae*, Atlanta 1997, p. 307-320.



South-eastern Anatolia.

2. Steatite vase

The first object bearing a Phoenician inscription and probably related to Anatolia is a small steatite vase with three Phoenician letters incised on its base. The vase is 13 cm high, it has two handles and a geometrical, vertical decoration. It was purchased by L. Palma di Cesnola in a bazaar at Nicosia between 1866 and 1876, and now belongs to the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York[7]. Its prove-

[7] Inv. No. 74.51.507A. Cf. L. PALMA DI CESNOLA, *Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, London 1877, p. 442, No. 27; ID., *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* II-III, New York 1894-1903, Vol. II, Pl. CXLI, 1050 (photograph); Vol. III, Pl. CXXIII, 24 (drawing); J.L.



Letters *ḥḥḥ* engraved
on the base of the steatite vase.

nance is unknown, but it was classified as a Cypriot artefact from the Late Bronze Age IIIA[8], although no similar vase has been found so far on Cyprus. However, comparable geometrical patterns are incised on a vase of Cypriote alabaster, 20 cm high, which was discovered in 1959 in a Citium tomb, dated by V. Karageorghis to the 12th century B.C.[9]

The letters of the inscription on the steatite vase are undoubtedly Phoenician and their correct and certain reading is *ḥḥḥ*[10]. The script of the inscription is the reason why the vase is traditionally connected with Citium, supposed to be the oldest Phoenician foundation on Cyprus. In reality, nothing indicates that the object was found at Citium, like the alabaster vase, and someone may have brought it even to Cyprus from Cilicia, since both regions belonged to the same Roman province and both became later Ottoman territories[11].

MYRES, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York 1914, No. 1540.

[8] L. ÅSTRÖM, *Studies on the Arts and Crafts of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, Lund 1967, p. 132.

[9] V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Kition*, London 1976, p. 27, Fig. 6.

[10] This is the reading established by O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, Genève 1972, p. 128-130, Pls. XIX, 1 and XXII, 2. A doubt was expressed about *h* by M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Fouilles de Kition* III. *Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977, F 3, p. 185-186, Pl. XVI, 2. However, the photograph published by J. TEIXIDOR, *The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cesnola Collection*, in *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 11 (1976), p. 55-70 (see No. 26), clearly shows the slight prolongation of the stem at the bottom, as noticed already by D. VON BOTHMER, in O. MASSON - M. SZNYCER, *op. cit.*, p. 130, n. 2. There is no reason therefore why one should question the reading *ḥḥḥ*, pace J. TEIXIDOR, *art. cit.*, p. 67: "Masson-Sznycer consider the three signs as archaic and read *ḥḥḥ*... The signs, however, hardly exhibit known forms, and the presence of two *ḥets*, one with three cross-lines and the other with two, is very unlikely".

[11] Great Britain, by treaty with the sultan, took over the occupation and administration of Cyprus on June 4, 1878, although the island remained nominally Ottoman territory until November 1914.

The inscription was dated to the 11th century B.C.[12] and this dating is supported, for instance, by two identical but dextrograde letters *he*, which are recognizable on the photograph of the ‘Izbet Ṣarṭah ostracon[13]. The prolongation of the stem is sometimes missing not only in Greek, as in an *epsilon* on the Manticlos statuette[14], but also on the bronze arrowhead of Mahirān[15]. The hesitation between a two-barred and a three-barred *ḥet* is paralleled in the Old Byblian inscription of Yaḥimilk, datable to the late 10th century B.C.[16], and both types still appear on the Mogador fragments dated to the second part of the 7th century B.C.[17] The bronze arrowheads generally present a three-barred rectangle[18], but the vertical lines sometimes continue upwards[19], like in the second *ḥet* of the steatite vase, while both three-barred and four-barred *ḥet* appear on the ‘Izbet Ṣarṭah ostracon[20], the spatula from Byblos, and the fragments of the Baal of Lebanon inscriptions[21]. As for the two-barred *ḥet* of the steatite vase, it has a parallel on the Yaḥimilk inscription, but a closer one is found on a jar fragment from Toscanos (Spain), dated to the early 7th century B.C.[22] In other words, the shapes of the *ḥet* do not allow a relatively precise dating of the inscription, but the *he* favours the 11th century B.C. The inscription may have been incised somewhat later on the steatite vase, but the latter might date as well from the 11th century B.C.[23]

[12] O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 129, followed by M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 185.

[13] M. Kochavi, *An Ostracon of the Period of the Judges from ‘Izbet Ṣarṭah*, in *Tel Aviv* 4 (1977), p. 1-13, Pl. I.

[14] P.K. McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts*, Missoula 1975, p. 135, No. 7.

[15] R. Deutsch - M. Heltzer, *New Epigraphic Evidence from the Biblical Period*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 1995, p. 18-19, No. (45) 11.

[16] *KAI* 4 = *TSSI* III, 6; cf. P.K. McCarter, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 129, No. 3.

[17] J. Février, *Inscriptions puniques et néopuniques*, in *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc* I, Paris 1966, p. 81-132, Pls. I-XII, in particular p. 123 and Pls. V-IX: two-barred *ḥet* under Nos. 35, 54, 71, 89, 100; three-barred *ḥet* under Nos. 29, 33, 37, 41?, 43, 61, 63, 76, 84, 102, 106, 109, 116, 119. Compare M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Notes sur les graffitis phéniciens de Mogador,* in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 155-173, especially p. 163-164 and 166.

[18] See, for instance, R. Deutsch - M. Heltzer, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 38.

[19] *Ibid*., p. 23, No. (48) 14.

[20] M. Kochavi, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 9.

[21] P.K. McCarter, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 129, No. 1, and p. 133, No. 3.

[22] J.M. Solá-Solé, *Textos epigráficos de Toscanos,* in *MM* 9 (1968), p. 106-110 and Pl. 32 (see p. 108, No. 4, and Pl. 32b); M.J. Fuentes Estañol, *Corpus de las inscripciones fenicias, púnicas y neopúnicas de España,* Barcelona 1986, p. 31, No. 09.03.

[23] C.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia* I, Paris 1952, p. 217, n. 3.

The three letters *ḫḫh* very likely represent a personal name, which is neither Semitic nor Greek. Comparisons are possible with the Egyptian names *ḥ3-ḥ3.t, ḥḥ.ỉ, ḫ3ḫ.ỉ, ḫḫ.ỉ* or *ḫḫ.ỉỉ*[24], but the mention of an Egyptian on this vase is improbable and the use of final *h* to express Egyptian *ỉ* would be problematic. Instead, a Luwian/Lycian hypocoristic name based on *ḫuḫ(ḫ)a-*, “grandfather”, “ancestor”[25], perfectly fits this spelling, while *-h* may stand for the Lycian genitive singular ending or attributive suffix *-eh(i)-*, *-ah(i)-*[26], “Ḫuḫḫa’s”.

Ḫuḫ(ḫ)a appears mainly in composed anthroponyms, like *mḪu-ḫa-ba-šu*[27], but it occurs also as an abridged name. The individual from Tabal, called *mḪu-uḫ-ḫi* in Sargon II’s correspondence[28], must bear such a name, quoted with the Semiticized genitive ending *-i*, but the different vocalization casts a doubt on the names *mḪa-ḫa-a* and *mḪe-ḫe-e*[29]. In Hellenistic times, the abridged name appears in Lycia as Κουγας[30], since the Lycian word *kuga-*, “grandfather”, is identical with the earlier *ḫuḫ(ḫ)a-*.

If *Ḫḫh* is an Anatolian name meaning “Ḫuḫḫa’s”, the inscription of the steatite vase witnesses Phoenician contacts with Luwians from Cilicia in the 11th century B.C. We do not know where the contacts related to this particular object took place, since the provenance of the vase is unknown. At any rate, the northern coast of Cyprus may have played a role in these relations, in particular the site of Lapethos/Lambousa.

[24] H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, Glückstadt 1935, p. 232:6, 254:9-10 and 12, 263:4, 274:5-6.

[25] Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden 1961, p. 139-140 and 142; E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites,* Paris 1966, p. 70, 284, 337.

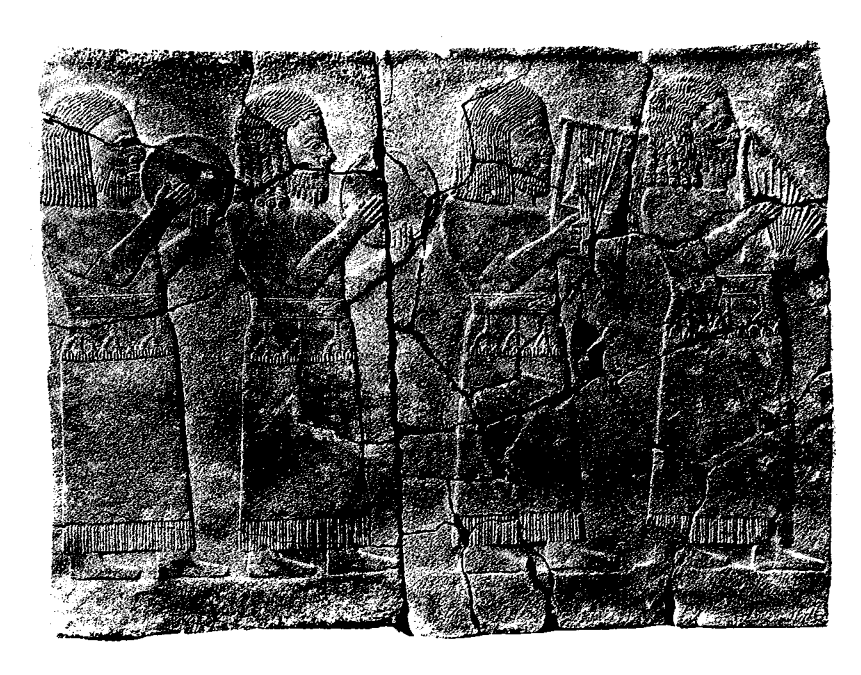
[26] Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 54, §2, and p. 55-56, §4; M. Popko, *Ludy i języki starożytnej Anatolii*, Warszawa 1999, p. 124-125.

[27] *SAA* VI, 47, r. 2; cf. *PNA* II/1, p. 476a. The name corresponds to **Ḫuḫḫa-u̯ašu*, since Neo-Assyrian postvocalic *b* could be spirantized, as appears from the Aramaic transcription *Snḥrw* of the name of Sennacherib (*TAD* IV, D23.1, Va, 11; IX, 4 and 7) in the Sheikh Fadl inscription, whose original probably dates from the 7th century B.C.: A. Lemaire, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Cheikh-Fadl (Égypte)*, in M.J. Geller - J.C. Greenfield - M.P. Weitzman (eds.), *Studia Aramaica* (JSS. Suppl. 4), Oxford, 1995, p. 77-132 (see p. 110-112). The cuneiform sign *ba* could thus be used to indicate *u̯a* in foreign words and names. For *u̯ašu*, “good”, in Anatolian proper names, see Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 170-171; E. Laroche, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 284, 327, 345.

[28] *SAA* I, 250, r. 3; cf. *PNA* II/1, p. 476a.

[29] *PNA* II/1, p. 439b and 470b.

[30] L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, p. 252, §717; cf. Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 142.



Orthostat with musicians, from Zincirli, 8th century B.C.
(İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Inv. No. 7723).

3. Kilamuwa, Bar-Hadad, Yariris

Classical Greek sources, which mention Phoenician colonies in the eastern part of the Cilician coast[31], attest that the Phoenicians had a long-standing and special relationship with this area of Anatolia. This is confirmed by the proportionally increasing quantities of Phoenician pottery found at Tarsus from *ca.* 850 B.C. to the post-Assyrian period, *ca.* 600 B.C.[32] Inland, the traces of Phoenician influence are even more conspicuous thanks to Phoenician and bilingual hieroglyphic Luwian-Phoenician inscriptions.

[31] XENOPHON, *Anabasis* I, 4, 6, and PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §102, mention Myriandos in particular. Cf. E. HONIGMANN, in *PW* XVI/1, Stuttgart 1933, col. 1090-1091; DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 443-444; R. LEBRUN, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 305. In the same area, as it seems, STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, regards Αἶγα (s.v.) as a Phoenician settlement, but this may be based on speculations related to the Aegean.

[32] G.M.A. HANFMANN, *The Iron Age Pottery of Tarsus*, in H. GOLDMAN (ed.), *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus: The Iron Age*, Princeton 1963, p. 18-332, in particular p. 110 and sherds Nos. 651-659, 670; p. 122 and 131, and sherds Nos. 1058, 1068-1075.

The Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa, found at Zincirli, east of the Amanus (*Ḥmn*), is so far the earliest one[33]. It dates from *ca.* 825 B.C. and is remarkable for being written in Phoenician, although the reigning dynasty of Śam'al was Aramaean and the cultural context largely Anatolian[34]. Next follows the famous Melqart stele discovered at Brēğ, *ca.* 7 km north of Aleppo[35]. It is datable to *ca.* 800 B. C. and written in Aramaic, but it is dedicated by Bar-Hadad, king of Arpad, to the Tyrian god Melqart, represented on the stele[36].

The particular importance of Tyre (*Ṣūr*) in this period is revealed also by a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription in which Yariris, ruler of Carchemish in the first part of the 8th century B.C., claims a degree of literacy in four scripts, naming the "Tyrian script", *sù+ra/i-wa/i/ni-ti*(URBS) SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i*[37], immediately after the "local" script, and he refers then to twelve tongues he pretended to know. The sign *sù* (*448) used in this phrase is no homophone of *su* (*370) and *sú* (*108)[38], both of which appear in the name "Assyria", *su+ra/i-ia-sa*(URBS)[39], *su+ra/i-za-ha*(URBS)[40], and "Assyrian", *à-sú-ra/i*(REGIO)-*wa/i-na-ti*(URBS)[41]. At any rate, the passage of Karkemish A15b, 4, §19, where *sù+ra/i-wa/i-ni-*

[33] *KAI* 24 = *TSSI* III, 3; P. SWIGGERS, *Commentaire philologique sur l'inscription phénicienne du roi Kilamuwa,* in *RSF* 11 (1983), p. 133-147; Y. AVISHUR, *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 2000, p. 153-169. A study of all the inscriptions from Zincirli is presented by J. TROPPER, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli* (ALASP 6), Münster 1993.

[34] E. LIPIŃSKI, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100), Leuven 2000, p. 234-236; R.B. WARTKE, *Sam'al: ein aramäischer Stadtstaat des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Mainz a/R 2002.

[35] It was first published by M. DUNAND, *Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,* in *BMB* 3 (1939), p. 65-76 and Pl. XIII. The final decipherment was provided by É. PUECH, *La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart et les rois d'Arpad*, in *RB* 99 (1992), p. 311-334 and Pls. XV-XVI.

[36] *ANEP*, No. 499; cf. E. GUBEL, *Art in Tyre*, in *Studia Phoenicia I-II* (OLA 15), Leuven 1983, p. 23-52 (see p. 25).

[37] *CHLI* I, p. 131, Karkemish A15b, 4, §19.

[38] H.C. MELCHERT, *Proto-Indo-European Velars in Luvian*, in C. WATKINS (ed.), *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill*, Berlin 1987, p. 182-204, proposes to transcribe the sign *448 by *zú* instead of *sù* (p. 202); see also ID., *The Luwians*, Leiden 2003, p. 166. In any case, the phonetic distinction should be preserved despite the opposite view of J.D. HAWKINS, *CHLI* I, p. 35-36, Appendix 2.

[39] This spelling with aphaeresis of *a-* occurs in the bilingual Çineköy inscription § VI-VII, where *'šr* in the Phoenician text clearly indicates that "Assyria(n)" is meant: R. TEKOĞLU - A. LEMAIRE, *La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy,* in *CRAI* 2000, p. 961-1007.

[40] *CHLI* I, p. 124, Karkemish A6, 3, §6, wrongly identified with Urartu (*ibid.*, p. 126).

[41] *CHLI* I, p. 131 and 135, Karkemish A15b, 4, §19 and A24a2+3, 3, §6 and 7. — Since *Aššur* is transcribed in West-Semitic either *'šr* or *'sr*, the various spellings of this name provide no sufficient proof of the homophony of *su* and *sú*.

ti(URBS) SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i* and *a-sú+ra/i-wa/i*(REGIO)-*na-ti*(URBS) SCRIBA-*li-ia-ti-i* appear together, excludes the identification of *sù-ra/i-wa/i-ni*-(URBS) with Assur[42]. The first qualification refers to the Phoenician alphabet, called "Tyrian", while the second one designates the cuneiform script. "Tyrian" appears still in another hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, viz. in Assur letter e, 4, §27: *sù-ra/i-wa/i-za-ha-i-wa/i-mu-u* *317-*ni-za* VIA-*wa/i-ni-i*, "and he sent me a Tyrian *317-*ni*".

The excavations of the important site of Carchemish yielded only one Phoenician inscription, very fragmentary and dated to the 4th century B.C., as well as a stamp seal with the legend *l-'šl*, possibly from the 7th-6th century B.C.[43]

4. Awarku of Adana

The impact of the Phoenician expansion in Cilicia is attested also by four related inscriptions that can be dated between *ca.* 765 and *ca.* 735 B.C. Palaeographic criteria are of no avail to help establishing the chronological order of these inscriptions, distributed over thirty years. The apparent differences in the shape of some letters can depend on the age of the scribes or their tendency to write in a rather lapidary or cursive style. The poorly preserved inscription from İncirli, discovered in 1995, is written in hieroglyphic Luwian, Neo-Assyrian, and Phoenician. The inscriptions from Karatepe-Aslantaş and Çineköy are bilingual, Luwian and Phoenician, while the Hassan-Beyli inscription is Phoenician.

The most extensive and important inscriptions are those of Karatepe-Aslantaş. This is the present-day Turkish name of a stronghold in the mountainous region situated on the Ceyhan River, to the northeast of Adana. The inscriptions were commissioned by Azatiwada, the "strong man" of the kingdom of Adana or Que, who found it necessary to immortalize his memory not only in Luwian, his native tongue, but also in Phoenician. As a matter of fact, he provided us with the longest text so far known in Phoenician. It was discovered in three copies in 1946-47 and 1953 at Karatepe, in north-eastern Cilicia. The text is carved on portal lions and orthostats in the two gates of the city, as well as on a great statue of the Storm-god and its pedestal. Its recent official edition barely

[42] *Pace* R. TEKOĞLU, *art. cit.* (n. 39), p. 980-981, n. 24.

[43] *KAI* 28; N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997, p. 289-290, No. 774. The name *A-šu-la* occurs in Anatolia: E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 47, No. 190. In this period, however, *Ošalla* is a more likely name to reckon with. See below, p. 130 with n. 134.

differs from previous publications[44]. Despite some attempts at lowering the date of these inscriptions[45], the internal evidence decidedly favours their dating to the mid-8th century B.C., as suggested also by palaeography and by the archaeological evidence, which seems to indicate that the site flourished for a brief period about the middle of the 8th century B.C.

The absence of any reference to Assyrians shows that the inscriptions antedate Tiglath-pileser III's interventions in the West. On the other hand, Azatiwada explicitly states that he has acted kindly towards the "stock" or "family" of his lord Awarku, king of Adana, and enabled it to sit upon its father's throne[46]. The inscriptions were thus written during the reign of Awarku's royal successor and Azatiwada must obviously be placed one generation later than Awarku himself. This precludes us from identifying the latter with Wariyka/Urikki of Que, who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 and 732 B.C.[47], and was still alive at the time of Sargon II, *ca.* 710 B.C.[48]

Instead, Awarku of Adana is mentioned in the Phoenician inscription from Hassan-Beyli and in the trilingual from İncirli, about fifty years earlier. Hassan-Beyli lies some 28 km south of Karatepe and 13 km west of Zincirli[49]. If our reading of the inscription is correct, line 4 mentions the Assyrian king Ashurdan III (772-755 B.C.): *hmlk 'š*rdn *b'* [b]/[g]b*l* *bd 'wrk.wyp'l b*ḥ*l*b [šl]*m*.m/*mlkt 'šr wmm*lkt hm*lk m'lm*/ w*lk*l ['t][50],

[44] W. RÖLLIG, *The Phoenician Inscriptions*, in H. ÇAMBEL, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* II. *Karatepe-Aslantaş*, Berlin 1999, p. 50-81 (= *CHLI* II). The most detailed commentary of the inscriptions was provided by Fr. BRON, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*, Genève 1979. See also *KAI* 26; *TSSI* III, 15; E. LIPIŃSKI, *De fenicische inscripties uit Karatepe*, in K.R. VEENHOF (ed.), *Schrijvend Verleden*, Leiden-Zutphen 1983, p. 46-54; K.L. YOUNGER, *The Phoenician Inscription of Azitawada: An Integrated Reading*, in *JSS* 43 (1998), p. 11-47; Y. AVISHUR, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p.171-200.

[45] Beside the opinions referred to by Fr. BRON, *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 163-169, one can mention J.D. HAWKINS, *Some Historical Problems of the Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*, in *AnSt* 29 (1979), p. 153-167 (see p. 153-157); P. GARELLI, *Remarques sur les monuments de Karatepe* III. *Les données assyriennes*, in *RA* 75 (1981), p. 54-60.

[46] *CHLI* II, p. 50, 54, 62: Phu/A I, 10-11; Pho/B I, 5'-6'; PhSt/C I, 17-19; hieroglyphic text: *CHLI* I, p. 50-51, §XIV-XVI and XVIII.

[47] *Tigl. III*, p. 21, Ann. 21, line 8'; p. 68, line 11; p. 87, Ann. 3, line 4; p. 89, Ann. 27, line 3; p. 108, line 8; p. 170, line 7'.

[48] *SAA* I, 1, 5.

[49] The inscription was re-edited by A. LEMAIRE, *L'inscription phénicienne de Hassan-Beyli reconsidérée*, in *RSF* 11 (1983), p. 9-19 and Pl. I. Lemaire points out (p. 10) that the shape of the letters *k* and *m* suggests a slightly higher date than the Karatepe inscriptions, but the differences involved are not significative. They may depend on the age of the scribe.

[50] Lines 4'-6'. The descending stroke of the *nūn* of *'šrdn* seems to appear under the *l* of the Byzantine inscription engraved across the Phoenician text. The traces do not favour

"King Ashurdan entered [in] the territory belonging to Awarku, but the kingdom of Assyria and the kingdom of the king made peace in Aleppo (?), from everlasting to all [time]"[51]. The title *mlk* usually precedes the proper name of the king. There are numerous examples of this scribal practice in Phoenicia proper (*mlk 'šmn'zr, mlk Tbnt, mlk B'n'*), on Cyprus (*mlk B'lrm, mlk Mlkytn, mlk Pmyytn*), in Anatolia (*hmlk Wrblw*), in Israel and Judah (*hammelek Dāwīd, hammelek Šəlomoh, hammelek 'Asā'*, etc.). This is evident in the present case, since the use of the definite article in *hmlk* precludes the interpretation of the following *'šr* as the name of Assyria.

The reading of Ashurdan's name allows connecting this inscription with a hieroglyphic Luwian inscription of Yariris, ruler of Carchemish, where the name of the Assyrian king seems to be spelt VAS/COR(?)-*á-ta-na-śa-'*[52], what H.Th. Bossert interpreted as "Ashurdan"[53]. In fact, VAS/COR is often used as determinative of *atara/i-*, "person", possibly related to Greek ἦτορ, "heart"[54]. Although the reading VAS/COR is somewhat uncertain, Bossert's suggestion is very attractive, especially if one notes that the Aramaic pronunciation of the city or country name "Assyria" was *'Ātur* or *'Ātor*. Since Aramaic spelling reveals an occasional change *ṯ* > *t* as early as the 8th century B.C.[55], an Aramaizing pronunciation of Ashurdan's name could easily trigger, at Carchemish, the hieroglyphic Luwian spelling VAS/COR-*á-ta-na-sà-'* of the king's name, as *ta* stood for *ta/da*. At any rate, the element *-atanas* (*-dān*) does not fit any other Assyrian royal name of the period in question. If Ashurdan III is mentioned in the Hassan-Beyli inscription, the latter can be dated about 765 B.C., when the Eponym Chronicle reports a campaign to northern Syria, followed by a plague[56]. This will be the approximate date of the İncirli inscription as well, since it mentions Awarku and is written also in

the reading of Ashur-nirari V's name. The letters of the Phoenician inscription not printed in italics are damaged.

[51] The translation of *hmlk 'šr* by "king of Assyria" (line 4) is grammatically incorrect; *mmlkt hmlk* (line 6) with the definite article refers to Awarku, the local ruler.

[52] *CHLI* I, p. 137, Karkemish A24a6. For the interpretation COR of the hieroglyphic symbol, see Th. VAN DEN HOUT, *Self, Soul and Portrait in Hieroglyphic Luwian*, in P. TARACHA (ed.), *Silva Anatolica. Anatolian Studies Presented to Maciej Popko*, Warsaw 2002, p. 171-186 (see p. 181-186).

[53] H.Th. BOSSERT, *Das H-H Wort für "Malstein"*, in *Belleten* 16 (1952), p. 495-545 (see p. 535-536).

[54] Th. VAN DEN HOUT, *art. cit.* (n. 52), p. 174, n. 20, with further literature.

[55] J. BLAU, *Marginalia Semitica II*, in *IOS* 2 (1972), p. 57-82 (see p. 72-74); *SAIO* I, p. 44 with n. 1.

[56] A. MILLARD, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire, 910-612 BC*, Helsinki 1994, p. 40.

Assyrian. İncirli lies about 30 km south of Maraş, probably close to the border between the kingdoms of Que and Gurgum. The fragmentary Phoenician text is not yet published, while the other two versions are in a very bad condition.

The Karatepe inscriptions should be dated some twenty years later[57], *ca.* 745 B.C., under Awarku's successor. Since Azatiwada does not call him *bn 'dny*, but speaks about *šrš 'dny*, "my Lord's stock" or "family", it is likely that Awarku was succeeded by a grandson, probably quite young, while Azatiwada was in charge of the State. Whatever the exact dates of Azatiwada's tenure of office, he no longer appears at the time of Tiglath-pileser III, when Wariyka of Que pays tribute to the Assyrian monarch.

5. The Names of Awarku and Wariyka

The hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician spellings of Wariyka's name are known at present thanks to the bilingual from Çineköy, found in 1997 about 30 km south of Adana. The inscription is engraved on the plinth of a basalt chariot drawn by two oxen, on which stands Wariyka's statue, and between the front legs of the oxen. The Luwian form of the king's name is *Wa/i-ra/i-i-ka-sá* and the Phoenician one can be reconstructed as *W[ryk]*[58]. This name is attested at Cebelireis Dağı[59] and corresponds to the fuller cuneiform spelling *Ú-ri-yí-ik-ki*[60]. It is obvious that this name cannot be identified with *A-wa/i-ra/i-ku-sa* / *'wrk*. Not only the initial *a-* is missing in Wariyka's name, but the latter also contains the diphthong *-iy-* and has an ending *-kas* instead of *-kus*, while the alternation *a/u* is not attested in Luwian. The name of Wariyka's father is lost in the hieroglyphic text, while there was no room for the patronymic in the Phoenician version, as we shall see below[61].

Neither royal name is Semitic or Luwian. Some forty years ago A. Goetze had suggested that Awarku bears a Hurrian name like two of his predecessors in the 9th century B.C., viz. Kate and Kirri[62]. This opinion

[57] Fifteen years is the span of time assumed in J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Roma 1999, Pl. I.

[58] R. TEKOĞLU - A. LEMAIRE, *art. cit.* (n. 39), Luwian §1 and §2; Phoenician, line 1.

[59] P.G. MOSCA - J. RUSSELL, *A Phoenician Inscription from Cebel Ires Dağı in Rough Cilicia*, in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 9 (1987), p. 1-28, Pls. 1-4 (see line 8A-B).

[60] *Tigl. III*, p. 21, Ann. 21, line 8'; p. 87, Ann. 3, line 4; p. 89, Ann. 27, line 3. The cuneiform signs *ú* and *u* may indicate the syllable *wa*, like in *Pa-na-mu-ú* for *Panāmuwa*.

[61] See below, p. 128-130.

[62] A. GOETZE, *Cilicians*, in *JCS* 16 (1962), p. 48-58 (see p. 53). Beside *ewri-*, "lord", a noun *awari-*, "field", "steppe", occurs in Hurrian: E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue*

is sometimes repeated without new onomastic study, although so far no Hurro-Urartian anthroponym similar to Awarku and ending in *-ku-* has been found. As for Kate and Kirri, both bear Anatolian names[63]. Considering the lack of distinction between voiced and unvoiced occlusives in hieroglyphic Luwian, the first name can probably be identified with Καδεας and Καδις, attested in Graeco-Roman times[64], while ᵐ*Ke-er-re-i* should be equated with the *Xerei* of an Epichoric Lycian coin legend[65].

As for Awarku's name, ancient Greek seems to offer good parallels from the moment that one duly reckons with the specificities of hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician scripts. The present-day reading of hieroglyphic Luwian does not recognize particular signs that would indicate the vowel *e*[66], neither does the script distinguish velars, spirantized velars, and labio-velars. The situation is here the same as in Phoenician. Now, the Greek vowel *e* can correspond to Luwian *á*, which is the first sign in Awarku's and Azatiwada's names. It has been noticed that the toponym Azatiwadya, the city (re)founded by Azatiwada, appears to be identical with the old name ΕστϜεδιυς of the city Aspendus in Pamphylia[67], present-day Belkis. If this is the case, *á* corresponds here to ε. As for the velars, Phoenician writing distinguishes voiced *g* from unvoiced *k*, contrary to Luwian, but employs *k* to indicate χ, like in *'rkt'*[68] which transcribes 'Αρχέτος, 'Αρχίτας, 'Αρχύτας or 'Αρχύτος[69]. The situation is the same in Mycenaean, Cypriot, and Luwian syllabic scripts.

Taking these data into consideration, one should equate Awarku's name with Greek ''ΕϜαρχος, "well governing"[70]. This proper name is

hourrite I (= *RHA* 34 [1976]), Paris 1978, p. 65-66. It may even be attested in the 8th century B.C. by the name *A-ú-a-ri-is-ar-nu* (*PNA* I/1, p. 237b), whose origin and meaning are so far unknown.

[63] For Neo-Assyrian references, see *PNA* II/1, p. 609 and 619-620.

[64] L. Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 207, §500-3 and 4.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 225, §580-7: *Kerẽi.*

[66] Sign *450 of E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, Paris 1960, read nowadays *à*, was interpreted as *e* by I.J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* III, Chicago 1942.

[67] H. Grégoire, *Azitawada-Estwed*, in *La Nouvelle Clio* 1-2 (1949-50), p. 122-127; R. Goossens, *À propos des inscriptions de Karatepe*, in *La Nouvelle Clio* 1-2 (1949-50), p. 201-205; A. Heubeck, *ΑΣΠΕΝΔΟΣ*, in *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 4 (1953), p. 122-125; Id., 'ΕστϜεδιυς-''Ασπενδος *et Asitawandas ou Azitawadda d'Azitawandi - L'origine de l'arménien ASTUAC, "Dieu"*, in *La Nouvelle Clio* 5 (1953), p 322-325. See the legend 'ΕστϜεδιυς (adjective) of the local coins.

[68] *CIS* I, 58, 4; 4701, 4 (?).

[69] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, Oxford 1987, p. 86b, 89a and c.

[70] Ch.R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Studia Phoenicia XV; OLA




Stater of Aspendus, 4th century B.C., with the full adjective ΣτεϜεδιιυς, "of Aspendus", on the reverse, behind the slinger.

attested in Euboea, possibly at Chalcis, as early as the 8th century B.C.[71], and it occurs frequently on the Aegean Islands, also on Cyprus[72]. Greek χ is expressed in Phoenician by *k* also in another name from southern Anatolia, engraved in the 7th century B.C. on a stamp seal. The seal was bought in 1979 by the Museum of Ereğli from an inhabitant of Karaman, a town situated about 100 km south-east of Konya. The inscription, engraved in three registers in the characteristic script of the 7th century B.C., can be read *l'r/kby/š hbr* without difficulty[73]: "(belonging) to 'Αρχίβιος, stew(ard)". The *yōd* occupied too much space in the second register and the *šin* had to be engraved in the third one, leaving no room for the last letter of the word *hbrk*, "steward", which occurs on several Phoenician stamp seals from Cilicia[74]. The Greek proper name 'Αρχίβιος is well attested on the Aegean Islands[75]. The final -ς is indicated by *š*, like later in the inscriptions from the Lapethos area, in northern Cyprus[76].

Turning now to the name of Wariyka, it should be stressed that it seems to be Greek as well. In fact, Wariyka strongly resembles *Wo-ro-i-ko*, the name borne by Cypriot kings of Amathus in the 5th and 4th cen-

90), Leuven 2000, p. 38-39: "Good Ruler". Cf. H.G. Liddell - R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1996, p. 707a.

[71] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* VI, 3, 3.

[72] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 69), p. 171b.

[73] The seal was published by A. Lemaire, *Sceau phénicien de la région de Karaman (Turquie)*, in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997), p. 123-126. Lemaire reads the second letter as *w* instead of *aleph*. Such a reading is impossible, while the *aleph* can be seen on the photograph and, very clearly, on the seal impression.

[74] Cf. here below, p. 124-126 and 130-133.

[75] P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 69), p. 87a-b.

[76] See here above, p. 81. A similar practice seems to occur in the spelling of apparently Philistine names: J. Naveh, *Writing and Scripts in Seventh-Century B.C.E. Philistia: The New Evidence from Tell Jemmeh*, in *IEJ* 35 (1985), p. 8-21 and Pls. 2-4 (see p. 13).

turies B.C.[77] Its classical Greek form is 'Ροῖκος, which means "crooked", "lame", while the original stem is **wreik-*[78], to which the Anatolian ending *-as(a)* is simply added in *Wa/i-ra/i-i-ka-sá*. The Anatolian place name *Wrykly*, mentioned in the Cebelireis Dağı inscription[79], does not constitute an objection against the Greek origin of the anthroponym. It has been "Luwianized" by the addition of the suffix *-li* of proper names, operative in the first millennium B.C.[80], and changed into a toponym by the suffix *-ya*, appearing also in Azatiwadya.

An important fact is provided here by the belief that the local dynasty descended from Mopsus, in Luwian *Mukasas*. The Phoenician name *Mpš*[81], attested both at Karatepe and at Çineköy, is based on the Greek classical form Μόψος, while the Luwian form goes back to *Muk*^{w}*asa-*, still occurring in Linear B as *Mo-qo-so*[82], where conventional *qo* stands for *k*^{w}*o*. In fact, the Indo-European labio-velar phone *k*^{w} changed into a labial *p* in the latest phase of the evolution of the Greek language[83], which is reflected in Phoenician *Mpš*. The appearance of the name at Karatepe and at Çineköy suggests thus that the bearer of this name, as recorded at that time in Cilicia, was Greek, not Anatolian. The Luwian form of the name represents a fossilized tradition, which goes back to the Late Bronze Age and may be related to the *Mopsus* referred to in the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea, preserved in a translation of St. Jerome. It reports for 1184 B.C.: *Mopsus regnabat in Cilicia, a quo Mopsicrenae et Mopsistiae*[84]. While the Karatepe inscriptions speak of the "house of Mukasas/Mopsus", the Çineköy bilingual qualifies

[77] See here above, p. 74. The opposition *War- / Wor-* recalls that of Attic καρδία and Cypriot κορζία, formerly *κορδία, "heart"; cf. M. LEJEUNE, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris 1972, p. 197, §201, and p. 265, §263-3.

[78] Cf. É. BOISACQ, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 2nd ed., Heidelberg-Paris 1923, p. 843; P. CHANTRAINE, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 974.

[79] P.G. MOSCA - J. RUSSELL, *art. cit.* (n. 59), line 3B.

[80] G. NEUMANN, *Typen einstämmiger lykischer Personennamen,* in *Orientalia* 52 (1983), p. 127-132 (see p. 131).

[81] Karatepe, *CHLI* II, p. 50, 52, 56: Phu/A I, 16; II, 15; III, 11; Pho/B I, [9']; II, 2; Luwian: *CHLI* I, p. 51 and 56, § XXI, LVIII. Cf. Fr. BRON, *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 172-176.

[82] M. VENTRIS - J. CHADWICK, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1973, p. 562: KN De 1381; PY Sa 774.

[83] A. MEILLET - J. VENDRYES, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, 3rd ed., Paris 1960, p. 60, 83; M. LEJEUNE, *op. cit.* (n. 77), p. 52, §40. For example, Greek ἧπαρ corresponds etymologically to Latin *iecur*, "liver".

[84] R. HELM (ed.), *Eusebius: Werke* VII. *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (GCS 47), 2nd ed., Berlin 1956, p. 60b. A survey of the sources related to Mopsus, both classical and oriental, as well as a comparison with archaeological data, is provided by J. VANSCHOONWINKEL, *Mopsos: légendes et réalité,* in *Hethitica* 10 (1990), p. 181-211.

Wariyka as *[Mu-ka]-sa-sa* INFANS.NEPOS-*si-sà*, "scion of Mukasa"[85], or *[pr]' špḥ Mpš*, "offspring of the family of Mopsus"[86].

6. Titles of Awarku and Wariyka

Notwithstanding the appurtenance of both kings to the same dynasty, the royal titles of Awarku and Wariyka are different. In the Hassan-Beyli inscription, Awarku bears the title of *mlkdn*, "king of Adana"[87]. At Karatepe, the Luwian title *á-tana-wa/i-ní-i-sá*(URBS) REX-*ti-sá*, "the Adanawean king", corresponds to Phoenician *mlk Dnnym*, "king of the Danunians"[88]. The gentilic plural *Dnnym* has often been related to the Greek Δαναοί, but these are different names and the *Dnnym* are no else than the inhabitants of Adana. The reduplicated *n* is based on the gentilic Luwian form and there is aphaeresis of *a-* like in the Egyptian transcription *D3-ì-n-3w-n3* of Ramesses III's inscriptions[89] and already in an El-Amarna letter[90]. The Egyptian transcription is more precise, since it preserves the *wa* of the Luwian place name *Adanawa*. As for the Δαναοί, they should very likely be identified with the *Tì-n3-y* or *Tì-n3-y-w* listed in the Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom[91].

At Çineköy, Wariyka is not called "Adanawean king" but "Hiyawean king", *Hi-ia-wa/i-[ni]-sá*(URBS) REX-*ti-sa*[92]. Since Anatolian *h* is often indicated in Semitic languages by *q*, there is little doubt that this place name corresponds to Aramaic or Hebrew *Qwh*[93] and to Neo-Assyrian *Que*, also written *Qa-a-ú-e*[94], where the spelling *Qa-a-* reveals the presence of the diphthong *ya*. The Phoenician title is lost, but there was certainly no place in line 2 for *mlk Dnnym*. One may assume that the title was *mlk 'dn* or *mlkdn*, like in the inscription from Hassan-Beyli[95].

[85] R. TEGOĞLU, in *art. cit.* (n. 39), p. 974 and 976, n. 12.

[86] Phoenician text, lines 1-2. The denominative verbal form *ypry'* in Hos. 13, 15 preserves the original root *pr'* of the noun *pry* in biblical Hebrew, *pr* in Late Phoenician, *pry* in Punic, meaning "fruit", "offspring". There is no need to create a word *'špḥ*.

[87] Line 3: *mlkdn* is a *sandhi* spelling.

[88] *CHLI* I, p. 49, Karatepe, Hu §II and Ho 7; Pho/A I, 2.

[89] W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979, p. 243-245.

[90] *EA* 151, 52.

[91] W. HELCK, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 52. However, another explanation ("Athenians") of the name in Egyptian texts was proposed by O. CARRUBA, *La Grecia e l'Egitto nel II millennio,* in *Istituto Lombardo. Rendiconti. Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche* 129 (1995), p. 141-160 (see p. 148-151).

[92] Çineköy §1.

[93] *KAI* 202 = *TSSI* II, 5, A, 5-6; I Kings 10, 28; II Chron. 1, 16.

[94] *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.14, p. 67, line 101; cf. PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 288-289.

[95] See above, p. 117, n. 49.

R. Tegoğlu connects *Hiyawa* with the Aḫḫiyawa of the Hittite texts and the Ὑπαχαιοί of Herodotus VII, 91[96]. The aphaeresis of *a* is possible and supported by the cases of *Su-ra/i-ia-sa*(URBS) and *Dnnym*. From the historical point of view, the large amounts of Mycenaean pottery discovered at Tarsus, Kazanlı and Mersin suggest that these Cilician places were either Mycenaean emporia or had capacious Mycenaean warehouses about the 14th-13th centuries B.C.[97] The main role was probably played by Tarsus, whose importance was the result of its excellent and safe harbour at the mouth of the Cydnus River and its possession of a fertile territory. The *'I-q3-(y-)w3-s3* mentioned among the Sea Peoples in Merneptah's inscriptions at Karnak and Athribis[98] are most likely the Achaeans of Anatolia[99], whose presence in Cilicia seems to have been recorded by genuine historical memory until the days of Wariyka and of Herodotus.

Another question concerns the possible political significance of the substitution of the royal title "Adanawean king" by "Hiyawean king", corresponding to the Neo-Assyrian qualification of Urikki as the *Qu-u-a-a*. This question cannot be answered in the present state of our knowledge.

The second Wariyka's title is religious: (DEUS)TONIT[RUS]-*hu-t*[*a-sa* SERVUS-*ta*$_4$-*sa*], "servant of Tarhunza". It is paralleled in Phoenician by *hbrk B'l*, "steward of Baal", a title borne also by Azatiwada at Karatepe. It is followed there by *'bd b'l*, where *b'l* may correspond to the Luwian royal title REGIO.DOMINUS, "landlord", while *'bd* is the usual title of ministers, appearing on West-Semitic seals, and of vassals like Bar-Rakkāb, "servant of Tiglath-pileser"[100]. The occurrences of *hbrk* in Phoenician show that the language continued to use an officer's title which was bor-

[96] R. TEGOĞLU, in *art. cit.* (n. 39), p. 980-981.

[97] M. MARAZZI, *Mykener in Vorderasien*, in *RLA* VIII, Berlin 1993-97, p. 528-534, in particular the map on p. 530. See also C. ÖZGÜNEL, *Mykenische Keramik in Anatolien* (Asia Minor Studien 23), Bonn 1996, especially p. 6-7 with references. Recent discoveries of Mycenaean pottery and tombs in western Anatolia, especially in the central area between Bodrum and İzmir, have considerably increased the evidence of Mycenaean settlement in this region. References can be found in D.F. EASTON - J.D. HAWKINS - A.G. SHERRATT - E.S. SHERRATT, *Troy in Recent Perspective*, in *AnSt* 52 (2002), p. 75-109 (see p. 96).

[98] W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5), 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971, p. 227, 230, 282. Recent translation of the texts: K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Translations* IV, Oxford 2003, p. 2 and 7.

[99] Cf. O. CARRUBA, *art. cit.* (n. 91), p. 151-152.

[100] *DNWSI*, p. 817-818.

rowed in the third millennium B.C. by Northwest Semitic from Old Sumerian a g r i g, probably derived from *a b a r i g by regressive assimilation[101]. The Ebla bilingual repertories list the following masculine forms of the title[102]:

a g r i g = *'à-ga-ra-gú-um*
a g r i g = *'à-ga-ra-gú*
a g r i g = *'à-ba-ru*$_{12}$-*gú*

The title is attested there also in the feminine[103]:

a g r i g - m í = *'à-ga-ra-kà-tum*
a g r i g - m í = [*'à*]-*ba-ru*$_{12}$-[*kà*]-*tum*

The first sign *'à* of the Eblaite column generally marks the syllable *ha*, thus indicating that the Phoenician spelling *hbrk* preserves the original shape of the word[104]. However, one must reckon here with two phonetic developments in Northwest Semitic, before the mid-first millennium B.C. Contrary to Hebrew scribal practice, the definite article *h*- was apparently not written in Phoenician before a word beginning with *h*. Like in Hebrew, as it seems, this initial *h* was not geminated and it was elided altogether between two vowels, already in an early period, thus changing **hā-habrēk* into **hābrēk*. This would explain the particular spelling *hbrk(t)* of the title *hbrk* or *hbrkt* appearing on several stamp seals of probable Cilician provenance[105], and designating "**the** steward", with the definite article *ha*-[106]. Independently from this elision of intervocalic *h*, there is an aphaeresis of *h* in the unique Hebrew attestation of the word *'abrēk* in Gen. 41, 43, where an *aleph* is used to introduce the

[101] St.J. LIEBERMAN, *The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian* (HSS 22), Missoula 1977, p. 128, §15.

[102] G. PETTINATO, *Testi lessicali bilingui della biblioteca L. 2769* (MEE 4), Napoli 1982, p. 279, No. 706.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 279, No. 707.

[104] The situation is the same as in the case of *h(y)kl*, "palace", borrowed from Old Sumerian **haykal*, not from Akkadian *ekallu*; cf. A. FALKENSTEIN, *Das Sumerische*, Leiden 1959, p. 25, §8a3. One may add the Ugaritic spelling *Hyn* of the divine name Ea (**Haya*); cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Éa, Kothar et El*, in *UF* 20 (1988), p. 137-143 (see p. 137-138).

[105] N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 267-269, Nos. 717, 718, 720, 722, 723, with references to earlier literature and, in each case, an erroneous interpretation of *hbrk*.

[106] The use of the article before a *nomen professionis* is confirmed by the first title *hspr* borne by the proprietor of one of these stamp seals: N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 268, No. 720. Other Phoenician examples are provided by *hrpd*, "the courier", "the carrier", in a seal legend (N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.*, p. 265, No. 714), and by the titles *hskn, hml'k*, and *hspr* in the inscriptions from Karatepe (*CHLI* II, p. 69: Pho/S.I.a, 4) and Cebelireis Dağı (P.G. MOSCA - J. RUSSELL, *art. cit.* [n. 59], lines 9B and C3). Cf. J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 211, §298, 1.

initial vowel. The same phenomenon seems to occur in the related Punic feminine name *'brkt*[107], "housekeeper", where *aleph* introduces the initial vowel like in Hebrew *'abrēk*.

The passage of Gen. 41, 41-43 indicates that *'abrēk* can designate the highest official in the kingdom: "Pharaoh said to Joseph, ' I hereby give you authority over the whole land of Egypt'. He took off his signet ring and put it on Joseph's finger, he had him dressed in fine linen, and hung a gold chain round his neck. He mounted him in his treasurer's (*hammišneh*) chariot and men cried 'Viceroy!' (*'abrēk*) before him, because Pharaoh made him ruler over all Egypt". The use of *hbrk* as title of Wariyka and of Azatiwada is indicative of the same connotation, but its presence in the legend of stamp seals, also as the second title of a scribe[108], and the feminine proper name *'brkt* may just imply that the stewards in question were responsible for a palace or a warehouse. In Akkadian texts of the first millennium B.C., *abrikku*, *abarakku*, and other variants are replaced by *mašennu*, which is currently translated by "treasurer". Also this word occurs in the Hebrew text of Gen 41, 43 with a final *-h* adapting the loanword to Hebrew lexicography.

The third title of Wariyka is completely lost in the hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, but the Phoenician version preserves the word *'š*, "man", which may indeed correspond to CAPUT-*ti-i-sa*. However, the latter could not be preceded here by (DEUS)SOL-*mi-sa* like in the Karatepe inscription §1, because "His Majesty's man"[109] is no royal title. To understand the grammatical construction underlying the Luwian phrase and the pseudo-literal translation "Sun-blessed man", still proposed by some authors, one should remember that Luwian has functionally replaced the genitive of the noun by a "relational adjective" which agrees with the governing noun: thus "king of Adanawa" is expressed by "Adanawean king". This explains why "His Majesty's man" may be signified without using CAPUT-*ti-i-sa*[110]. As for the specific translation "Sun-blessed" rather than "Sun-enlightened" or the like[111], it seems to echo the grammatically erroneous interpretation of Phoenician *hbrk b'l* as "blessed by Baal". In fact, a noun in the construct state is not pre-

[107] *CIS* I, 515, 3; 1427, 2.
[108] N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 268, No. 720. See also below, p. 132.
[109] (DEUS)SOL-*mi-sa* is a transposition of Hittite DINGIR.UTU.ŠI, "my Sun", i.e. "His Majesty".
[110] Thus *CHLI* I, p. 336, Boybeypınarı 2, §5.
[111] "King illuminated by the rays of the Sun God" is the translation proposed by N.V. KHAZARADZE, *Royal Power in Late Hittite Political Entities*, in H. KLENGEL (ed.), *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien*, Berlin 1982, p. 121-126 (see p. 122).

ceded in Phoenician by a definite article and *hbrk* occurs as an officer's title in the legend of the stamp seals[112].

In the Çineköy inscription, one may instead reconstruct DEUS-*na-ti* (LITUUS+)*á-za-mi-i-sa* CAPUT-*ti-i-sa*[113], "gods' beloved man", and read in the Phoenician version *'š* [*'lm*], "man of the gods", a phrase which occurs in the legend of a Phoenician stamp seal[114]. In fact, also §3 mentions Tarhunza and Wariyka's gods, just like line 5 of the Phoenician version, thus presenting a clear parallelism to the reconstructed royal title.

7. The Çineköy Inscription

Contrary to the Karatepe inscriptions, which never mention Assyria, the core of the Çineköy bilingual shows that Wariyka was a vassal of the Assyrian king and that accomplishment of military efforts secured him the benevolence of Tiglath-pileser III. The "gerundive" construction used twice in the Phoenician version (*p'l 'nk* and *bn 'nk*)[115] underscores the link between Wariyka's military efforts and the condescension of the overlord:

1) *'nk W*[*ryk pr*][116]	"I am Wa[riyka, sci-]
2) *' šph Mpš* [*mlk 'dn*]	on of the family of Mopsus[, king of Adana,]
3) *hbrk b'l 'š*[*'lm yrḥ*][117]	steward of Baal, man [of the gods. I exten-]
4) *bt 'rṣ 'mq* [*'dn b'br*]	ded the land of the plain of [Adana by the grace of]
5) *B'l wb'br '*[*lm wp'*]	Baal and by the grace of the go[ds. And I having]
6) *l 'nk 'p ss* [*'l ss m*]	also acquired horse [upon horse, ar-]
7) *ḥnt 'l mḥnt wmlk* [*'šr w*]	my upon army, the king of [Ashur and]
8) *kl bt 'šr kn ly l'b*[*wl*]	all the house of Ashur became for me like a father [and like]
9) *' m wdnnym w'šrym*	a mother, and Danunians and Assyrians
10) *kn lbt 'ḥd wbn 'nk ḥmy*[*t*]	became like one house. And I having built fortresses,

[112] See below, p. 130-133.
[113] The phrase occurs in other inscriptions: *CHLI* I, p. 105, 124, 130, 263, 336, 527, Karkemish A6, 1; A11b, 1, §1; A15b, 1, §1; Boybeypınarı 2, §5; Maraş 1, 3, §1h; Niğde 2.
[114] N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 268, No. 719.
[115] LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §42.12 and §53.5. These paragraphs do not contain any corresponding Tigrinya examples; see R.M. VOIGT, *Das tigrinische Verbalsystem*, Berlin 1977, p. 150.
[116] Larger letters and interspaces in line 1 leave room for no more than five letters in the broken part of this line.
[117] The restoration *yrḥbt* is based on Karatepe, *CHLI* II, p. 50: Pho/A I, 4.

11) *bmṣʾ šmš šmnt 8 wbm*	eight 8 at the rising of the sun and at the
12) *bʾ šmš šbʿt 7 wkn 15*	setting of the sun seven 7, they became 15"[118].

Since Wariyka is known to have faithfully paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 and 732 B.C., the bilingual inscription can be dated *ca.* 735 B.C., perhaps a few years earlier, because Wariyka re-uses phrases occurring in the Karatepe inscriptions, even claiming the merit of strengthening the army and building fortresses, what should be regarded rather as Azatiwada's achievement.

The Assyrian dynastic crisis, which gave the power to Sargon II in 722 B.C., was probably an occasion for Que to recover its independence. However, Sargon II appears to have conquered the eastern provinces of the kingdom, where he appointed Aššur-šar-uṣur as governor[119]. Wariyka was nevertheless active as late as 709 B.C., as appears from Sargon II's correspondence[120]. He was living either in exile or in a western, mountainous region of the kingdom, which was not occupied by the Assyrians, and he tried to establish closer relations with Urartu, but his messengers were intercepted on their way by the Phrygians. The throne of Urartu was then occupied after Rusa I's (*ca.* 730-714/3 B.C.) death by his son Argišti II (713- *ca.* 690 B.C.), a ruler who has survived until the mid-reign of Sennacherib and was busy restoring the power of Urartu[121]. It does not appear however that he had an influence on the situation in Cilicia.

8. The Cebelireis Dağı Inscription

Wariyka, who probably became king in his prime youth, *ca.* 750 B.C., is not mentioned in later Assyrian sources, but the Phoenician inscription from Cebelireis Dağı refers to a Wariyka II[122] who, considering the Anatolian tradition of papponymy, may have been his grandson. This

[118] Following lines 13-18 are partly illegible on the photograph and the squeeze, but they do not seem to refer any longer to Assyrians.

[119] *PNA* I/1, p. 218-219, No. 2.

[120] *SAA* I, 1, 3-5; cf. J.N. POSTGATE, *Assyrian Texts and Fragments*, in *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 13-36 (see p. 21-34).

[121] See, among others, N.V. HAROUTIOUNIAN, *La nouvelle inscription ourartéenne découverte en Arménie soviétique*, in H. KLENGEL (ed.), *Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien*, Berlin 1982, p. 89-93. Regnal years according to B. & M. SALVINI, *Ararat and Urartu. Holy Bible and History*, in R. DEUTSCH (ed.), *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, Iconography, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff*, Jaffa-Tel Aviv 2003, p. 225-242 (see p. 241).

[122] P.G. MOSCA - J. RUSSELL, *art. cit.* [n. 59], line 8A/B.

would suggest dating the inscription from the mid-7th century B.C. instead of its second part, *ca.* 625 B.C. Palaeography is not opposed to this higher dating, especially if the Hassan-Beyli and Karatepe inscriptions are dated from the mid-8th century B.C.

The inscription was discovered in 1980 at the site of an ancient city, probably called Laërtes in Roman times[123]. It was located at about 750 metres of altitude on the Cebelireis Dağı, a prominent mountain about 15 km east of Alanya. The site lies therefore in Rough Cilicia and gives an idea of the western extension of the kingdom of Que, possibly explaining how Wariyka I could still be active at the time when an Assyrian governor was ruling in the eastern provinces of Que. The inscription is well preserved and provided with word-dividers. It records the settlement of a dispute concerning lands allotted to Masanaʾzimiš by the governor of *Ylbš*, probably the Byzantine district of Βολβόσος at the frontier of Pamphylia[124]. After an account of the events, that have obviously lasted for several years, one sentence reports their happy end: *wkm ˊʾš ˊygl ˊʾyt ˊMsnzmš ˊbymt ˊʾzwšš ˊw ˊysb ˊmlk ˊWryk ˊl-Msnʾzmš ˊkl ˊhšdyt ˊʾl*, "but when they brought to light the proofs of Masanazimiš in the days of Azawašuš, then king Wariyka turned over to Masanaʾzimiš all these fields"[125].

Beside the sheer fact that this inscription is written in Phoenician, the name of the governor of Yolboš presents a particular interest for our purpose. His name *ʾšlprn* has been compared with the feminine names *ʾšlthy*[126] and *ʾšwlkrty*[127], the first element was related to *A-šu-la*, attested on Cappadocian tablets from the 18th-17th centuries B.C.[128], and the second one compared with the Hittite noun *parna*, "house". This approach

[123] G.E. BEAN - T.B. MITFORD, *Sites Old and New in Rough Cilicia*, in *AnSt* 12 (1962), p. 185-217; *PECS*, p. 476. It would then be the native city of Diogenes Laërtius.

[124] W.M. RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, London 1890, p. 371, 383, 417, and the map facing p. 330; G.E. BEAN - T.B. MITFORD, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968* (ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 102; Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 3), Wien 1970, p. 125; P.G. MOSCA - J. RUSSELL, *art. cit.* (n. 59), p. 7.

[125] The noun *ʾyt* is the feminine plural (cf. J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* [n. 57], p. 154, §230, 1) of *ʾīt*, "sign", "record", corresponding to Hebrew *ʾōt* and Akkadian *ittu*. See further here below, p. 140. The interpretations of P.G. MOSCA - J. RUSSELL, *art. cit.* (n. 59), p. 17-18, and A. LEMAIRE, *Une inscription phénicienne découverte récemment et le mariage de Ruth la Moabite*, in *Yigael Yadin Memorial Volume* (ErIs 20), Jerusalem 1989, p. 124*-129*, are unsatisfactory, and Lemaire's comparison with the case of Ruth is far-fetched. The name *Msn(ʾ)zmš* occurs also at Karatepe in hieroglyphic script: E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 115, No. 773.

[126] N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 267-268, No. 718.

[127] *KAI* 261 = *TSSI* II, 35, 4.

[128] E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 47, No. 190.

does not provide any explanation for the three names in question and authors overlook the fact that *'šlprn* does not end in *š* like the Anatolian proper names of the inscription and that M. Lidzbarski's copy of the Aramaic Saraïdin inscription indicates a larger space between *'šw* and *lkrty*[129]. In this case, we thus have the feminine name *Ašwe*, "dear"[130], followed by the preposition *l-* and the patronymic *Kurti(s)*, *Ku+ra/i-ti-(i-)sá*[131], *mKur-ti-i* in Neo-Assyrian texts[132]. The feminine name *'šlthy* has its masculine counterpart *Taḫišalliš* at Hattusha[133]. The comparison of the two names shows that the components are *išalli* and *tah*, to which a suffix *-ya* or *-ei* is added. As for the masculine name *'šlprn*, it cannot be composed of two elements attested as distinct proper names, viz. *mU-ša-al-la* or Οσαλλας and Παρνος[134]. It represents a Phoenician compound name, without the Luwian ending *-š*. Its first element is *'š*, "man", and the second one is *lprn*, the Hittite-Luwian royal title, attested as a proper name in hieroglyphic Luwian and spelled then *La-pa+ra/i-na-*[135]. "King's man" can certainly be regarded as an "aulic name" and it is highly significative that it was coined in Phoenician, following a Phoenician pattern[136].

The title *skn* of the governor is also Phoenician, but we cannot determine the difference between the function of a *skn* and of a *hbrk*, "steward", in a satisfactory way. However, the feminine *hbrkt* suggests that *hbrk* was mainly a majordomo, while *skn* was the governor of a province, like the Assyrian *šaknu*[137].

9. Seals from Cilicia

The title *hbrk*, "steward", appears on several stamp seals connected with Cilicia and datable to the second part of the 8th or to the early 7th century B.C. Although the seals bear Phoenician legends, the names of

[129] M. LIDZBARSKI, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar 1898, Pl. XXVI, 3, which is reproduced in *KAI* III, Pl. XXI. The inscription is engraved on rock in the Lamas Valley, southwest of Tarsus.

[130] Cf. A. GOETZE, *Suffixes in "Kanishite" Proper Names*, in *RHA* 18 (1960), p. 45-55 (see p. 50); E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 321.

[131] *CHLI* I, p. 479 and 483, Bohça 1; Hisarcik 2, 3, §5.

[132] *PNA* II/1, p. 642.

[133] E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 169, No. 1203.

[134] E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 199, No. 1451; L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 384, n. 82, and p. 418, §1207.

[135] *CHLI* I, p. 145 and 413, Cekke, rev. 3, §9; Hama 7,2 §3. Cf. F. STARKE, *Labarna*, in *RLA* VI, Berlin 1980-83, p. 404-408.

[136] Cf. BENZ, p. 277-278.

[137] W. RÖLLIG, in *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 71b; *DNWSI*, p. 785-786.

the owners are generally Anatolian. Semitic explanations have nevertheless been proposed for the name of the owner of the Berlin seal VA 2791[138]: *l-'ṣy hbrk hḥtm z*, "this seal belongs to Asiya, the steward". In particular, R. Zadok added the *h* of *hbrk* to *'ṣy*, reading thus *'ṣyh brk*, "Aṣyahu, (son) of Baruch"[139], and relating *'ṣ* to the root *'w/yṣ*, which appears in the Punic name *'ṣb'l*[140]. The name *'ṣyh* would then mean: "Yahweh hurried (to help)". Interpretations of proper names, proposed independently from literary and historical contexts, are methodologically questionable and, in this particular case, A. Lemaire has shown that there is a consistent group of probably Cilician stamp seals with the qualification of the owner as *hbrk*[141]. Moreover, the script of these seals does not show any characteristics of Palaeo-Hebrew script, while the letters *k, m, z* closely resemble those of the Karatepe inscriptions. The name *'ṣy* can be compared with Αζιος, Ασιος, Ασης, Ασις, Οσαεις, Οσαις, Οσαης, Οσειος[142]. The lack of final *š* is no major problem, since names ending in *-y(a)* can be written without it, not only feminine names like the *'šlthy* of the legend *l-'šlthy hbrkt*[143], but also masculine anthroponyms like *Arma-piya* (LUNA-*pi-a*), *Tarḫu(nta)-piya* (TONITRUS-*pi-a*), *U-la-na-pi-a*[144].

The successive editors of a seal housed in the National Library in Paris[145] have read the owner's name as *Phlpš*. However, as noticed already by P. Bordreuil, the angular shape of *p* does not match the dating provided by *š*[146]. Instead of expressing doubts about the authenticity of the seal[147], one should simply notice that both supposed *p* are in reality *g*, very similar to the *g* of the Karatepe inscriptions[148]. The name

[138] L. JAKOB-ROST, *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum Berlin*, Mainz a/R 1997, No. 185; N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 267, No. 717.

[139] R. ZADOK, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosopography* (OLA 28), Leuven 1988, p. 316.

[140] *Ibid.*, p. 30. Cf. *CIS* I, 5769, 4-5.

[141] A. LEMAIRE, *Essai sur cinq sceaux phéniciens*, in *Semitica* 27 (1977), p. 29-40 and Pl. VI.

[142] L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 48, §20-2; p. 104, §117-2 and 3; p. 383-384, §1117-1 to 4.

[143] N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 267-268, No. 718.

[144] E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 39, Nos. 135: 1 and 4; 1267: 1 and 4; 1418.

[145] Cabinet des Médailles. Collection Fröhner 2191. Cf. N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 269, No. 723.

[146] P. BORDREUIL, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits*, Paris 1986, p. 43-44, No. 39, with excellent photographs.

[147] A. LEMAIRE, *L'écriture phénicienne en Cilicie et la diffusion des écritures alphabétiques*, in *Phoinikeia Grammata*, Liège-Namur 1991, p. 132-146, in particular p. 134, n. 6, does not answer the question in a satisfactory way.

[148] See the palaeographic table in W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 80-81.

should be read *Ghl-Gš*, where "h" serves at marking the etymological *aleph* of *g'l*. The interchange *'/h* requires a special study, but one can notice here that *aleph* appears to have been used in Cilicia as a vowel-letter[149]. Thus, a real laryngeal may have prompted the use of "h". The name is attested also in a Neo-Assyrian cuneiform text from the 7th century B.C.: m*Ga-la-Gu-su*, "Gūš has redeemed"[150]. The theophorous element suggests considering the name as Aramaic, since Gūš was the eponym of the dynasty ruling at Arpad until the period of the Karatepe inscriptions[151]. Since this was no Phoenician name, the marking of the laryngeal [ʔ] by means of "h" is also more understandable.

Doubts have been cast also on the authenticity of another stamp seal of the same group, housed in the National Library in Paris as well[152]. The difficulty results from the presence of a cross-shaped *taw* and of a *z*-shaped *zayin* in the same inscription[153]. This problem is resolved by the appearance of these forms in the same separate inscription Pho/S.I.a at Karatepe[154]. The owner of the seal bears a good Anatolian name: *l-Mwnnš / hspr hbr/k hḥtm z*, " This seal belongs to Muwanannaš, the scribe, the steward". The same name with the inverted order of the elements appears in Hellenistic times at Termessos: Ναννάμοας[155]. Above the three registers with the legend there is an Egyptian *ankh*-sign between two geometric figures. Below, a fifth register contains two framed "Crosses of Lorraine" and other geometric figures. G. Garbini regards them as five somewhat misshaped signs of the Cypriot syllabary and induces from this interpretation that the owner of the seal was Philistine[156]. It is hard to understand how this conclusion can be reached and, at any rate, the figures in question are not identical with Cypriot syllabic signs. Instead, we have seen that the owner of another seal belonging to this group bears the Greek name 'Αρχίβιος[157] .

149 This is the case of the probably Greek names *'wrk* and *'rkbyš* (cf. here above, p. 121), also of *'ztwd*, but the most conspicuous examples are those of *Msnzmš/Msn'zmš* and *Phlš/Phl'š*, written without and with internal *aleph* as vowel-letter: P.G. Mosca - J. Russell, *art. cit.* (n. 59), p. 24.

150 *PNA* I/2, p. 419b; cf. *SAA* XIV, 473, r. 9.

151 E. Lipiński, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 195-219.

152 Cabinet des Médailles. Collection Chandon de Briailles 238. Cf. N. Avigad - B. Sass, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 268, No. 720.

153 P. Bordreuil, *op. cit.* (n. 146), p. 42-43, No. 38, with excellent photographs.

154 See the palaeographic table in W. Röllig, *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 81.

155 L. Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 354, §1013-42.

156 G. Garbini, *I sigilli filistei*, in L Cagni (ed.), *Biblica et Semitica. Studi in memoria di Francesco Vattioni*, Napoli 1999, p. 235-243 (see p. 238-239).

157 See here above, p. 121.

An Anatolian name appears on the seal BM. 102968, *l-Nnšlbš hbrk*[158]. The name of its owner should not be divided in *nnš* and *lbš*, since it seems to be composed of the elements *Nanna* or *Nani*[159] and -σιλβις[160], possibly Hittite -*šulubi*- corresponding to hieroglyphic AVIS-*pi-sa*[161].

Another Phoenician seal from Cilicia bears the inscription *ḥtm šṣry*[162], which was interpreted as "Seal of the Tyrian". Although this explanation is correct from the grammatical point of view, the function attributed to *š* is fulfilled in West-Semitic sigillography by the preposition *l*, which is not required in this atypical case, after *ḥtm*. Therefore, the *š* is probably the head of a zigzag-headed *mēm*, which would give the reading *ḥtm* ⌞*M*⌟*ṣry*[163], "Seal of the Egyptian". "Egyptian" is a widely attested proper name or surname, generally designating somebody trading with Egypt or borne in Egypt. The name is attested later in Cilicia and Lycia[164], where it most likely refers to someone in trading relations with Egypt, especially when the name occurs in the harbour city of Korykos. The owner of the seal may thus be a Phoenician active in the sea trade with Egypt.

10. Warballawa's Stele

The seal of Archibius, found near Karaman, indicates that Phoenician influence penetrated also in Lycaonia. A conspicuous influence of this inland penetration is the Weather-god stele from İvriz with a hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician inscriptions[165]. The stele, the upper part of which is missing, was found in 1986 during irrigation works. Judging from the actual height of the stele, *ca.* 1.30 metre, and the preserved part of the bas-relief representing the Weather-god Tarḫunt walking to the right, the entire monument was at least 2 metres high. The obverse preserves the lower half of the Weather-god's figure and the hieroglyphic inscription carved in front of the figure and between its legs. The other

158 N. Avigad - B. Sass, *op. cit.* (n. 43), p. 269, No. 722.

159 Ph.H.J. Houwink ten Cate, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 142-144 and 154-155.

160 L. Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 277, §840-1: Μαγασιλβις. See also p. 465, §1426: Σιλβος.

161 E. Laroche, *op. cit.* (n. 66), p. 79; A.M. Jasink, *Gli stati neo-ittiti* (Studia Mediterranea 10), Pavia 1995, p. 64.

162 This is the reading of A. Dupont-Sommer, *Deux nouvelles inscriptions sémitiques trouvées en Cilicie*, in *JKF* 1 (1950-51), p. 43-47.

163 A. Lemaire, *art. cit.* (n. 147), p. 135-136. However, one should not forget Cypriot inscriptions on pottery like *š B'l, š 'ng*.

164 L. Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 319-320, §930-1 to 3.

165 Ereğli Museum, Inv. No. A 1991. A preliminary report is provided by B. Dinçol, *New Archaeological and Epigraphical Finds from İvriz: A Preliminary Report*, in *Tel Aviv* 21 (1994), p. 117-128 with photographs of the four sides of the stele.

sections of the hieroglyphic text are carved on the upper part of the reverse and of the right narrow edge. The Phoenician inscription occupies the whole left edge of the stele, as well as the lower part of the right edge and of the reverse, where the text has suffered extensive abrasion.

The stele has been commissioned by Warballawa (Warpalawa), son of Muwaharna, king of Tuwana, the classical Tyana in Cappadocia. His name is spelt *Wrblw* in Phoenician, in line 12' of the left edge, and it can be restored on the right edge, line 1, which seems to contain the beginning of the text: *'nk hmlk W[rblw]*, "I am king Wa[rballawa]". The king is known from hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions[166] and from Neo-Assyrian texts of Tiglath-pileser III, where his name is constantly spelt ^{m}*Ur-bal-la-a*[167]. The doubling of the *l* is confirmed by the Lycian name *Urebillaha*[168], but a single *l* is marked in Ορβαλασητας, a proper name dating to the 2nd century B.C.[169] and containing the element *warbala*.

Since Warballawa appears to have set up the stele "for his father"[170], like Bar-Rakkāb did for his father Panāmuwa II in the same period[171], the inscription must date from the early years of his reign, possibly before he paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 and 732 B.C. This dating is broadly supported by palaeography, although the script combines the older zigzag-headed *mēm* with the *z*-shaped *zayin*, just opposite the main Karatepe inscriptions. Like Azatiwada, Warballawa enumerates some of his activities, as suggested by the repeated phrase *'nk p'lt*, "I made", on the left edge of the stele.

The reign of Warballawa has been rather long, since he appears to have ruled as late as the last years of Sargon II. In fact, he is referred to about 709 B.C. in Sargon II's correspondence, in the letter also mentioning Wariyka[172]. He had sent a messenger to the Assyrian king, but the context does not suggest that he acted as a vassal king. He was succeeded by his son Muwaharna[173], bearing the same name as Warballawa's father. This practice of papponymy was widely attested in Anatolia at that time. At Gurgum, for instance, we find the following sequence of rulers from the same dynasty: Halparuntiya I, Muwatalli II, Halparuntiya II, Larama II, Halparuntiya III. At Melid, the grandson of Arnuwanti I was Arnuwanti II.

[166] E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 205, No. 1494, with references.

[167] *Tigl. III*, see the index on p. 293.

[168] E. KALINKA, *Tituli Asie Minoris* I. *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*, Wien 1901, No. 11 (TL 11). It is a personal name according to H.C. MELCHERT, *Lycian Lexicon*, 2nd ed., Chapel Hill 1993, p. 57 and 111.

[169] L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 379, §1102-1.

[170] W. RÖLLIG, *İvriz*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 237.

[171] *KAI* 215 = *TSSI* II, 14, 1.

[172] *SAA* I, 1, 26-30; cf. above, p. 128, n. 120.

[173] *CHLI* I, p. 527, Niğde 2, where one should restore *Mu-wa-há+ra/i-[na]-sa*; cf. B. DINÇOL, *art. cit.* (n. 165), p. 124. Therefore it is somewhat difficult to identify this name with Mugallu's, king of Melid (cf. *PNA* II/2, p. 761-763), as proposed by A.M. JASINK, *op. cit.* (n. 161), p. 142 and n. 62. Of course, one could imagine an assimilation *r/ln* > *ll*.

11. Tyrian Trade Relations according to Ezekiel 27

Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre (Ez. 27) supplies a schematic picture of Tyrian commercial expansion in the past. Tyre is represented as a ship, the equipment of which was provided by every country in trade relation with that city. It is manned by skilful sailors and defended by brave soldiers (Ez. 27, 3b-11). Nevertheless, to the astonishment and horror of all the onlookers, this "cosmic ship"[174] is finally wrecked and sank on high seas (Ez. 27, 26-36).

This figure of speech is not maintained throughout the whole chapter. In particular, the poem on Tyre is divided in two parts by a prose passage, Ez. 27, 12-24, devoted to a detailed and systematic listing of the many nations serving as Tyre's brokers and exchanging Tyrian products for local wares and raw materials. Actually, this passage lists the articles of merchandise shipped to Tyre and indicates their origin. As a record of Phoenician trade, it is of great interest, but it is not Ezekiel's work. It does not belong to the original allegory of the ship portraying Tyre, but its final redactor had the poem at hand, for it borrowed some of its language[175]. Unfortunately, these verses in prose (Ez. 27, 12-24), which are likely to be based on some Tyrian trade records[176], are corrupted in some parts and sometimes misunderstood[177].

[174] This qualification is used by J.B. GEYER, *Ezekiel 27 and the Cosmic Ship*, in D.J.A. CLINES - P.R. DAVIES (eds.), *Among the Prophets*, Sheffield 1993, p. 105-126.

[175] The summing-up of the discussion by G. BUNNENS, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, Bruxelles-Rome 1979, p. 85-90, is always valid.

[176] According to E.A. KNAUF, *Supplementa Ismaelitica 13. Edom und Arabien*, in *BN* 45 (1988), p. 62-81 (see p. 73-74), Ez. 27, 12-24 is posterior to the fall of Samaria, in 722 B.C., and antedates the fall of Edom, in 552 B.C.

[177] The idiosyncratic analysis of this passage by M. LIVERANI, *The Trade Network of Tyre according to Ezek. 27*, in M. COGAN - I. EPH'AL (eds.), *Ah, Assyria ... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 33), Jerusalem 1991, p. 65-79, does not take the literary, textual, and phraseological problems sufficiently into account. I.M. DIAKONOFF, *The Naval Power and Trade of Tyre*, in *IEJ* 42 (1992), p. 168-193, is mainly concerned with the place names of Ez. 27. His interpretation is generally followed by M.A. CORRAL, *Ezekiel's Oracles against Tyre: Historical Reality and Motivations* (Biblica et Orientalia 46), Roma 2002, especially p. 149-156.

Our present concern is to examine the passages referring to Tyrian relations with different regions of Anatolia. After Tarshish (Ez. 27, 12), the far-away area of the western Mediterranean[178], the text first mentions Ionia, Tābal and Mushki, i.e. Cappadocia and Phrygia in classical terminology (Ez. 27, 13). These regions are supposed to provide slaves and bronze utensils, which are a typical product of central Anatolia. The text refers next to Beth Tugdamme, where the manuscript tradition confused *d* with *r* (Ez. 27, 14)[179], like in some other names of Ez. 27. The "House of Lygdamis"[180] obviously designates the Cimmerians; the phrase alludes to the region or the population ruled by the Cimmerian chief of the mid-7th century B.C. or by his son Sandakšatru, who succeeded him. Nothing is known of the later whereabouts and activities of the Cimmerians, but the mention of horses, mares, and mules seems to refer to a nomadic population. Rhodes and the Aegean Islands are referred to in Ez. 27, 15, where the Septuagint correctly reads *Rdn* instead of *Ddn*, appearing again in v. 20 and showing another example of the confusion *d/r* in Ez. 27. Ivory and ebony were the articles of merchandise supposedly brought to Tyre from these islands. These commodities were obviously no local products, but goods imported from Africa through the Nile valley. Herodotus states that the Ethiopians living around Egypt every second year sent a tribute of two hundred logs of ebony and twenty elephant tusks to Persia[181], thus indicating the possible source of ivory and ebony.

After Edom, corrected from "Aram", which witnesses a new confusion *d/r*, Judah and the land of Israel are mentioned (Ez. 27, 16-17). Further, the text lists Damascus (Ez. 27, 18) and *Dnwywn M'wzl* (Ez. 27, 19). The first of these two names, read by the Masoretes "Dan and Ionia", can easily be identified with Egyptian *D3-ỉ-n-ỉw-n3* and Phoenician *Dnnym*, thus referring to the inhabitants of Adana in Cilicia. The name was probably spelled *Dnwnyn* or *Dnnyyn* in Aramaic[182] and therefore reported after Damascus. *M'wzl* follows in apposition. This seems to be no country name[183], but a gloss consisting in the name of Mausolus[184], a 6th/5th century Cilician prince of Kindu / Kundu, mentioned by Herodotus V, 118, rather than the later satrap and practically ruler of Caria (377-353 B.C.). Since this appears to be a gloss, the original text should go back at least to the 6th century B.C.

The mention of iron ore confirms the proposed interpretation, since the main Taurus, that dominates the coastal plains in which lie Adana and Tarsus, is rich in mineral wealth, in particular iron ore[185]. Iron imported from Que is mentioned explicitly in Neo-Babylonian texts, in which Que is called *Ḫumē*[186]. An administrative tablet from Sippar lists large amounts of iron from 1,800 minas down, with the names of the officials in charge and the dates of the transactions, all from 555 to 545 B.C.[187] Among these transactions, "iron from the country Ḫumē" is listed in lines 35b (15 minas), 37a (18 minas and 54 shekels), 40a (14 minas and 50 shekels), and 45a (amount broken). This iron is said each time to be brought "from the warehouse" (*ultu bītišu*). The relatively small quantities listed suggest that this particular iron was of higher value. Iron from Ḫumē is mentioned also in Uruk texts. Beside a damaged administrative tablet[188], there is a text recording that Ḫumē iron was given to the smith to make trays[189].

Cassia and sweat cane, named in the next sentence, are most likely displaced and might continue the list of items brought from Damascus. Arabian trade centres are referred to in Ez. 27, 20-22, while v. 23 contains places in Upper Mesopotamia, the last one being Kulmer, written *klmd* with the usual confusion *d/r*. The city of Kulmer or Kullimer is

[178] See here below, p. 225-265.

[179] E. Lipiński, *Products and Brokers of Tyre according to Ezekiel 27*, in *Studia Phoenicia III*, Leuven 1985, p. 213-220 (see p. 218, n. 20); Id., *Les Japhétites selon Gen 10, 2-4 et 1 Chr 1, 5-7*, in *ZAH* 3 (1990), p. 40-53 (see p. 50).

[180] The hesitation shown by A.Th.L. Kuhrt, *Lygdamis*, in *RLA* VII, Berlin 1993-97, p. 186-189 (see p. 187, §2), in identifying Lygdamis with Tugdamme is not justified considering the well-known Anatolian alternation *l/d* or *l/t*; cf. E. Lipiński, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 228, n. 52 with further literature. The *Ptgyh* of the Ekron inscription is to be explained in the same way: the goddess is simply Pelagia, revealing the Anatolian origin of her worshippers.

[181] Herodotus, *History* III, 97.

[182] Confusions of *w*, *y* and *n* have been noticed already by Fr. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*, Berlin-Leipzig 1920, p. 111-112.

[183] Attempts at explaining it as a place name have been made by A.R. Millard, *Ezekiel XXVII.19: The Wine Trade of Damascus*, in *JSS* 7 (1962), p. 201-203 (Izalla), and M. Elat, *The Iron Export from Uzal (Ezekiel XXVII 19)*, in *Vetus Testamentum* 33 (1983), p. 323-330 (Ušawalaš). Cf. also E. Lipiński, *Les Sémites selon Gen 10, 21-30 et 1 Chr 1, 17-23*, in *ZAH* 6 (1993), p. 193-215 (see p. 210-211).

[184] References in L. Zgusta, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 304-305, §885.

[185] This region yielded iron already in the second millennium B.C.: A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the Problem of Hittite Geography*, New Haven 1940, p. 27 ff.

[186] W.F. Albright, *Cilicia and Babylonia under the Chaldaean Kings*, in *BASOR* 120 (1950), p. 22-25.

[187] J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon (555-538 v. Chr.)*, Leipzig 1889, No. 571, rev. 31 ff. Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, *Essay on Overland Trade in the First Millennium B.C.*, in *JCS* 21 (1967 [1969]), p. 236-254 (see p. 241).

[188] R.P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (555-538 B.C.)* (YOS 6), New Haven 1920, No. 210, 14.

[189] R.P. Dougherty, *Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions* II, New Haven 1933, No. 53, 2.

known from Neo-Assyrian, Syriac, and Byzantine sources. It is to be located northeast of Diyarbakır[190]. No precise connection can be made between this site and the stuffs, cloths and brocades listed as commodities imported from this wide area.

Carthage, Egypt and Cyprus, Babylonia are missing in this list altogether. We can only speculate about the reasons why great central markets were omitted. There is a certain geographic grouping of the areas listed, but no major system seems to underlay the composition as a whole. Among the articles imported from Anatolia no timber is mentioned, although the strong Phoenician presence in Cilicia and around the Bay of İskenderun was recently explained by the exploitation of forests[191]. In fact, the true fir, especially the Cilician fir, *Abies cilicia*, provides wood easily worked and largely employed for all the purposes of carpentry. Deficient in resin, it is also said to stand well under water and thus serves as ship-timber[192]. The Neo-Assyrian name of the fir is *ašūḫu*[193] and its Arabic name is *šuḫ*, with aphaeresis of *a*. The same word seems to occur in Phoenician-Punic[194], while Aramaic uses the form *'ašūḥā*[195]. The necessity of importing this timber from Cilicia was not dictated by Phoenician needs, since the tree also grows along the Syro-Phoenician coast[196], but this import eventually answered Egyptian needs, as Egypt is lacking in timber.

12. The Role of the Phoenicians in Anatolia

Homer represents the Phoenicians in Greek waters for purposes of traffic, but not as settlers[197]. The situation seems to have been similar on the south-eastern coast of Anatolia, but Phoenicians there occupied trading stations as well, certainly in the Bay of İskenderun and in harbours along the Cilician coastline, also at Tarsus, an emporium watered by the

[190] W. RÖLLIG, *Kullimeri*, in *RLA* VI, Berlin 1980-83, p. 306-307.
[191] B. WATKINS TREUMANN, *Beyond the Cedars of Lebanon: Phoenician Timber Merchants and Trees from the "Black Mountain"*, in *WO* 31 (2000-01), p. 75-83.
[192] This was noticed already by PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* XVI, 41-42.
[193] *AHw*, p. 85b; *CAD*, A/2, p. 478.
[194] It is probably used in the qualification of a chief carpenter or woodworker, called *p'l šḥm*, "working firs": *KAI* 120 = G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927-1967)*, Roma 1987, No. 21, 2. The word may occur also in *KAI* 76B, 2.
[195] R. PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus* I, Oxford 1879, col. 406; JASTROW, p. 127a.
[196] A forest of fir-trees is reported, for instance, north of the Eleutherus/Nahr al-Kebir: M. DUNAND - N. SALIBY, *À la recherche de Simyra*, in *AAS* 7 (1957), p. 3-16 (see p. 6, n. 4).
[197] HOMER, *Iliad* XXIII, 744.

copious stream of the Cydnus and possessing at its mouth a commodious port. One of their objects was purchase of excellent timber for shipbuilding[198]. Firs grew on the slopes of the hills bounding the rich Cilician plain, and the rivers afforded a ready means of floating such timber down to the sea. Cleopatra's ships were said later to have been derived from the Cilician forests, which Antony made over to her for this purpose[199].

A great deal of Phoenician interest in Cilicia pended no doubt on the rich deposits of iron ores in the Taurus, which rises immediately behind the coastal plain. Phoenician ships drew iron from the Anatolian mines, exploited by local expert people. Obviously, the Phoenicians had to reward indigenous rulers not only for iron and bronze utensils, but also for timber and iron ore. In return, they were giving manufactured luxury goods, the *'izəbōnīm* as they are called in Ez. 27[200]. These were gold and silver ornaments, decorated bronze utensils, carved ivory, precious or semi-precious stones, luxurious table-wares. The discovery of a small archive of clay tablets at Tarsus[201], dating from the 7th century B.C., justifies the assumption that there were also Phoenician archives in the area, possibly sealed by stamp seals bearing Phoenician legends with names of Luwian or Greek stewards. There is no hope however that leather scrolls or papyrus sheets with Phoenician economic or administrative contents will ever be found in the damp climate of Cilicia. Ostraca or bullae with seal impressions might well be found in carefully conducted excavations. At any rate, the Phoenician inscriptions prove that professional Phoenician scribes were active in various parts of Cilicia and also inland, north of the Cilician Gates, in the kingdom of Tuwana.

The inscription from Cebelireis Dağı even indicates that judicial records were written in Phoenician. In fact, this inscription from the mid-7th century B.C. must be based on such documents, which are designated in the text by the word *'yt*, employed with this particular connotation like *'ōt* in Mishnaic Hebrew[202]. A second attestation of the

[198] B. WATKINS TREUMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 191).
[199] STRABO, *Geography* XIV, 5, 3.
[200] E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 179), p. 213-215.
[201] A. GOETZE, *Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsus*, in *JAOS* 59 (1939), p. 1-16.
[202] Tosefta, *Qiddūšīn* I, 7; Babylonian Talmud, *Bābā Batrā* 75b; etc. The basic meaning of *'ōt* in biblical Hebrew has been correctly determined by M.V. Fox: "Proof signs, whose purpose is to *convince* the onlooker of the truth of a certain proposition which might be in doubt" (M.V. FOX, *The Sign of the Covenant*, in *RB* 81 [1974], p. 557-596, quotation from p. 562).

Phoenician word occurs in an inscription discovered in Moab and dating to *ca.* 600 B.C.[203] It is engraved on an incense stand, which was discovered in a room, apparently a shrine, located just inside the city gate. As A.F. Rainey judiciously observes, a special function of such shrines "was probably to serve the needs of the court proceedings customarily held in the gate area. It was often the case that witnesses were required to swear before the deity"[204].

The inscription reads: *mqṭ⌊r⌋'š 'š 'lšm' lysp bt 'wt*, "Incense stand, which Elishama' made to furnish the House of the Proof". The relative pronoun *'š* is Phoenician and a verb *'š* is attested in Phoenician and Punic personal names: *'šḥr*[205], *'š'šmn*[206], *'šmlk*[207], but onomastic analogy rather suggests the use of the root *ġw/yṯ*, "to help", not of *'śy*, "to make"[208]. The yiphil infinitive *ysp* is paralleled at Karatepe by *yšb*[209] and the connotation "to furnish" of the causative stem occurs in a Nabataean inscription: *wḥdt yth w'wsp bh*[210], "and he restored it and furnished inside". The comparison of the singular *'wt* with the plural *'yt* confirms a derivation from *'wy*, which is also implied by the Arabic cognate *'āya(tun)*. One can posit a Phoenician singular **'āwīt*, written *'wt* like *swt*, "purple-red robe", and a plural **'awyōt* > **'ayyōt*, with assimilation like in *ḥwy* > *ḥy*, "life"[211].

The use of Phoenician script and language undoubtedly reveals a diffusion of Phoenician culture. In Anatolia, beside the inscriptions, there are the Phoenician stylistic and iconographic influences on Neo-Hittite art. When the Karatepe reliefs were first discovered, Machteld Mellink noticed immediately that many of their features could be explained only

[203] P.E. DION - P.M.M. DAVIAU, *An Inscribed Incense Altar of Iron Age II at Ḫirbet el-Mudēyine (Jordan)*, in *ZDPV* 116 (2000), p. 1-13. The decipherment and the interpretation have been improved by A.F. RAINEY, *The New Inscription from Khirbet el-Mudeiyneh*, in *IEJ* 52 (2002), p. 81-86, who correctly noticed that the inscription is written in Phoenician. For its date, see B. ROUTLEDGE, *IEJ* 53 (2003), p. 192-195.

[204] A.F. RAINEY, *art. cit.* (n. 203), p. 85.

[205] M. LIDZBARSKI, *Phönizische und aramäische Krugaufschriften aus Elephantine*, Berlin 1912, No. 65.

[206] *CIS* I, 2705, 4-5.

[207] *CIS* I, 2182, 4; 5961, 2.

[208] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Ḥaddiy's Wine or Donkeys?*, in R. DEUTSCH (ed.), *Shlomo: Studies in Epigraphy, History and Archaeology in Honor of Shlomo Moussaieff*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 2003, p. 185-190 (see p. 188-190).

[209] Karatepe, *CHLI* II, p. 50, 52, 62, 64: Phu/A I, 11.20; II, 18; PhSt/C I, 19; II, 12; III, 15.

[210] R. SAVIGNAC - J. STARCKY, *Une inscription nabatéenne du Djôf*, in *RB* 64 (1957), p. 196-217 and Pl. V (see p. 215, lines 3-4).

[211] Cf. J. FRIEDRICH W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 136, §196b, and p. 154, §230, 1.

as deriving from a Phoenician, rather than Syrian or Neo-Hittite iconographic tradition[212]. Further studies, like those by Irene Winter, E. Akurgal, and E. Gubel, have confirmed this Phoenician impact[213]. This does not imply, however, that Phoenician craftsmen have designed and carved the Karatepe reliefs. It is rather a question of assimilation of a number of Phoenician characteristics by local craftsmen who had a good knowledge of Phoenician artefacts. At any rate, it does not seem that the Phoenicians made themselves heartily detested in Anatolia by their passion for gain, as was the case in the classical Greek world[214].

One could wonder why Phoenician language became the prevailing one in the 8th-century B.C. Cilicia, both as a symbol of prestige in Cilician royal inscriptions and probably as the most practical tool in contractual trade relations. The reasons were largely practical: Greek alphabetic writing was still in the cradle at that time. The earliest Greek inscriptions known as yet are dating, on archaeological evidence, from the period around 740-730 B.C. and the use of Phoenician, even within a dynasty claiming to descend from Mopsus and employing Greek "stewards" like Archibius, was a very practical and understandable procedure, also considering the Phoenician prestige in the fields of commerce and arts. It is quite possible, on the other hand, that the experience of Phoenician writing in the kingdom of Adana prompted the development of Greek alphabetic writing. Hecataeus of Miletus (6th-5th century B.C.) suggested in fact that Δαναός first brought writing to Greece, from Egypt[215]. The reference to Egypt is an antique common place, that can easily be dismissed, but the mention of Danaos reminds us of Adana and may well be a piece of genuine historical memory.

Moving from Cilicia further to the west, we come across possible traces of Phoenician activity or shipping, first in Pamphylia and than in Lycia. In Pamphylia, the script of the coastal town of Side raises the question whether it depends directly from Phoenician writing[216] or

[212] M.J. MELLINK, *Karatepe. More Light on the Dark Ages*, in *BiOr* 7 (1950), p. 141-150.

[213] I.J. WINTER, *On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and Their Context*, in *AnSt* 29 (1979), p. 115-151 and Pls. XV-XX, in particular p. 120-124 and 136-140; E. AKURGAL, *Aramaean and Phoenician Stylistic and Iconographic Elements in Neo-Hittite Art*, in A. BIRAN (ed.), *Temples and High Places in Biblical Times*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 131-141; E. GUBEL, *Phoenician Furniture* (Studia Phoenicia VII), Leuven 1987, p. 120-126 and 254-255.

[214] PLATO, *The Republic* IV, 436A.

[215] HECATAEUS, in *FGH* I A, §1, Frg. 20. Cf. L.H. JEFFERY, 'Αρχαῖα γράμματα: *Some Ancient Greek Views*, in W.C. BRICE (ed.), *Europa. Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der frühen Aegeis. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*, Berlin 1967, p. 152-166.

[216] C. BRIXHE, *L'alphabet épichorique de Side*, in *Kadmos* 8 (1969), p. 54-84 (see p. 82).

derives from the Greek cursive script of the 7th-6th centuries B.C.[217] The Sidetan script is known so far by seven inscriptions[218] and by coin legends from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.[219] Possessing a good harbour in the days of small craft, Side was the best port of call in Pamphylia and Phoenician sailors certainly knew it and used it under certain conditions.

In Lycia, a mountain rising south of Phaselis (modern Tekirova) was known as *Phoenicus*[220]. The city, whose traditional foundation date is 690 B.C., had three harbours[221], which gave it an important place in commerce, due to its exceptional advantages on a coast where good harbours were scarce. One can posit that the name of the mountain preserved a souvenir of Phoenician ships calling to Phaselis. Somewhat further to the south lies the famous Cape Gelidonya, known for its shipwreck from the end of the Late Bronze Age[222], and a town still called Finike nowadays is situated west of it. The root *Phoenix* is again to be detected here. Nearby, at Limyra (modern Saklısu Mahallesi), an inscription mentions a Φοίνικος Τυρίω[223], while another Lycian inscription contains the name *Pinike*, that may be interpreted either as "Phoenician" or as 'Επίνικος[224]. A large inland district in northwest Lycia was inhabited by the Καβαλ(λ)εῖς[225], and a Greek inscription reveals that their main city was called Μοξοῦπολις after Mopsus[226]. Following the antique sea route westward one reaches the site of Ulubu-

[217] G. NEUMANN, *Die sidetische Schrift*, in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, 3rd ser., 8 (1978), p. 869-886. (see p. 881-886).
[218] G. NEUMANN, *art. cit.* (n. 217); L. NOLLÉ, *Eine Weihung in Sidetisch*, in *ZPE* 60 (1985), p. 136; C. BRIXHE - G. NEUMANN, *Die griechisch-sidetische Bilingue von Seleukeia*, in *Kadmos* 27 (1988), p. 35-43.
[219] S. ATLAN, *Untersuchungen über die sidetischen Münzen des V. und IV. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Ankara 1967; ID., *Die Münzen der Stadt Side mit sidetischen Aufschriften*, in *Kadmos* 7 (1968), p. 67-74; C. BRIXHE, *Tétradrachmes de Side à monogramme épichorique*, in *Kadmos* 16 (1977), p. 168-174 and Pl. I.
[220] STRABO, *Geography* XIV, 3, 8.
[221] STRABO, *Geography* XIV, 3, 9. Phaselis is said to have been founded by Mopsus; cf. J. VANSCHOONWINKEL, *art. cit.* (n. 84).
[222] G. BASS, *Gelidonya*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout, 1992, p. 186-187, with earlier literature.
[223] E. KALINKA, *op. cit.* (n. 168), No. 115 (TL 115). Cf. R. LEBRUN, *L'Anatolie et le monde phénicien du Xe au IVe siècle av. J.-C.*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 23-33 (see p. 32).
[224] G. NEUMANN, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* (ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 135; Ergänzungsbände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris 7), Wien 1979, p. 30, N 313a. Cf. R. LEBRUN, *art. cit.* (n. 223), p. 32.
[225] HERODOTUS, *History* III, 90; VII, 77; STRABO, *Geography* XIII, 4, 14-16; STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Καβάλιοι.
[226] V. BÉRARD, *Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure*, in *BCH* 15 (1891), p. 538-562 (see p. 556, No. 38).

run, where a large shipwreck from Late Bronze Age II was discovered in 1982 and carefully studied[227].

From Lycia, the Anatolian coast westward and north-westward was known as Caria. Findings and toponymy do not admit here of our pointing out any particular traces of Phoenician presence, except the patronymic 'Ισβάλτος, "the Lady's man", 'Απολλώνιος 'Ισβάλτου, recorded in an inscription found at Iasos[228]. The name was correctly recognized as transcription of Semitic *'š-b'lt* with *b'lt* probably designating a goddess[229]. Inland, Chariton, a little-known author from Aphrodisias in Caria, reflects the popular opinion of Tyrians in his romance *Callirhoe*, written probably in the early 2nd century A.D.: "The Tyrians are by nature a most warlike race, eager to maintain a reputation for bravery lest they be thought to disgrace Heracles, who is their chief deity, and to whom almost exclusively they have dedicated their city"[230].

Further north, in Lydia, Pausanias attributes a Tyrian origin to the cult of Heracles at Erythrae (modern Ildir)[231], on the coast opposite the island Chios. The origin of this tradition is possibly connected with some specific characteristics of the local cult[232].

It is true that written sources, except Ez. 27, do not admit of our pointing out any special Phoenician involvement in Anatolian trade. However, the sheer presence of Phoenician inscriptions and pottery undoubtedly implies that Phoenician merchants were actively involved in business transactions in southern Anatolia through a large part of the Iron Age.

[227] G. BASS, *Ulu-Burun*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 484, with earlier literature. See further C. PULAK, *The Uluburun Shipwreck*, in S. SWINY et al. (eds.), *Res Maritimae*, Atlanta 1997, p. 233-262.
[228] Th. REINACH, *Inscriptions d'Iasos*, in *RÉG* 6 (1893), p. 153-203 (see p. 189, No. 37, 8).
[229] S. SEGERT, in L. ZGUSTA, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 205, §484.
[230] CHARITON, *Callirhoe* VII, 2, 7, translated by G.P. GOOLD, *Chariton: Callirhoe*, Cambridge, Mass., 1995, p. 333.
[231] PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* VII, 5, 5-8.
[232] C. BONNET, *Melqart. Cultes and mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée* (Studia Phoenicia VIII), Leuven-Namur 1988, p. 383-385.

CHAPTER V

PHOENICIANS ON AEGEAN ISLANDS AND THE GREEK MAINLAND

There is no extant Phoenician *Periplus* of the Aegean Sea and the survey of the Mediterranean by Pseudo-Scylax is of no practical avail for our purpose[1]. We resort thus to a fictitious Phoenician circumnavigation of the Aegean, inspired as we are by a passage of the *Iliad* alluding to Phoenician trade in the Aegean. When Achilles at the funeral of Patroclus desired to present, as a prize, the most beautiful bowl that was to be found, he chose one which had been made by highly skilled Sidonians, and which Phoenician sailors had conveyed across the sea, exposed in various harbours, and then offered to Thoas, king of Lemnos[2]:

> "Then the son of Peleus immediately set out other prizes for fleetness of foot: a mixing bowl of silver, well made, six measures it held, and in beauty it was for the best in all the earth, since Sidonians, well skilled in handiwork, had crafted it cunningly, and men of the Phoenicians brought it over the murky and landed it in harbor and gave it as a gift to Thoas".

1. Rhodes

Rhodes is the most easterly island of the Aegean Sea and it served at least from the early second millennium B.C. onwards as a gateway into the Aegean for ships sailing westwards from the Near East[3]. No wonder therefore that archaeological remains from the three old cities of Lindos, Ialysos (Trianda), and Kamiros, mentioned in *Iliad* II, 656, show evidence of contacts with Cyprus and the Levant also after the crisis of the 15th century B.C., when Mycenaeans gained the control of the entire Aegean area. These relationships are documented about 1000 B.C. by imports of Cypro-Geometric I pottery and they increase considerably in

[1] But see below, Chapters VIII and IX, p. 267-434.

[2] HOMER, *Iliad* XXIII, 740-745. Translation by A.T. MURRAY - W.F. WYATT, *Homer: Iliad* II, Cambridge, Mass., 1999, p. 549.

[3] L.V. WATROUS, *Kommos III. The Late Bronze Age Pottery*, Princeton 1992, p. 175-176; W.-D. NIEMEIER, *The Minoans in the South-Eastern Aegean and in Cyprus*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 29-47 (see p. 36).

the 8th century B.C., as shown by Middle and Recent Cypro-Geometric wares shipped to Rhodes[4]. It is in this period that jugs with red-burnished mushroom-lip, made in Syro-Phoenicia, appear on Rhodes and inspire various local imitations, which have suggested an implantation of Phoenician potters in the area of Ialysos[5]. Greek historiographers sometimes connect the memory of a Phoenician presence on Rhodes to the legend of Cadmus[6], but this Cadmean reference undermines the historical value of their records.

From 725 B.C. onwards, Phoenician workshops on Rhodes export small faience flasks to the Aegean and to the westernmost parts of the Greek world. Contacts with Phoenicia in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. are witnessed not only by these workshops producing faience flasks, which were distributed over the whole Mediterranean area, but also by votive objects found in temple warehouses and graves, especially at Ialysos and Lindos[7]. Phoenician presence on Rhodes is illustrated also by child burials in "torpedo jars", found in the archaic cemeteries of Kamiros and Ialysos[8], as well as by a jar fragment with three Phoenician letters, recovered at Ialysos in tomb 37, which is dated to 630-600 B.C.[9] Yet, by the 6th century B.C. Greek influence predominates and tangible traces of Phoenician presence are negligible until the Hellenistic period, although the Greek version of Ez. 27, 15 names "the sons of Rhodes" among commercial partners of Tyre precisely in this period[10]. Ergias of Rhodes,

[4] A.M. Bisi, *Ateliers phéniciens dans le monde égéen,* in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 225-237.

[5] J.N. Coldstream, *The Phoenicians at Ialysos,* in *BICS* 16 (1969), p. 1-8.

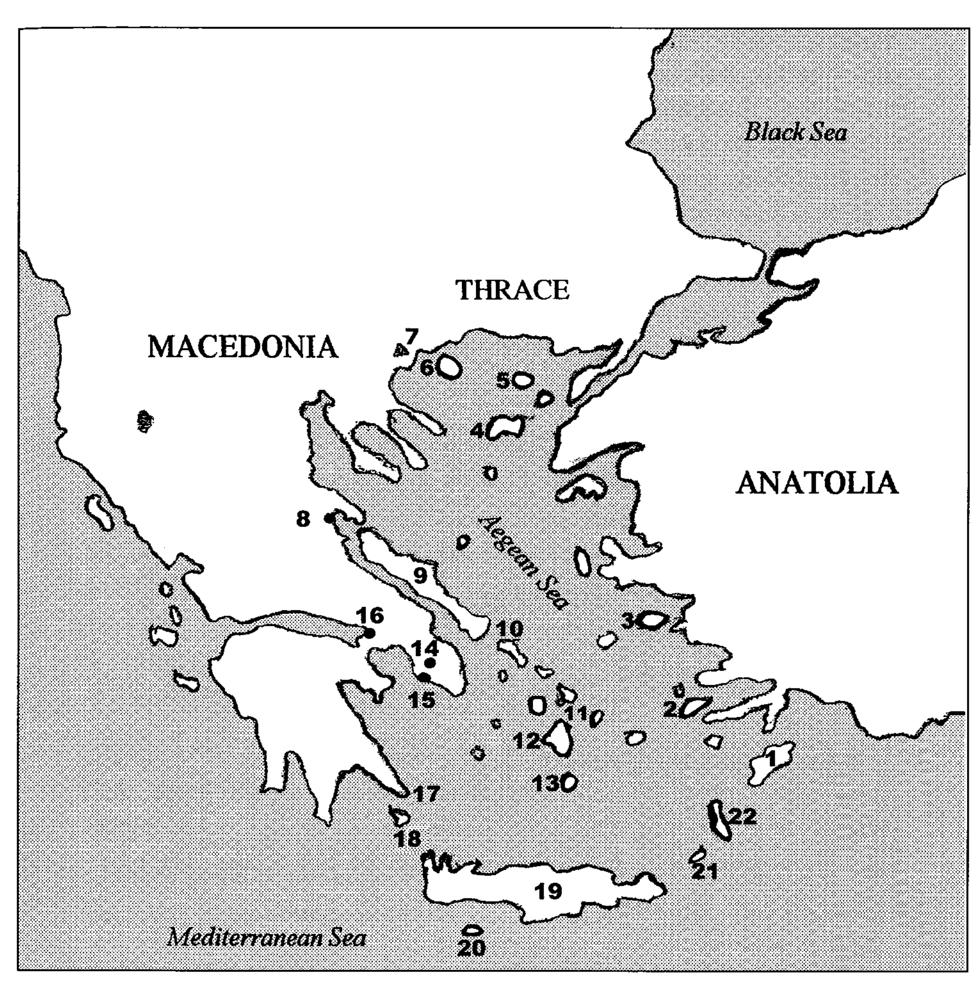
[6] G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée,* Bruxelles-Rome 1979, p. 132, 152-153.

[7] Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I. *Fouilles de l'acropole 1902-1914. Les petits objets,* Berlin 1931; K.F. Johansen, *Exochi. Ein frührhodisches Gräberfeld,* in *Acta Archaeologica* 28 (1958), p. 1-192, in particular p. 162-164; J.N. Coldstream, *art. cit.* (n. 5).

[8] Italian excavations at Ialysos were conducted by A. Mauri, G. Jacopi, G. Monaco, and those at Kamiros by G. Jacopi. The reports were published in *ASAtene* 2 (1916); 3 (1917); 6-7 (1926); 13-14 (1933), and in *Clara Rhodos* 1 (1928); 4 (1931); 6-7 (1932-33); 8 (1936); 10 (1941).

[9] M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Iscrizioni semitiche di nord-ovest in contesti greci e italici (X-VII sec. a. C.),* in *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 5/2 (1987), p. 13-27 (see p. 16-17, No. 2).

[10] In the Hebrew text of Ez. 27, 15, *ddn* should be corrected into *rdn*. Dedan is mentioned in v. 20, while the islands (*'yym*) of v. 15 refer to the Aegean Islands. Also in Gen. 10, 4, *Dodānīm* should be corrected into *Rodānīm*, read correctly in the Septuagint and in I Chron. 1, 7. These are no "anachronistic" references to Rhodes, contrary to M. Liverani, *The Trade-Network of Tyre according to Ezek. 27,* in M. Cogan - I. Eph'al (eds.), *Ah, Assyria... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (Scripta Hierosolymitana 33), Jerusalem 1991, p. 65-79 (see p. 69, n. 13).



The Aegean.

1) *Rhodes*	12) *Naxos*
2) *Cos*	13) *Thera*
3) *Samos*	14) Athens
4) *Lemnos*	15) Piraeus
5) *Samothrace*	16) Corinth
6) *Thasos*	17) *C. Malea*
7) *Mt. Pangaeus*	18) *Cythera*
8) Demetrias	19) *Crete*
9) *Euboea*	20) *Cauda*
10) *Andros*	21) *Kasos*
11) *Delos*	22) *Karpathos*

usually dated in the 4th century B.C., records the anecdotic history of tricks used by the Greeks to expel the Phoenicians from the island[11].

Renewed Phoenician activity may go back to the 4th century B.C. In 412 B.C., in fact, the island revolted from Athens and, four years later, the inhabitants started concentrating in the newly founded city of Rhodes. This town, laid out on an exceptionally fine site, rose to considerable importance and attracted much Aegean and Levantine commerce, which had hitherto been in Athenian hands. On the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. the people of Rhodes expelled the Macedonian garrison and henceforth maintained their independence. The expansion of Levantine trade in the Hellenistic age then brought especial profit to Rhodes[12].

In the 3rd century B.C., Phoenician activity on the island is revealed by the mention of a Sidonian, called Abdemon[13]. Thereafter, three Greek-Phoenician bilingual inscriptions are dated to the 2nd century B.C. One is dedicated to a Citian[14], while another mentions a *miqīm 'elīm*[15], witnessing Phoenician cult practices on the island[16]. The third inscription is dedicated to a man bearing, as it seems, the typically Rhodian name of *Trt*[*l*], Τρίτυλλος[17]. This inscription thus shows a progressive assimilation of Phoenicians living on Rhodes to the local population.

At Lindos, on the eastern coast of the island, Zeno, son of Naoumos, native from Arwad, honours Zeus Soter[18], whose cult was established there about 225 B.C.[19] Zeus Soter is the Greek name of a Phoenician deity protecting sailors and he should be equated with a Baal. The introduction of his cult at Lindos implies the presence of a sizable Phoenician community, which was using the Greek language in the inscriptions.

[11] G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 129-131; cf. p. 187.

[12] H. VON GAERTRINGER, *Rhodos*, in *PW, Suppl.* V, Stuttgart 1931, col. 731-840, deals mainly with political and military matters.

[13] C.H. ROBERTS - E.G. TURNER, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library* IV, Manchester 1952, p. 3, No. 554.

[14] P.M. FRASER, *Greek-Phoenician Bilingual Inscriptions from Rhodes*, in *BSA* 65 (1970), p. 31-36 and Pl. 12.

[15] *Ibid.* and *KAI* 44 = *TSSI* III, 39 = P. MAGNANINI, *Le iscrizioni fenicie dell'Oriente*, Roma 1973, p. 140, No. 1.

[16] T.N.D. METTINGER, *The Riddle of Resurection: "Dying and Rising Gods" in the Ancient Near East*, Stockholm 2001, p. 91 with references to earlier literature.

[17] P.M. FRASER, *art. cit.* (n. 14); *KAI* 45 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 140, No. 2. Cf. P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, Oxford 1987, p. 448a.

[18] *IG* XII/1, 32.

[19] For this cult, see M.-F. BASLEZ, *Cultes et dévotions des Phéniciens en Grèce: les divinités marines*, in *Religio Phoenicia* (Studia Phoenicia IV), Namur 1986, p. 289-305 (see p. 292 with n. 24).

Sailing from Rhodes to the northwest, by the islands of Tilos and Nisyros, one reaches Cos, the second best known of the Dodecanese.

2. Cos

Cos is a long narrow island, situated at the entrance of the deeply indented Gulf of Cos, the Ceramic Gulf of antiquity, between the Anatolian peninsula of Bodrum (Halicarnassus) on the north, from which it is separated by only 6 km, and the peninsula of Cnidos on the south, which is 18 km away. The ancient harbour of Cos, called Mandraki, is fit only for small vessels, but the roadstead is safe in most weathers. In the Hellenistic age, Cos had some importance as a naval outpost to the Ptolemies, to whom the island owed its prosperity in the 3rd-1st centuries B.C.[20]

Cos was occupied in 336 B.C. by Alexander the Great, who a few years later, in 332 B.C., appointed Abdalonymus as king of Sidon[21] and probably entrusted a high naval function in Cos to one of the latter's sons. This seems to be the historical background of the Greek-Phoenician inscription discovered in 1982 in the town of Cos during the demolition of an old house, in which the stone was re-used as building material[22]. It is still 56 cm large, 30 cm high, and 15 cm thick. The left side of the block of stone was cut off and its lower part with the Phoenician text is seriously abraded. As a consequence, three or two letters are missing at the beginning of each of the four lines of the Greek text, written with large letters from 15 to 22 mm in height. The Phoenician

[20] A. NEPPI MODONA, *L'Isola di Coo nell'antichità classica. Delineazione storica in base alle fonti letterarie e ai documenti archeologici ed epigrafici*, Roma 1933; S. SHERWIN-WHITE, *Ancient Cos*, Göttingen 1978.

[21] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVII, 46, 6; JUSTINUS, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* XI, 10, 8-9; QUINTUS CURTIUS, *History of Alexander* IV, 1, 15-26. Cf. H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* II, München 1926, p. 3, §1.

[22] The stone is now housed in the Museum of Cos, Inv. No. E6. The Greek inscription was published by Ch. KANTZIA, ...τιμος 'Αβδαλωνύμου [Σιδ]ῶνος βασιλέως, and the Phoenician one by M. SZNYCER, *La partie phénicienne de l'inscription bilingue gréco-phénicienne de Cos*, in 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 35 (1980 [1986]), A, respectively p. 1-16 and 17-30, with an English summary on p. 31, and Pl. I. Another photograph was published in *Dossiers Histoire et Archéologie* 132 (1988), p. 12. See also M. SZNYCER, *Retour à Cos*, in *Semitica* 49 (1999), p. 103-116, with the same photograph on p. 115. The *l'* of his new reading at the end of line 3 (*l'šmn*) does not match the traces seen on the photograph.

inscription is written below in three lines, but the letters are smaller and the loss at the end of each line amounts thus to five or six letters. On palaeographic grounds the inscription can be dated in the second part of the 4th century B.C., broadly speaking about 325 B.C. This approximate date is also suggested by the historical circumstances of the wars of the Diadochi after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.[23] Despite the role played by Phoenician ships during these wars, neither Abdalonymus nor his son are ever mentioned, while a certain Pleistas of Cos seems to occupy an important position in the fleet of Antigonus and Demetrius I Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus. He commands Demetrius' fleet as vice-admiral in 306 B.C., at the sea battle off Salamis, on Cyprus[24], when Ptolemy I was defeated and Cyprus conquered by Demetrius. The inscription does not contain any allusion to these events. It is dedicatory and records the building of a *t'l*[*y*]*t* for the mariners.

Since the stone was not found *in situ* and *t'l*[*y*]*t* is attested here for the first time in Phoenician, we do not know what kind of construction is meant. One thing is clear: it must have been of some use for mariners. Two interpretations have been proposed[25]: either *t'l*[*y*]*t* is related to post-biblical Hebrew *t'lh*, "conduit", "channel", or it is a derivative of the root *'ly*, "to go up". Since *t'lh*, "conduit", derives from the root *'ll*, "to enter", which is not attested in Phoenician[26], one should pay attention to the second hypothesis and examine it in connection with *t'lyt* in an inscription from Carthage[27] and with Arabic *ta'liya*, "elevation", "uplift". Moreover, the Balearic word *talayot*, "watchtower", used especially on Majorca, should be taken here into consideration, as it most likely derives from a Punic term.

The talayots are conical towers about 6 metres in height with either a round or a square plan, and they enclose a chamber about 4.5 to 6 metres

[23] W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit, 332-30 v. Chr.*, München 2001, p. 81-250, passim.

[24] H. Hauben, *Het vlootbevelhebberschap in de vroege Diadochentijd (321-301 vóór Christus). Een prosopografisch en institutioneel onderzoek*, Brussel 1975, especially p. 78, 110, 117-119. For the general context of the battle, see W. Huss, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 182-184.

[25] M. Sznycer, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 23-24.

[26] Therefore, the translation of *t'lt* by "canal" in *RÉS* 1204, 1 is unlikely, despite *DNWSI*, p. 1225, and the same must be said about the "drainage pipes", proposed as translation for *t'lyt* in *RÉS* 240 = *CIS* I, 5952 by Ch.R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Studia Phoenicia XV; OLA 90), Leuven 2000, p. 496.

[27] *CIS* I, 5952. The less likely reading *t'lbt* is still accepted by H. Benichou-Safar, *Les tombes puniques de Carthage*, Paris 1982, p. 210, No. 14, where the earlier literature is given without any mention of the reading *t'lyt*. See *DNWSI*, p. 1225.

in width. This room was roofed, generally with the aid of supporting pillars, and there was an upper story, but despite the 200 or more talayots known this structure never survived in its complete original state. The masonry of the round towers, doubtless the oldest monuments in the islands, is very rough, the walls being composed of huge rugged blocks of stone, but the four-cornered talayots, which are presumably later, show more careful workmanship[28]. The original function of the talayots is of little importance in our case, but their Balearic name seems to disclose the very meaning of the Phoenician and Punic word *t'lyt*.

We shall not discuss the Aztec etymology of the Balearic *talayot*[29], but the link with the Arabic noun *ṭalī'a*, "vanguard", *ṭalā'i'* in the plural, has to be examined, since it is proposed in dictionaries of the Spanish language as explanation of Balearic *talayot* and of Spanish *atalaya*[30], "watchtower". Contrary to Spanish *atalaya*, which is a loanword from Andalusian Arabic *at-tálêâ, at-tályê*[31], *talayot* has no such Arabic feature. The population of Majorca and Minorca certainly had an appropriate name for the exceedingly numerous talayots of the islands before these were permanently conquered for the Omayyads of Córdova in 903 A.D., and they did not need to borrow an Arabic word to designate them during the period of the Moslem occupation that ended on Majorca in 1229 with the conquest of the island by James I of Aragon. At any rate, the plural *ṭalā'i'*, "vanguards", "harbingers", was no suitable term to call a tower. Considering the Punic influence in the Balearic Islands and, in particular, the Punic colonization of Majorca[32]

[28] E. Cartailhac, *Les monuments primitifs des Iles Baléares*, Toulouse 1892; A. Mayr, *Balearen*, in M. Ebert (ed.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* I, Berlin 1924, p. 322-333, where the older bibliography is given.

[29] *Diccionario enciclopédico abreviado*, 7th ed., Vol. VII, Madrid 1957, p. 412, explains *talayot* by Aztec *tlalli*, "earth", and *ayotli*, "gourd".

[30] J. Corominas - J.A. Pascual, *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*, Madrid 1980, Vol. I, p. 388; *Diccionario de la lengua española*, 20th ed., Madrid 1984, Vol. II, p. 1281c.

[31] These transcriptions of Pedro de Alcalá are related by F. Corriente, *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, Leiden 1997, p. 533, to the Arabic root *ṭl'* and the word in question is explained there as "guard or sentry in a high view-point".

[32] Recent archaeological research has confirmed the existence of Punic factories on Majorca. Cf. V.M. Guerrero Ayuso, *La colonización punico-ebusitana de Mallorca* (Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza 11), Ibiza 1984; Id., *El impacto de la colonización púnica en la cultura talayótica de Mallorca*, in *Aula Orientalis* 4 (1986), p. 339-375, reprinted in G. del Olmo Lete - M.E. Aubet Semmler (eds.), *Los Fenicios en la Península Ibérica* II, Sabadell 1986, p. 339-375; V.M. Guerrero Ayuso, *Posibles sacrificios infantiles en la cultura talayótica de Mallorca*, in *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonenses* 14 (1989), p. 191-209; Id., *Majorque et les guerres puniques: données archéologiques*, in H. Devijver - E. Lipiński (eds.), *Punic Wars* (Stu-

and the continuous occupation of many pre-Roman sites in later periods[33], one should assume that *talayot* derives from Punic **ta'liyyat* with a harmonization of the vowels and the Late Phoenician and Punic change of final *-át* into *-ót*[34]. As for **at-talaya*, even if a popular etymology could relate it to Arabic *ṭala'a*, "to rise", "to come up", it appears to be a loanword "tower" borrowed from the local language. The latter inherited it in turn from a Late Punic dialect, in which the final *-at* of **ta'liyyat* > ** ta'layyat* was reduced to *-a*, as shown by number of Latin transcriptions and phonetic spellings[35].

The noun *t'lyt* is attested in the funerary inscription of "'Abd-Melqart *p'l ht'lyt*"[36]; it designates him as "builder of towers". Latin and Greek authors often mention the towers (*turres*) of the Carthaginians, either used as watchtowers along the sea or erected inland[37]. Some may have looked like the limestone model of a three-storied tower from Carthage, dating to the 4th-3rd century B.C.[38] Other may have been similar to the two-storied towers in the tomb-paintings of Djebel Mlezza (tomb 8) on the peninsula of Cape Bon[39] or to the towers represented in Roman mosaics from Tunisia, dating to the 4th-5th centuries A.D.[40]

Since the verb *p'l* is employed in Phoenician in relation to gates[41], its use with towers is most appropriate. In our case, the *t'lyt* erected in a harbour town for mariners can only be a lighthouse, and the stone with the bilingual inscription indicates what kind of masonry was utilised to

dia Phoenicia X; OLA 33), Leuven 1989, p. 99-114; ID., *Naturaleza y función de los asentamientos púnicos en Mallorca,* in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1991, Vol. III, p. 923-930; ID., *La colonización prerromana de las Baleares,* in *Hispania Antiqua* XVII, Barcelona 1993, p. 461-468.

33 J. CARDELL - M.A. CAU - M. ORFILA, *La continuidad de ocupación en época romana de los asentamientos prerromanos de Mallorca*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana* VII, Sassari 1990, p. 703-725.

34 J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Roma 1999, p. 40-41, §78b.

35 *Ibid*., p. 150, §229.

36 *CIS* I, 5952.

37 PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* II, 181; XXXV, 169; (CAESAR), *African War* 37, 5; 40, 1; LIVY, *Roman History* XXII, 19, 6; XXXIII, 48, 1; STRABO, *Geography* VI, 2, 1; PLUTARCH, *Moralia. On Common Conceptions* 44 (1083D); PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §111 (see below, p. 380).

38 BM. 125324. Cf. D. HARDEN, *The Phoenicians* (Pelican Books), Harmondsworth 1971, p. 122-123, 278, n. 24, Pl. 24.

39 See, for instance, S. MOSCATI (ed.), *I Fenici*, Milano 1988, p. 449, below.

40 The comparison is suggested by M.H. FANTAR, *Carthage. Approche d'une civilisation* I, Tunis 1993, p. 285.

41 Karatepe, *CHLI* II, p. 54: Phu/A, III, 15 (cf. above, p. 117, n. 44) = *KAI* 26 = *TSSI* III, 15, A, III, 15; *KAI* 18, 1-4.

build this tower. Its use as lighthouse is confirmed by line 3 mentioning "beacons". The lighthouse of Cos was apparently somewhat older than the famous Pharos of Alexandria, built by Sostratus of Cnidos in the reign of Ptolemy II (283-246 B.C.). Since Sostratus was native from Cnidos, 18 km by sea from Cos, an architectural link between the two lighthouses may be assumed.

The name of Abdalonymus' son is partly preserved in the Greek inscription. It should most likely be read [Διό]τιμος[42], a proper name which should correspond to Phoenician *Grb'l*, "Devotee of Baal"[43]. If we thus restore *Grb'l* at the end of line 1, we can propose *k[l ḥblm]* at the end of line 2. The noun *mlḥ*, "sailor", should not be read here in Phoenician, that did certainly not need to borrow such a word from Aramaic or Akkadian[44]. The Phoenician and Punic term for "sailor", "mariner", was *ḥbl*, which is most likely attested at Carthage[45] and is used in the original part of the oracle against Tyre in Ez. 27, 8.27-29. Besides, *rab haḥobēl* in Jon. 1, 6 is the captain of the ship or the like, as understood by the Septuagint translating it by πρωρεύς.

Line 3 is poorly preserved and there is no equivalent sentence in the Greek inscription. However, one can read in the middle section of the line *'l kl mš't 'rt šmn*, that reveals the meaning of the passage. In fact, since we deal most likely with a lighthouse, *mš't* must designate "beacons" like in Lachish letter 4, 10; Judg. 20, 38.40; Jer. 6, 1[46], not "payment" or the like. The words that follow can probably be read *'rt šmn*, literally "lights of oil". Oil-lamps were known in ancient Israel[47] and Herodotus says that salt was added in Egypt to the oil of the lamps[48], perhaps to increase luminosity. It would appear from this

42 This opinion of M. SZNYCER and O. MASSON (*art. cit.* [n. 22], p. 24, n. 53) is fully justified. Sidonians bearing the same name are mentioned by E. BICKERMAN, *Sur une inscription grecque de Sidon*, in *Mélanges syriens offerts à René Dussaud* I, Paris 1939, p. 91-99.

43 For names with *gr*, see BENZ, p. 298-299. The name is attested in the 3rd century B.C. in the Greek transcription Γιβαλος: D. FORABOSCHI, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum*, Milano-Varese 1971, p. 87b.

44 *DNWSI*, p. 633. If the word occurs in the Abydos graffiti (*KAI* 49, 2), its use in Egypt, during the Persian period, should be justified by the influence of Aramaic.

45 *CIS* I, 3189, 3; cf. *DNWSI*, p. 345.

46 *TSSI* I, p. 42-43; *DNWSI*, p. 697.

47 Ex. 27, 20; 35, 14; Lev. 24, 2. For the use of lamps in the ancient Near East, cf. H. WEIPPERT, *Lampe*, in K. GALLING (ed.), *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1977, p. 198-201; A. LEMAIRE, *Lampe*, in *Dictionnaire encyclopédique de la Bible*, Turnhout 1987, p. 729. For the lamps in the Phoenician and Punic world, see C. GÓMEZ BELLARD, *Lampes*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 253-254.

48 HERODOTUS, *History* II, 62.

inscription that oil torches were used in Phoenician lighthouses instead of braziers or grates containing wood or coal fires. The introduction of oil-lamps with flat wicks in the Liverpool lighthouses, from 1763 onwards, was thus no pristine invention. At the end of line 3, *n* suggests restoring the verb *ngš,* which is used at Nora in a context of navigation[49].

> ['Αφρ]οδίτηι ἱδρύσατο
> [Διό]τιμος 'Αβδαλωνύμου
> [Σιδ]ῶνος βασιλέως
> [ὑπ]έρ τῶν πλεόντων
>
> "Has erected in Aphrodite's honour,
> [Dio]timos, son of Abdalonymus,
> king of Sidon,
> for the safety of the sailors".
>
> *l-rbty l-'štrt p'lt t'l[y]t z '[nk Grb'l?]*
> *bn mlk 'bd'lnm mlk ṣdnym 'l ḥy k[l ḥblm]*
> *'š .... 'l kl mš't 'rt šmn ln[gš mḥz]*
>
> "In honour of the Lady, of Astarte, I have made this tower, I [Gerbaal?], son of king Abdalonymus, king of the Sidonians, for the life of all [the sailors],
> who [should pay attention?] to all the beacons of oil lights for those ap[proaching the harbour?]".

The bilingual inscription witnesses the worship of Astarte-Aphrodite, attested also later in the 1st century B.C., when members of a *thiasos* joined at Cos to worship Zeus Soter and Astarte[50]. This divine couple clearly indicates that Zeus Soter is the Greek name of a Baal worshipped by Phoenicians. His cult was officially inaugurated on the island in the 3rd century B.C.[51], at the time when Cos became the residence of Berossus, a priest of Bēl and author of a history of Babylon in Greek[52]. His Βαβυλωνιακά attracted the attention of Greeks and Hellenized Phoenicians who took an interest also in Mesopotamian cults[53]. The existence of a Phoenician community of merchants and craftsmen at Cos, implied by the *thiasos* of Zeus Soter and Astarte, is confirmed by proper names in Greek inscriptions that give a Greek appearance to

[49] See here below, p. 238.
[50] A. MAIURI, *Nuova silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos*, Firenze 1925, No. 496.
[51] S. SHERWIN-WHITE, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 108 and 111.
[52] *FGH* III C, §680. Cf. G.P. VERBRUGGHE - J.M. WICKERSHAM, *Berossos and Manetho: Introduced and Translated*, Ann Arbor 2001, p. 13-63.
[53] See here below, p. 171.

Phoenician names, like Βασιλείδης[54] or Διότιμος, borne at Cos in the 2nd century B.C. by at least three persons[55].

Sailing from Cos northwards, between the indented coast-line of Anatolia and the islands of Kalymnos, Leros, and Lipsos, one reaches Samos, which lies closest of all Greek islands to the coast of Asia Minor.

3. Samos

Samos is separated from the Anatolian mainland by a strait of only 2 km in width. The island is remarkably fertile and by the 8th-7th centuries B.C. had become one of the leading commercial centres of Greece through its position near the Maeander (Menderes) and Cayster trade-routes from inner Anatolia[56]. The Samians also traded with the Black Sea and with Egypt, and claimed to be the first Greeks to reach the Pillars of Heracles. Their commerce brought them certainly into close relations with Phoenicians as well, but no Phoenician inscription was found so far on the island. The great temple of Hera, founded about the 11th-10th century B.C. close to the south coast, yielded a large amount of Oriental and Egyptianizing ivories and bronzes[57], as well as luxurious Cypriot pottery dating between the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C.[58] Phoenician and North-Syrian ivories appear about 725 B.C., but become rarer about 540 B.C., under the tyranny of Polycrates.

Three engraved ivory combs, which must have been imported from a Phoenician or Orientalizing workshop of the Lower Guadalquivir[59], in Andalusia, seem to confirm Herodotus' account on Colaeus' famous

[54] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 99b. Cf. M.-F. BASLEZ, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 299 with n. 72.
[55] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 140c.
[56] For Samos in general, see H. SONNABEND, *Samos [3],* in *Der Neue Pauly* XI, Stuttgart-Weimar 2001, col. 17-23.
[57] U. JANTZEN, *Greifenprotome von Samos*, in *AM* 73 (1958), p. 26-49; B. FREYER-SCHAUENBURG, *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion*, Hamburg 1964; U. JANTZEN, *"Assurattaschen" von Samos,* in *Antike Kunst* 10 (1967), p. 91-93; ID., *Ägyptische und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos* (Samos 8), Bonn 1972.
[58] G. SCHMIDT, *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos* (Samos 7), Bonn 1968.
[59] B. FREYER-SCHAUENBURG, *Kolaios und die westphönizischen Elfenbeine,* in *MM* 7 (1966), p. 89-108, Pls. XVII-XXIII; M.E. AUBET SEMMLER, *Marfiles fenicios del Bajo Guadalquivir* I. *Cruz del Negro* (Studia archaeologica 52), Valladolid 1979, p. 55-59; EAD., *Die westphönizischen Elfenbeine aus dem Gebiet des Unteren Guadalquivir,* in *Hamburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 9 (1982 [1983]), p. 15-70, Pls. 1-3 (see p. 24-26).

voyage from Samos to Tartessus[60]. The one hundred eighty-four Oriental bronze artefacts found in the temple of Hera and dedicated between 670 and 640/630 B.C. include pieces coming from Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Syria[61]. A fragment of a tripod and several candelabrums are imports from Cyprus[62], while a goddess standing on a lion, a "Smiting god" wearing the Egyptian "white crown", and a goddess in Egyptianizing style represent the craftsmanship of Syro-Phoenician workshops[63]. A horse's forehead ornament with four embossed nude goddesses and a pair of blinkers belong to a harness that apparently was commissioned in Damascus by king Hazael, as shown by the Aramaic inscription[64]. The same wording appears in Hazael's inscription on a blinker found in the Apollo temple at Eretria, on Euboea[65]. These objects did not reach Samos and Euboea directly from their first owner, in the second part of the 9th century B.C., but were offered later to the temples as valuable objects acquired somehow by trade with Syro-Phoenicia. Of course, there were also objects of different Oriental provenance, like bronze cauldrons with animal or griffin protomes of Urartian workmanship.

The Tunnel of Eupalinus at Pithagório, completed during the tyranny of Polycrates in 524 B.C.[66], has been compared with the older Siloam tunnel of Hezekiah in Jerusalem[67]. In both cases work began from both

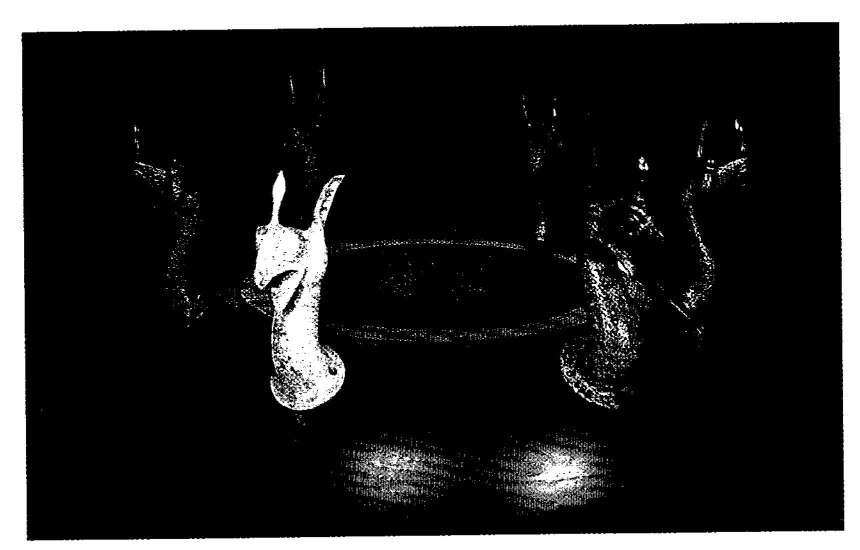
[60] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 152. See also here below, p. 229.
[61] U. JANTZEN, *op. cit.* (n. 57, Samos 8), p. 40-48 and 55-70.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 42-46.
[63] *Ibid.*, respectively Pl. 67 (BB 774), Pl. 64 (B 1285), and Pl. 66 (B 342).
[64] *Ibid.*, Pl. 52 (B 1123). The horse's forehead ornament has been re-published after cleaning by H. KYRIELEIS - W. RÖLLIG, *Ein altorientalischer Pferdschmuck aus dem Heraion von Samos,* in *AM* 103 (1988), p. 37-76, Pls. 9-15. A corrected reading and interpretation of the inscription have been provided by I. EPH'AL - J. NAVEH, *Hazael's Booty Inscriptions,* in *IEJ* 39 (1989), p. 192-200, Pls. 24-25, and Fr. BRON - A. LEMAIRE, *Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël,* in *RA* 83 (1989), p. 35-44. For the historical context, see E. LIPIŃSKI, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100), Leuven 2000, p. 388 with n. 222.
[65] A. CHARBONNET, *Le dieu aux lions d'Érétrie,* in *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli. Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico e del Mediterraneo Antico. Sezione di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 8 (1986), p. 117-173, Pls. 33-41 (see p. 140-144). For the inscription, see also M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 17-20, No. 3, as well as above, n. 64.
[66] H.J. KIENAST, *Die Wasserleitung des Eupalinos auf Samos* (Samos 19), Bonn 1995. See also K. GREWE, *Licht am Ende des Tunnels. Plannung und Trassierung im antiken Tunnelbau,* Mainz a/R 1998, p. 58-69. The tunnel is 1036 metres long.
[67] R. REICH, *The Tunnel of Eupalinus in Samos,* in *Qadmoniot* 32 (1999), p. 115-119 (in Hebrew); cf. R. ARAV, *Samos and Jerusalem - Comparing Water Tunnels,* in *Qadmoniot* 33 (2000) p. 67-68 (in Hebrew). There is no evidence in favour of an attribution of the Siloam tunnel to Manasseh, as suggested by E.A. KNAUF, *Hezekiah or Manasseh? A Reconsideration of the Siloam Tunnel and Inscription,* in *Tel Aviv* 28 (2001), p. 281-287.



Terracotta figurine of Cypriot provenance, found in the Hera sanctuary on Samos (Archaeological Museum of Samos).



Ivory figurine of a crouching lion, probably of Levantine provenance, found in the Hera sanctuary on Samos (Archaeological Museum of Samos).

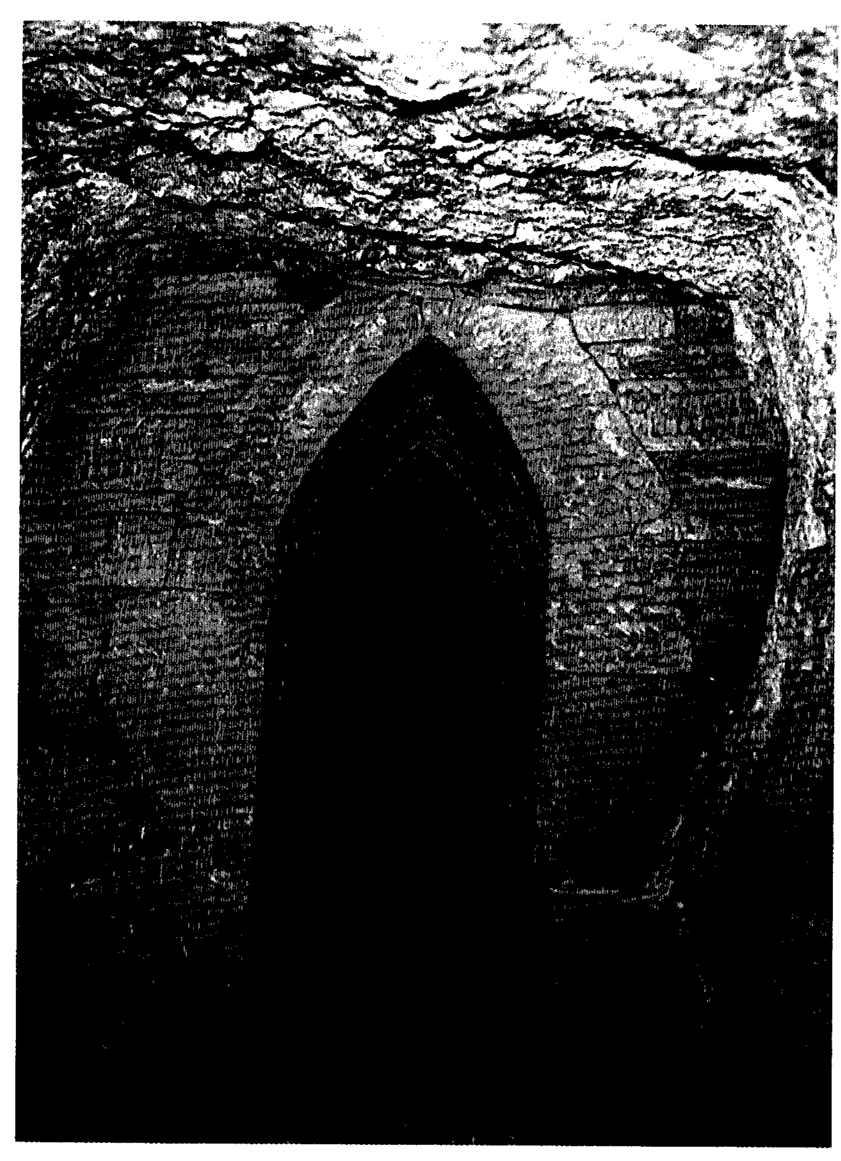


Restored bronze cauldron with griffin protomes, found in the Hera sanctuary on Samos (Archaeological Museum of Samos).

ends, outside and within the walls. At the site of ancient Samos, the tunnel was hewn through the mountain, under the direction of Eupalinus from Megara, its architect. Besides assuring the water supply during time of siege, the tunnel provided an escape route in emergency. Since Hezekiah's tunnel is so far unparalleled in contemporary neighbouring countries, one could raise the question whether Eupalinus had a knowledge of this exceptional achievement when he started the hewing of the Samos tunnel, probably around 540 B.C, but Jerusalem was then lying in ruins.

During the Persian Wars, the Phoenician fleet fighting on Xerxes I's side was harboured in 479 B.C. at Samos, either in the deep-sea port built in the era of Polycrates at Pithagório or nearby. This harbour is described by Herodotus as one of the greatest works of any Greek land[68]. The mole of the present-day harbour is built on the foundations of the ancient mole from Polycrates' times. The Phoenician fleet left Samos and sailed homewards[69] before the battle at Cape Mycale, where the remains of the Persian fleet were destroyed by the Greeks.

[68] HERODOTUS, *History* III, 60.
[69] HERODOTUS, *History* IX, 96.



Entrance to the Tunnel of Eupalinus (Samos).

4. Thracian Sea, Demetrias, Euboea, Cyclades

Greek and Latin authors mention the passage of Cadmus and his relatives in the northern areas of the Aegean Sea, called Thracian Sea by ancient writers[70]. Phoenicians would have offered a splendid bowl in chased silver to Thoas, king of Lemnos[71], put into the port of Samothrace[72], apparently the only available anchorage at Kamariótissa, on the west coast, and taken an interest in the gold mines on the island of Thasos and under Mount Pangaeus on the Thracian mainland[73]. Phoenicians would have even founded the famous Temple of Heracles on Thasos. However, the tradition of an early Phoenician presence in the Thracian Sea and, in particular, on Thasos is not confirmed by archaeological findings. Elements of the Greek ritual of Heracles, preserved in some inscriptions[74], do not contain any particularities that might suggest a cult of Melqart, and the excavations of the Heracleion of Thasos did not uncover any structure anterior to *ca.* 650 B.C., the period in which the Parian colonization of the island took place[75]. The colonies prospered by exploiting the Thasian gold mines[76]. As for the attribution of the first mining operations to the Phoenicians, it precedes Herodotus' visit, since he reports this legend and tells us that the mines were on the eastern coast of the island[77]. It is possible therefore that Greek tradition substi-

[70] G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 358-366.

[71] HOMER, *Iliad*, XXIII, 741-745. See also here above, p. 145. The population of Lemnos in Homer's times, and probably its majority until the 6th century B.C., was apparently neither Greek nor Thracian: its language has been compared with Lydian and Etruscan. Cf. the literature referred to by R.A. CROSSLAND, *Linguistic Problems of the Balkan Area in Late Prehistoric and Early Classical Periods,* in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Cambridge 1982, p. 834-849 (see p. 837 with n. 3). Besides, see B. HEMMERDINGER, *Thucydide IV, 109, 4 et les inscriptions étrusques de Lemnos,* in *Bollettino dei Classici* 16 (1995), p. 13-16.

[72] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* V, 48.

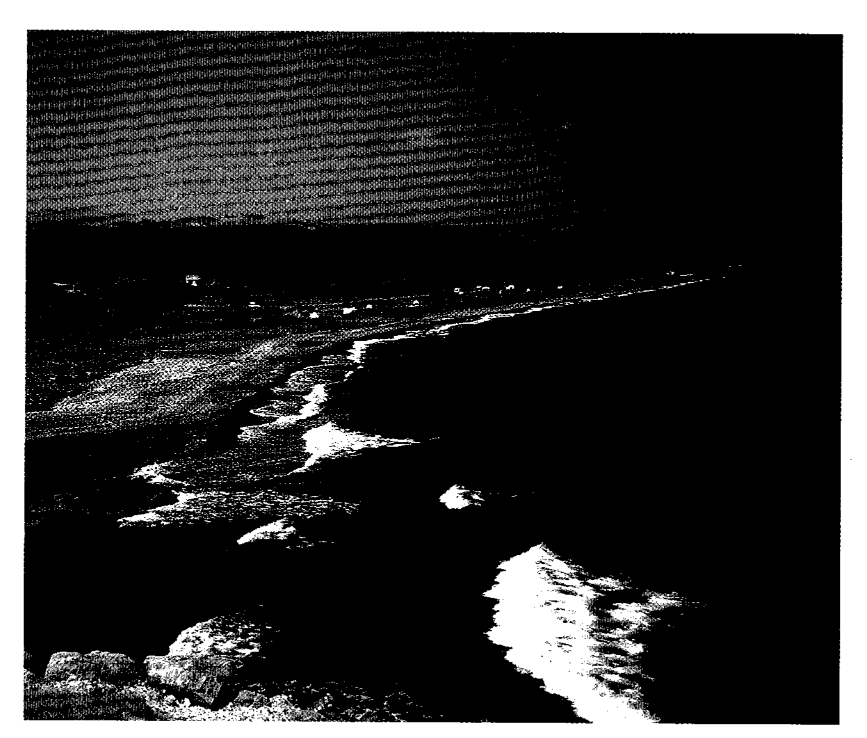
[73] HERODOTUS, *History* II, 44; VI, 46-47; STRABO, *Geography* XIV, 5, 28; PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VII, 197; PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* V, 25, 12; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata* I, 16.

[74] *IG* XII. *Suppl.* 353 and 414. A commentary is provided by C. BONNET, *Melqart. Cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée* (Studia Phoenicia VIII), Leuven-Namur 1988, p. 358-366.

[75] J. DES COURTILS - A. PARIENTE, *Herakleion,* in *BCH* 109 (1985), p. 881-884; 110 (1986), p. 802-809.

[76] The existence of ancient gold mines on Thasos was confirmed by the French excavations: B. HOLTZMANN, *Des mines d'or à Thasos?,* in *Thasiaca* (*BCH*, Suppl. 5), Paris 1979, p. 345-349; T. KOŽELJ - A. MULLER, *Thasos* VII. *Mines antiques,* in *BCH* 105 (1981), p. 960-961; J. DES COURTILS - T. KOŽELJ - A. MULLER, *Des mines d'or à Thasos,* in *BCH* 106 (1982), p. 409-417, 674.

[77] HERODOTUS, *History* VI, 47. The surname Φοῖνιξ of a certain Ἡρακλείδης (*IG* XII/8, 436), in the 4th century B.C., is probably based on the same legend.



Euboean landscape (photo: H. Kloppenburg).

tuted the Phoenicians for the Thracians of the Pangaean district who worked the gold and silver of that region, displaying much artistic skill on their artefacts[78].

Contacts between Thracians and the Aegean go back at least to the early second millennium B.C., as suggested by the analogies between the goldwork of Transylvania and Troy[79], the Wilusa of the Hittite texts[80]. We do not know whether Aegean vessels passed along the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara into the Black Sea, or whether goods

[78] See *Gold der Thraker. Archäologische Schätze aus Bulgarien*, Mainz a/R 1979.

[79] T. KOVACS, *Prähistorische Goldschätze aus dem Ungarischen Nationalmuseum*, Budapest 1999.

[80] S. ALP, *Das Hieroglyphensiegel von Troja und seine Bedeutung für Westanatolien*, in G. WILHELM (ed.), *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie* (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 45), Wiesbaden 2001, p. 27-31; D.F. EASTON - J.D. HAWKINS - A.G. SHERRATT - E.S. SHERRATT, *Troy in Recent Perspective*, in *AnSt* 52 (2002), p. 75-109 (see p. 98-101).

were conveyed overland to a Black Sea outlet[81]. At any rate, these contacts were going on about the 12th century B.C., as shown by the early Babadag (Dobrudja) pottery found in Troy VII B2 stratum[82] and by the Noua II (Transylvania) weapons recovered in the Langada Tomb 21 on the island of Cos[83], while copper ingots of the oxhide shape were found at Čerkovo and at Cape Kaliakra (Bulgaria)[84].

The economic importance of the Black Sea was decisively enlarged in Hellenistic times, and the maritime itinerary was then followed northwards by Carthaginian vessels sailing to Istria, the Milesian colony situated on the Pontus, south of the Danube estuary. Among the inscriptions discovered during considerable excavations, a fragment of a honorary decree from the early 2nd century B.C. was found, dedicated most likely to a well deserving importer of North-African grain: [...]δου Καρχηδόνιος[85].

Sailing from Thasos to the southwest, Phoenicians could have reached the Gulf of Volos or Pagasae, in Magnesia. However, the first traces of their presence in this area go back to the 3rd-2nd century B.C., at Demetrias. This city, founded by Demetrius I Poliorcetes (336-283 B.C.) south of the modern town of Volos, was a cosmopolitan centre, inhabited by many Levantines, especially merchants. Remains of seventy-six towers of the Hellenistic ramparts still survive and excavations conducted by A.S. Arvanitopoulos from 1907 onwards around these towers recovered dozens of funerary steles, which have been re-used in *ca.* 50 B.C. to strengthen the enceinte[86]. These steles had come from neighbouring cemeteries and are presently housed in the Museum of Volos. Their Greek inscriptions reveal the names of about ten Sidonians, mostly bearing Greek names[87]. The epitaph of one of them, a priest, is a Greek-

[81] For a synthetic view of the economic role of Troy in the Bronze Age, see *ibid.*, p. 101-105.

[82] S. MORINTZ, *Quelques problèmes concernant la période ancienne du Hallstatt au Bas-Danube à la lumière des fouilles de Babadag,* in *Dacia*, n.s., 8 (1964), p. 101-118.

[83] L. MORRICONE, *Eleona e Langada sepolcreti della tarda età del bronzo a Coo,* in *ASAtene* 43-44 (1965-66), p. 5-311 (see p. 137 and Figs. 122-125). Cf. C.F. MACDONALD, *Problems of the Twelfth Century B.C. in the Dodecanese,* in *BSA* 81 (1986), p. 125-151 (see p. 145-147).

[84] H.-G. BUCHHOLZ, *Der Metallhandel des zweiten Jahrtausends im Mittelmeerraum,* in M. HELTZER - E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500-1000 B.C.)* (OLA 23), Leuven 1988, p. 187-228 (see p. 212 with n. 54).

[85] D.M. PIPPIDI, *Inscriptiones Scythiae* I, Bucuresti 1983, No. 20, p. 105-106.

[86] A.S. ARVANITOPOULOS, Θεσσαλικὰ μνημεῖα I. Περιγραφὴ τῶν ἐν τῷ 'Αδανασακείῳ Μουσείῳ Βόλου γραπτῶν στηλῶν τῶν Παγασῶν, Athens 1909.

[87] O. MASSON, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens dans le monde hellénistique,* in *BCH* 93 (1969), p. 679-900, with bibliography; W. RÖLLIG, *Alte und neue phönizische Inschriften*

Phoenician bilingual. There are also two Tyrians, four Arwadians, one Citian from Cyprus, a man native from Gaza and six from Ascalon, one of which bears a Phoenician name and patronymic, both transcribed in Greek. All these inscriptions are Greek, except one of an Arwadian and another one of a Citian, which are Greek-Phoenician bilinguals. Beside the names, nothing is known of this quite sizable Phoenician community of Demetrias, which was a favourite resort of its founder and his descendants.

The northern tip of Euboea almost reaches the entrance to the Gulf of Volos or Pagasae. Euboeans appear as the most active Greek merchants and sailors of the 10th-8th centuries B.C. One wonders whether this had been the reason why Strabo believed that there was a Semitic element in the population of Euboea, introduced by Cadmus[88]. At any rate, considering the activity of the Euboeans it is not surprising that the finest Phoenician imports, generally in an Egyptianizing style, were found in the necropolis of Lefkandi[89], a site on the coast between Chalcis and Eretria, the chief cities of Euboea in antiquity. The graves in question, dating back to *ca.* 925-825 B.C., have yielded ornaments and metal bowls of a typically Phoenician craftsmanship, other specimens of which, also from the 9th century, have been found in Attica, like a bowl unearthed in the necropolis of Kerameikos at Athens[90] or a pair of granulate earrings found at Eleusis[91]. Some objects are of Aramaic provenance, not Phoenician. This is the case of the horse's blinker from the second half of the 9th century B.C. found at Eretria[92], of the forehead ornament from Samos[93] or of the bronze bowl discovered at

aus dem ägäischen Raum, in *NESE* 1 (1972), p. 1-8 (see p. 1-5); P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 141-142; M. SZNYCER, *Deux noms de Phéniciens d'Ascalon à Démétrias,* in *Semitica* 29 (1979), p. 45-52, Pl. II; F. VATTIONI, *I Fenici in Tessalia,* in *AION* 42 (1982), p. 71-81

[88] STRABO, *Geography* X, 1, 8.

[89] M.R. POPHAM - L.H. SACKETT, *Lefkandi* I. *The Iron Age*, Athens-London 1979-80; H.W. CATLING, *Archaeology in Greece, 1981-1982,* in *Archaeological Reports* 28 (1981-82), p. 3-62 (see p. 15-17); M.R. POPHAM - A. TOULOUPA - L.H. SACKETT, *The Hero of Lefkandi,* in *Antiquity* 56 (1982), p. 56-62; H.W. CATLING, *The Arrangement of Some Grave Goods in the Dark Age Cemeteries of Lefkandi*, in *BSA* 80 (1985), p. 19-23.

[90] K. KÜBLER, *Eine Bronzeschale im Kerameikos,* in *Studies Presented to David M. Robinson* II, St. Louis 1953, p. 25-29; ID., *Kerameikos* V/1, Berlin 1954, p. 201-205, 237-238, Pl. 162. In general, see now: G. MARKOE, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1985.

[91] R.A. HIGGINS, *Early Greek Jewellery,* in *BSA* 64 (1969), p. 143-153 and Pls. 34-44 (see p. 145-146, Pl. 35b).

[92] See here above, p. 156, n. 65.

[93] See here above, p. 156, n. 64.

Olympia[94], in western Peloponnesus, where several Levantine bowls have been uncovered[95]. In theory, Euboeans as well as Phoenicians may have brought these precious objects to Greece[96], but the Euboeans selling Greek pottery at Al-Mina[97], on Cyprus, and even in Tyre[98], from the early 8th century B.C. onwards, had to be rewarded in kind and there is a high probability that they were importing these goods from the Levant. Euboic Greeks played also a major role in introducing the alphabetic script, which they got in the Levant not later than the mid-8th century B.C.[99] This does not mean of course that no Phoenicians were ever settled on Euboea. In a much later period, in the 1st century B.C., we find, for instance, a Γηρόστρατος at Eretria[100].

The southern tip of Euboea is separated from Andros, the northernmost island of the Cyclades, by the dangerous Doro Passage. Nevertheless, the Cyclades marked the sea route followed by Euboic sailors heading for the Levant. Like in the north of the Aegean Sea, legends report Phoenician foundations also in the Cyclades. The colonization of Melos, the south-western outpost of the archipelago, is thus mentioned by Festus in the 2nd century A.D.[101] The origin of the legend is unknown, but the sanctuary of Phylakopi on the island yielded Iron Age material of Oriental provenance, in particular bronze figurines, which are probably

[94] M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 20-21, No. 4. The bowl was found in 1874 and was published by E. FURTWÄNGLER, *Olympia* IV, *Die Bronzen*, Berlin 1897, p. 141 and Pl. 52, No. 884.

[95] E. KUNZE, *Augrabungen in Olympia*, in 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον 19 (1964), Pl. 172 (bowl found in 1963). Also a bowl from the Ashmolean Museum is said to come from Olympia: F. POULSEN, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, Leipzig-Berlin 1912, Figs. 12-13.

[96] J.N. COLDSTREAM, *The First Exchanges between Euboeans and Phoenicians: Who Took the Initiative?*, in S. GITIN - A. MAZAR - E. STERN (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E. In Honor of Prof. Trude Dothan*, Jerusalem 1998, p. 353-360.

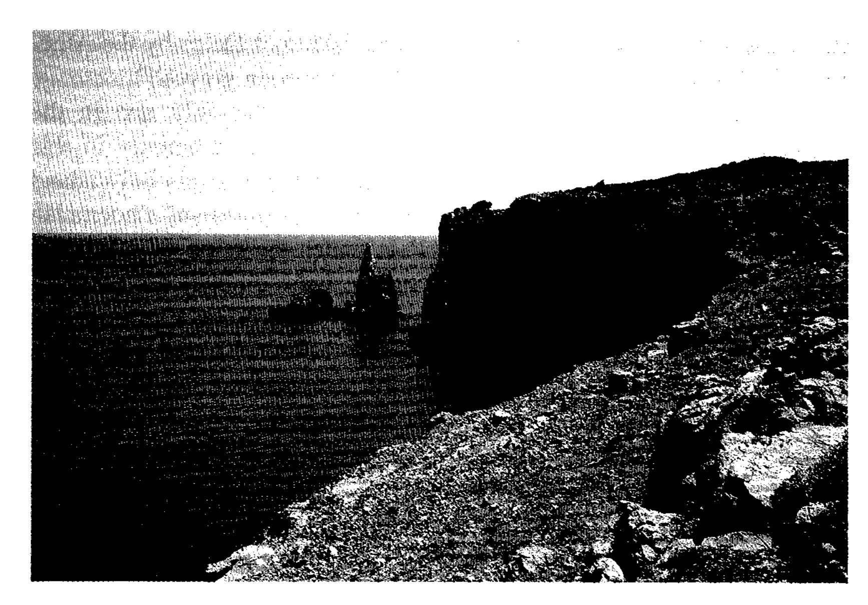
[97] J. BOARDMAN, *Early Euboean Pottery and History*, in *BSA* 52 (1957), p. 1-29. The earliest Greek island pottery found at Al-Mina was identified more precisely as mainly Euboean. For Al-Mina, see also here below, p. 271-272, n. 13.

[98] V. KARAGEORGHIS - L.G. KAHIL, *Témoignages eubéens à Chypre et chypriotes à Érétrie*, in *Antike Kunst* 10 (1967), p. 133-135; P.M. BIKAI, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster 1978, Pls. XXII A, 1; XXX, 3 (Attic pottery from the end of the 10th century B.C.).

[99] J. BOARDMAN, *art. cit.* (n. 97), p. 24 ff.; L.H. JEFFERY, *Greek Alphabetic Writing*, in *CAH* III/1, 2nd ed., Oxford 1982, p. 819-833, especially p. 827-830; EAD., *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1990, p. 10, n. 4, and p. 40.

[100] P. BRUNEAU, *Le sanctuaire et le culte des divinities égyptiennes à Érétrie* (ÉPRO 45), Leiden 1975, No. VIII, 24 and p. 79 ff.; P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 107c.

[101] FESTUS, *Epitome of the* De significatu verborum *of Verrius Flaccus*, s.v. Melos; cf. G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 188.



Site of ancient Kerinthos (Euboea), with ramparts of the 6th century B.C. on the hilltop (photo: Pantazopoulos).

Syro-Phoenician imports[102]. Research on Naxos, the largest and most beautiful of the Cyclades, so far produced only gold plaques from a burial, which are comparable to Cypro-Geometric and Levantine examples and supposedly may represent Astarte[103]. On the neighbouring island of Paros, known for its marble, there are not only unfinished anthropoid sarcophagi of a Phoenician type, apparently datable to the mid-5th century B.C., but also a marble disc with Greek and Phoenician scribbles, as it seems[104]. If we believe Herodotus IV, 147, the earliest inhabitants of Thera were of the Phoenician race. At any rate, according to Thucydides, either Phoenicians or Carians had in remote times colonized "the greater part of the islands" of the Aegean, but when he records a partic-

[102] C. RENFREW, *The Archaeology of Cult. The Sanctuary of Phylacopi*, London 1985, p. 303-310.

[103] V. KARAGEORGHIS, *"Astarte" in Naxos?*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 121-126.

[104] K. LEMBKE, *Phönizische anthropoide Sarkophage* (Damaszener Forschungen 10), Mainz a/R 2001, p. 149-150 and Pls. 51b-d, Nos. 108, 108a, 108b, 109. The disk was mentioned by V. KARAGEORGHIS during the discussion reported in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 262-263.

ular case, viz. the purification of the sacred island of Delos by the Athenians in 426 B.C., he only mentions exhumed Carian graves[105].

Now, the small island of Delos is precisely the only one in the Cyclades to provide sustained evidence of Phoenician activity in this area. However, despite Thucydides' general statement, this holy island and its harbour in the heart of the Aegean did not yield any Phoenician vestige before the 4th century B.C. It is under the reign of a king of Sidon called *'Abd-'Aštart*, probably Straton I the Philhellenic (376/70-361/58 B.C.), that "sacred envoys", ἱερουναῦται, brought gifts to the Panhellenic Sanctuary of Delos from Tyre and Sidon. This is recorded in a Greek-Phoenician bilingual from Delos, commemorating this sacred embassy[106]. The Greek version does not record the name of the king, while the Phoenician inscription is almost illegible. It is nevertheless reconstructed partly in *CIS* to read *mlk 'bd'štrt mlk...* Some eighty years later, about 280 B.C., a famous decree was issued in honour of Philocles, often styled "king of the Sidonians". He had dedicated three or four golden crowns in Delian sanctuaries and a *Soteria* festival was held at Delos in his honour with offerings to Apollo, Artemis, Leto, Zeus Soter, and Athena[107].

The great panhellenic festivals, held every four years like those on Delos, were attended by "theoric" delegations (θεωρίαι) from every Greek State. At the festival, the representatives of other cities offered sacrifices in the name of their city — in this case Tyre and Sidon. It is possible that such sacred embassies were coming from Phoenicia on a regular basis, since they are attested again in 276 B.C., in particular one from Byblos[108]. The main reason why Phoenician cities were sending ἱερουναῦται to Delos was probably the role played by the island from the 4th or early 3rd century B.C. onwards in Phoenician sea trade. At that time, Delos seems in fact to have become the turning plate of Phoenician traffic in the Aegean Sea. "Families" or guilds of Phoenician merchants were established on the island, invested capitals, dealt with maritime transport, traded in ivory[109]. They constituted the most active and

[105] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I, 8, 1.

[106] *CIS* I, 114 = A. Plassart, *Inscriptions de Délos (Nos 1-88)*, Paris 1950, No. 50.

[107] H. Hauben, *Philocles, King of the Sidonians and General of the Ptolemies*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 413-427, with references to the sources and former literature.

[108] *IG* XI/4, 164, B, 4.

[109] *IG* XI/2, 199, A, 78; 203, A, 71; etc. Cf. M.-F. Baslez, *Un marchand d'ivoire tyrien à Délos en 269*, in T. Hackens - Gh. Moucharte (eds.), *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques* (Studia Phoenicia IX), Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, p. 311-320.

prosperous segment of the Levantine population living on Delos. The members of their communities appear among the local participants of the Delian Games, held every four years and consisting in athletic sports, horse-racing, and musical contests. They are also recorded among the devotees of the sanctuaries on the island. On a lower social level there were also craftsmen and slaves of Phoenician origin. The role played by Phoenician merchants, ἔμποροι, shipowners, ναυκλῆροι, consignors, ἐνδοχεῖς, and bankers, like Philostratus from Ascalon, appears to have become particularly important about the mid-2nd century B.C.[110] as a consequence of the Roman occupation of the island and of the decision of the Roman senate in 166 B.C. to make Delos into a free port.

Merchants from Tyre, Beirut, and Arwad form powerful religious associations or *thiasoi*, but their Hellenized mode of life is manifested by their frequentation of the gymnasium, participation in artistic events and political activities. They receive "theoric" delegations, support Athenian magistrates, bestow honours on Athens, on the Seleucids, and the Romans[111]. A Tyrian dedicates a Greek-Phoenician inscription in the temple of Asclepius, probably between 166 and 156 B.C.[112], and the name of Asclepiades is borne by the Arwadian craftsman who signed the mosaic-work in the House of the Dolphins[113]. Asclepius was most likely equated by the Phoenicians with Eshmun[114]. Melqart is represented by the Tyrian Heracles, worshipped on the island[115]. Instead, it is difficult

[110] *IG* XI/4, 1114; P. Roussel - M. Launey, *Inscriptions de Délos (nos 1497-2219)*, Paris 1937, Nos. 1519; 1769, 3; cf. Id. - Id., *Inscriptions de Délos (nos 2220-2879)*, Paris 1937, Nos. 2616, III, 72-73; 2617d, 8; 2619a, 18 and b, I, 21; 2622, II, 18. See also G. Mancinetti-Santamaria, *Filostrato di Ascalona, banchiere in Delo*, in *Opuscula Instituti Romani Finlandiae* 2 (1982), p. 79-89; M.-F. Baslez, *Le rôle et la place des Phéniciens dans la vie économique de l'Égée*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 267-285 (see p. 279). Unfortunately, we do not know the profession of a Tyrian mentioned in a Greek-Phoenician bilingual, re-published by M.-F. Baslez - F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *L'inscription gréco-phénicienne de l'Asklépieion de Délos*, in *Semitica* 38 (1988 [1990]), p. 27-38.

[111] *IG* XI/4, 1114; P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), Nos. 1533; 1543; 1551; 1777; 1782; 1816.

[112] M.-F. Baslez - F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *art. cit.* (n. 110). See also Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 156, n. 263.

[113] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), No. 2497; P. Bruneau, *Exploration archéologique de Délos* XXIX. *Les mosaïques*, Paris 1973, p. 238, Fig. 175, and p. 239.

[114] On Eshmun, see Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 154-168.

[115] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), No. 1519.

to identify the Phoenician god venerated on Delos as Poseidon by Tyrians[116], by people from Ascalon[117], and in particular by the members of the Establishment of the Poseidoniasts from Beirut[118]. Neither can we easily identify Zeus Ourios, the Weather-god of the "good wind", with a particular Phoenician deity. He is not Baal Ṣaphon, who is represented at Delos by Zeus Casius[119]. Zeus Ourios is already mentioned by Aeschylus[120] and his cult is well attested at Delos[121], where an Ascalonite associates him with Astarte and Aphrodite Urania[122], showing that he equated him with a Phoenician deity. This inscription also manifests the observance of Semitic dietary and ritual laws at Delos, as some other inscriptions do[123]. The "Sign of Tannit" in the mosaic-floor of a Hellenistic house[124] and on several oil-lamps[125] suggests the presence of Carthaginians as well.

About 280 B.C., a Carthaginian suffete, called Ἰωμίλκος or Εἰμίλκος βασιλεύς, came to Delos and dedicated a golden crown in the temple of Apollo and another one in the shrine of Artemis. These gifts are recorded in the Delian inscriptions from 279 B.C. to 140/139 B.C.[126] The presence of other Carthaginians is attested as well, like Βαλίτων recorded twice in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C.[127] They were soon followed by Numidians. In 179 B.C., Massinissa I offered a shipload of grain to the inhabitants of Delos and received a golden crown as homage. A certain Hermon from Delos set up a statue to honour the king, while Charmylos, though native from Rhodes, dedicated an inscription to

[116] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), No. 1519, 37-39.

[117] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), No. 1720.

[118] C. Picard, *Exploration archéologique de Délos* VI. *L'Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos*, Paris 1921; cf. P. Bruneau, *Les cultes de l'Établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos à Délos*, in *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren* (ÉPRO 68), Leiden 1978, Vol. I, p. 160-190; Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 116-120.

[119] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), Nos. 2180-2182.

[120] Aeschylus, *Supplices* 594.

[121] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), Nos. 1561; 2128; 2179.

[122] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), No. 2305 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Suppplément*, Paris 1962, No. 55.

[123] Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 489-490.

[124] P. Bruneau, *op. cit.* (n. 113), p. 71, 233, 235.

[125] P. Bruneau, *Exploration archéologique de Délos* XXVI. *Les lampes*, Paris 1966, p. 106, Nos. 4524-4528 and Pl. 27, 4524; Id., *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque héllénistique et à l'époque impériale*, Paris 1970, p. 645-648 and Pl. XV, 5-6.

[126] O. Masson, *Le roi carthaginois Iomilkos dans des inscriptions de Délos*, in *Semitica* 29 (1979), p. 53-57; G. Manganaro, *Fenici, Cartaginesi, Numidi tra i Greci (IV-I sec. A.C.)*, in *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 29 (2000), p. 255-267 (see p. 259).

[127] *IG* XI/4, 1228, 11; 1229, 11. Cf. P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 99a; G. Manganaro, *art. cit.* (n. 126), p. 259.

Massinissa on the island Delos. In 171/166 B.C. statues were erected on Delos for Massinissa's sons, and Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dedicated a statue to Massinissa on the island, in 149 B.C. Hiempsal II (*ca.* 88-60 B.C.) was honoured later on Rhodes with an statue and an inscription boasting his descent from the great king[128].

Although the Delian sanctuaries continued to attract their devotees, it was trade that filled the island coffers. Strabo says that the great religious festival was now in essence a trade fair on a heroic scale[129].

In 88 B.C., during the first Mithridatic war, some of the Phoenicians have supported Rome, but others, like Dies of Tyre, repudiated Rome in favour of Mithridates VI of Pontus (120-63 B.C.)[130]. Decline, however, set in after a general of Mithridates sacked the island in 88 B.C.

5. Athens, Piraeus, Thebes, Corinth

Luxurious objects of Phoenician or Levantine provenance, like those found at the Kerameikos of Athens or at Eleusis[131], do not prove a Phoenician presence and activity in Attica. Instead, funerary steles with Greek-Phoenician bilingual inscriptions witness the existence of a Phoenician colony in Athens at least from the 4th century B.C. onwards[132]. This bilingual community was heterogeneous. There were people from Sidon, Citium, Ascalon[133]. Some were renowned personalities, like Zeno of Citium who founded the Stoic school in 301 B.C.[134] He settled in Athens in 313/2 and was, with Zeno of Sidon, pupil of the Megarian philosopher Diodorus Cronus[135]. They were among the first

[128] *Ibid.*, p. 263 with references to the sources.

[129] Strabo, *Geography* X, 5, 4.

[130] P. Roussel - M. Launey, *op. cit.* (n. 110), No. 2612, II, 2 and 11 (pro-Romans); Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists* V, 212d (Dies of Tyre).

[131] See here above p. 163 with n. 90-91.

[132] *CIS* I, 115-117 = *KAI* 53-55 = *TSSI* III, 40.

[133] See, in general, M.-F. Baslez, *L'étranger dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 1984; Ead., *art. cit.* (n. 19); Ead., *Les communautés d'Orientaux dans la cité grecque*, in R. Lonis (ed.), *L'étranger dans le monde grec*, Nancy 1988, p. 139-158; J. Pouilloux, *Étrangers à Kition et Kitiens à l'étranger*, in *RDAC* 1988-II, p. 95-99.

[134] K. von Fritz, *Zenon 2.*, in *PW* XA, Stuttgart 1972, col. 83-121; A. Graeser, *Zenon von Kition*, Berlin-New York 1975; F. Regen, *Zenon 2.*, in *Der Kleine Pauly* V, München 1975, col. 1500-1504,

[135] Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* VII. *Zeno* 16. According to VII. *Zeno* 38, he was a pupil of Zeno of Citium. See K. von Fritz, *Zenon 3.*, in *PW* XA, Stuttgart 1972, col. 121-122; F. Regen, *Zenon 3.*, in *Der Kleine Pauly* V, München 1975, col. 1504. Another Zeno of Sidon, active in the late 2nd century B.C., was Epicurean: Diogenes Laërtius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* VII. *Zeno* 35, and X, 25; cf. K. von Fritz, *Zenon 5.*, in *PW* XA, Stuttgart 1972, col. 122-138; F. Regen, *Zenon 5.*, in *Der Kleine Pauly* V, München 1975, col. 1504-1505.

Phoenicians that went to Athens, a centre of ancient learning, to study philosophy. There were also great money-lenders, like Theodorus the Phoenician[136], or simple brokers, like Pythodorus the Phoenician, already active about 394 B.C.[137] Greek inscriptions attest the activity of small Phoenician workshops and even agricultural professions, at least from the 4th century B.C. onwards[138]. The end of the Persian Wars favoured Phoenician emigration from Phoenicia proper and from Cyprus, leading to the creation of stable and organized communities, as shown by the Athenian decrees in favour of the Sidonians, in 367 B.C.[139], and of the Citian metics, or resident aliens, in 333 B.C.[140] The first one bestowed on Straton I the honour of *proxenia* and exempted the Sidonians sojourning in Attica from the tax usually charged upon foreign settlers, from the obligation of the *choregia*, laid upon individual citizens of sufficient wealth, and from other contributions to the State. About 330 B.C., rights of ownership "according to the law" were granted to Phoenicians from Tyre and Sidon[141].

The Phoenician communities of Piraeus were at least even important, especially from the 3rd century B.C. onwards, but a community of Phoenician merchants existed already at Piraeus in the 5th or early 4th century B.C. The population of the harbour town at the zenith of Athenian power consisted largely of resident aliens, who controlled much of its manufacture and trade, and introduced foreign cults, giving the city its cosmopolitan character[142]. This general background is reflected in various inscriptions from Piraeus that witness the existence of a Phoenician community, its organization, and its cults.

A marble altar from the 3rd century B.C. bears a Phoenician inscription recording its consecration to the god Sakon[143]. The altar was commissioned by a certain Ben-Ḥodeš, whose father Baalyaton was a "suffete" (*h-špṭ*), and his grandfather "sealer" (*h-ḥtm*). Unfortunately, we do not know which administrative function in the community, the city or

[136] DEMOSTHENES, *Against Phormion* 6.
[137] ISOCRATES, *Trapeziticus* 4.
[138] M.-F. BASLEZ, *art. cit.* (n. 110).
[139] *IG* II-III², 141 = M.N. TOD, *Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* II, *403-323 B.C.*, Oxford 1948, No. 139, p. 116.
[140] *IG* II-III², 337 = M.N. TOD, *op. cit.* (n. 139), No. 189, p. 250-251.
[141] *IG* II-III², 342 and 343 Cf. M.B. WALBANK, *Athens, Carthage, and Tyre (IG II 342 +)*, in *ZPE* 59 (1985), p. 107-111.
[142] On Piraeus in general, R. GARLAND, *The Piraeus*, London 1987.
[143] *CIS* I, 118 = *KAI* 58 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 137, No. 4. For the god Sakon, see LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 176-179.

the harbour corresponds to these titles. The altar was found at the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Soter, which was the patron deity of Piraeus[144].

Besides, a fragmentary funerary inscription in Phoenician was found at Piraeus[145], as well as three Greek-Phoenician bilinguals: the first one of a lady native from Byzantium, dating probably to the 4th century B.C.[146], the second one of a Sidonian lady, possibly the wife of Yatanbēl, the archpriest of Nergal who commissioned the sepulchral monument[147], the third one of a Phoenician native from Citium[148], like several others mentioned in Greek epitaphs of funerary monuments, which have been uncovered at Piraeus[149].

The most important Phoenician inscription from Piraeus is the Greek-Phoenician bilingual inscribed on a white marble stele which records the bestowing of a golden crown on Šama'baal, son of Magon, by the Sidonian community (*gw* = κοινόν) of Piraeus[150]. The man in question was "the superintendent of the community (*nš' h-gw*) in charge of the temple and in charge of the buildings in the temple court". The inscription does not specify the name of the divinity but obviously implies that the Sidonian sanctuary was a complex of a certain importance. This honorary inscription is dated from the 14th year of a Sidonian era, but it cannot be the era that began in 111/10 B.C. Palaeography dates the Greek text from the 3rd century B.C., and the mention of "darics" in line 3 suggests a date not later than the first quarter of the 3rd century. Therefore, there must have been an earlier Sidonian era[151], the beginning of which has been linked to the appointment of Abdalonymus as king of Sidon in 333/2 B.C. by Alexander the Great[152]. However, one would then expect a mention of "the 14th year of the king of the Sidonians" instead of "the

[144] M.-F. BASLEZ, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 292 with n. 23.
[145] *CIS* I, 121 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 137, No. 3. It is now housed in the National Museum at Athens.
[146] *CIS* I, 120 = *KAI* 56 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 136, No. 1. It is housed likewise in the National Museum at Athens.
[147] *CIS* I, 119 = *KAI* 59 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 137, No. 2. For the cult of Nergal in this context, see LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 342-343.
[148] *RÉS* 388 = *KAI* 57 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 138, No. 5.
[149] *IG* II-III², 9031-9036; G.A. STAMIRIS, *Attische Grabinschriften*, in *AM* 67 (1942), p. 218-229 (see p. 220, No. 12); D.W. BRADEEN, *The Athenian Agora* XVII. *Inscriptions, the Funerary Monuments*, Princeton 1974, No. 521 = *SEG* XIV, 205.
[150] *RÉS* 1215 = *KAI* 60 = *TSSI* III, 41 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 138-139, No. 6. The short Greek text is inscribed below the Phoenician inscription: *IG* II-III², 2946.
[151] J.C.L. GIBSON, *TSSI* III, p. 148.
[152] M.-F. BASLEZ - F. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, *Un exemple d'intégration phénicienne au monde grec: les Sidoniens au Pirée à la fin du IVe siècle*, in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1991, Vol. I, p. 229-240.

people of Sidon". This is why the beginning of this era should be placed towards the end of the 4th century B.C., in the period of political upheavals following Alexander's death, when began the Seleucid era (312/11 B.C.)[153], the era of Citium (311/10 B.C.)[154], the era of Lapethos (307/6 or 305/4 B.C.)[155], possibly a first era of Tyre (308/7 B.C.)[156]. The Sidonian era of the Piraeus inscription began probably after the death of Abdalonymus, the last or the last but one king of Sidon[157]. If he died in 312 B.C.[158], the era could have begun in 311/0 and year 14 would then correspond to 298/7 B.C. Phoenician palaeography would date the inscription from the 4th century B.C.[159]

The earlier port of Athens was located on the Phaleron Bay, which was in full view of the city. When Piraeus was chosen in the beginning of the 5th century B.C. as the site of the new harbour of Athens, Phaleron

[153] Concise precisions are given by E.J. BICKERMAN, *Calendars and Chronology*, in W.D. DAVIES - L. FINKELSTEIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* I, Cambridge 1984, p. 60-69 (see p. 61-62). For a survey of the discussion resulting in a correct understanding of the Seleucid era, see F.-M. ABEL, *L'ère des Séleucides,* in *RB* 47 (1938), p. 198-213.

[154] *CIS* I, 93 = *KAI* 40 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 120-121, No. 8. The era begins after the death of Pumayyaton, the last king of Citium.

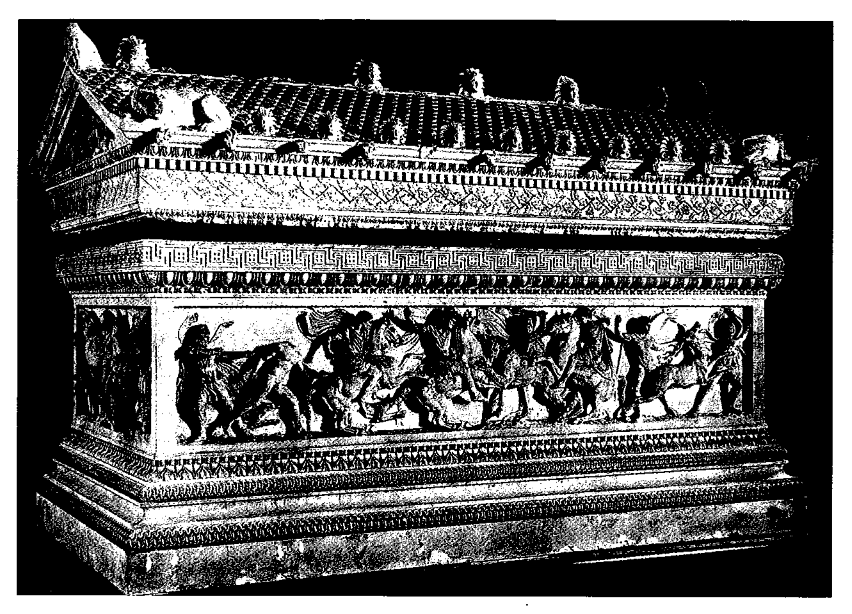
[155] *RÉS* 1211 = *KAI* 43 = *TSSI* III, 36 = P. MAGNANINI, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 124-125, No. 2. If the date 305/4 is accepted, as suggested by A.M. Honeyman, the beginning of the era would have started after the conquest of Cyprus by Demetrius I Poliorcetes (306 B.C.).

[156] This era would have served to date the series of Alexandrian tetradrachms with the abbreviations *'k*, which followed the dated coins of Azzimilk, the last king of Tyre (347/6-309/8 B.C.). There are no extant coins dated 1 to 7, while years 8 to 11 would correspond to 301/0-298/7 B.C., i.e. to the first years of the Ptolemaic occupation of the region. The longstanding abbreviation *'k* would have been used further. According to A. LEMAIRE, *Le royaume de Tyr dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle av. J.-C.*, in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1991, Vol. I, p. 131-150, these coins would have been issued by an unknown successor of Azzimilk after seven years of coregency. — A later Tyrian era begins in 275/4 B.C. and another one in 126/5 B.C., lasting until 228 A.D.

[157] If Philocles, styled βασιλεὺς Σιδονίων in several Greek documents from *ca.* 310 to *ca.* 279/8, really exercised the royal office at Sidon, he could have reigned after 294 B.C., when Sidon came under permanent Egyptian control, certainly not before 301 B.C. See H. HAUBEN, *Philocles, King of the Sidonians and General of the Ptolemies*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 413-427.

[158] V. VON GRAEVE, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt* (Istanbuler Forschungen 28), Tübingen 1970, p. 125-132 and 142-146.

[159] The use of its script as a specimen of the Phoenician writing in 96 B.C. is misguiding. This chronological basis is followed, among others, by J.B. PECKHAM, *The Development of the Phoenician Script*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, p. 68-69, line 3. In reality, the vertical *bēt* is similar to the *bēt* of fragments from the Eshmun temple at Sidon and of some of the Bodashtart's inscriptions. The long left leg of *gimel* is even comparable with *g* in a Byblian inscription from the late 6th century B.C.!



The so-called "Alexander Sarcophagus" from the late 4th century B.C., commonly regarded as the tomb of Abdalonymus, king of Sidon.
It was found in 1887 in the necropolis of Ayya'a, Sidon, and is housed in the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri.

continued to be inhabited, and it had a sizable Phoenician community in the 4th century B.C. This results from a lost speech of Dinarchus (*ca.* 360-290 B.C.), recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus[160]. Dinarchus, in fact, wrote a speech on the occasion of a suit between the people of Phaleron and the Phoenician inhabitants of the place with respect to the priesthood of Poseidon: "A claim suit by the Phalereans against the Phoenicians, concerning the priesthood of Poseidon".

There is no direct attestation of an early Phoenician presence at Corinth and there is no link between Melicertes Palaemon, worshipped especially at Corinth, and the Tyrian god Melqart[161]. Instead, the worship of Athena Phoenice at Corinth[162] may suggest her patronage of a guild of craftsmen specialized in the Phoenician process of dyeing.

[160] DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, *On Dinarchus* 10. Cf. St. USHER (ed.), *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Critical Essays* II, Cambridge, Mass., 1985, p. 280-281.

[161] LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 227. The name of Melicertes is Greek and his cult at Corinth goes back, as its seems, to the 6th-5th century B.C.; cf. D.W. RUPP, *The Lost Classical Palaimonion Found,* in *Hesperia* 48 (1979), p. 64-72.

[162] J. SCHMIDT, *Phoinike 1.*, in *PW* XX/1, Stuttgart 1941, col. 349.

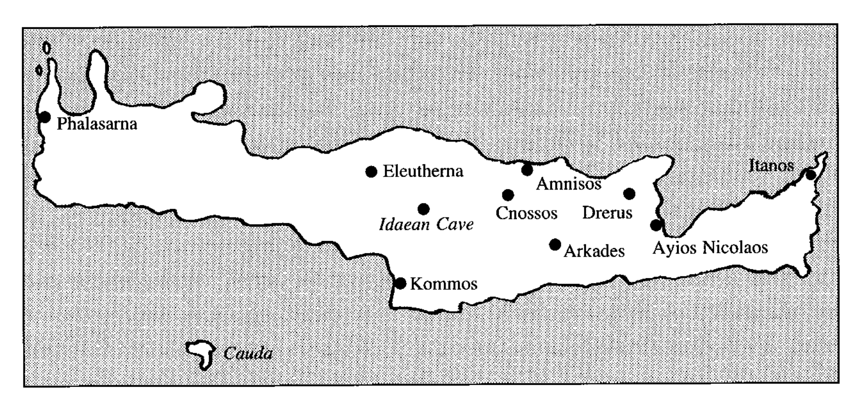
There was also a hill at Corinth, called Φοινίκαιον[163], and the story of a young man bewitched at Corinth by a Phoenician woman[164] may allude to Levantine whores in service of Aphrodite, to which several sanctuaries were dedicated at Corinth[165], probably linked to the sacred prostitution[166].

One should recall here that Carthaginian presence in Athens, Thebes, and Corinth is attested as well. The existence of diplomatic relations is recorded already in the 5th century B.C. Euripides' plays contain allusions to events linked to Athens' policy in Sicily, quite understandably since he himself was sent on an embassy to Syracuse[167]. His play *Troades*, first acted in 415 B.C., alludes to the Athenian intervention in 416 B.C. on behalf of the Segestans against Selinus[168], on the eve of Athens dispatching envoys to Carthage[169]. In the *Phoenissae*, most likely first performed in one of the years 411/409 B.C.[170], Euripides stages a choir of Phoenician women from North-Africa[171] as "a clear symbol of friendship and alliance". As a matter of fact, in 409 B.C. Carthage achieved what Athens had not: Selinus was sacked, but Segesta passed into the Carthaginian sphere of influence. *Phoenissae* 964 may contain another reference to Carthage, alluding to the child sacrifice practiced there[172]. Wars in Sicily prompted further contacts between Athens and Carthage. Thus, an agreement was signed in 406 B.C. between Athens and the embassy sent by the Carthaginian generals besieging Agrigentum on Sicily[173]. Another Carthaginian embassy

[163] It is a "mountain of Corinth" according to EPHORUS OF CYME: *FGH* II A, §70, Frg. 75.
[164] PHILOSTRATUS, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* IV, 25.
[165] PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* II, 2, 3; 5, 1; ATHENAEUS, *The Deipnosophists* XIII, 573c-574b. Cf. C.K. WILLIAMS, *Corinth and the Cult of Aphrodite*, in M.A. DEL CHAIRO - W.R. BIERS (eds.), *Corinthiaca. Studies in Honor of D.A. Amyx*, Columbia 1986, p. 12-24.
[166] STRABO, *Geography* VIII, 6, 20-23; XII, 3, 36. This is challenged by H.D. SAFFREY, *Aphrodite à Corinthe. Réflexions sur une idée reçue*, in *RB* 92 (1985), p. 359-374.
[167] ARISTOTLE, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* II, 6, and Scholiasts.
[168] Cf. THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* VI, 6-8 and 46. EURIPIDES, *Troades 220-221 refers to the African* "Phoenicia".
[169] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* VI, 88, 6.
[170] D.J. MASTRONARDE, *Euripides: Phoenissae*, Cambridge 1994, p. 11-14.
[171] EURIPIDES, *Phoenissae* 202-214 and 280-288. Cf. C. MÜLLER-GOLDINGEN, *Untersuchungen zu den Phönissen des Euripides*, Wiesbaden 1985; E.M. CRACK, *Euripides, Phoenician Women*, Warminster 1987.
[172] R. REBUFFAT, *Le sacrifice du fils de Créon dans les "Phéniciennes" d'Euripide*, in *Revue des Études Anciennes* 74 (1972), p. 14-31; E.A.M.E. O'CONNOR-VISSER, *Aspects of Human Sacrifice in the Tragedies of Euripides*, Amsterdam 1987.
[173] H. BENGTSON, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* II. *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., München 1975, No. 208.

came to Athens in about 330 B.C. It was led by Σύναλος and [Β]οδμίλκας[174], i.e. *('E)šmun-ḥaloṣ* and *Bod-Milqart*.The Constitution of Carthage was known in Athens not only to Aristotle[175] but also to a certain Hippagoras[176]. Philosophy was thought at Athens by Herillos in the 3rd century B.C.[177] and by Hasdrubal in the 2nd century B.C.[178], both from Carthage. A proxeny-decree of Thebes in Boeotia bestowed, in 362 B.C., the *proxenia* and the honorary citizenship with related privileges to a certain Νώβας Ἀξιώβω Καρχαδόνιος[179], whose name can be identified as *(Han)noba'l*, son of *'Azruba'l*. He may have been a well deserving Carthaginian merchant of grain, active at the time of Boeotarch Epaminondas, who restored Theban power and conducted a strong maritime policy[180]. Trade relationship of Carthage with Corinth may have been even strong, as suggested by the Punic amphorae from the 5th century B.C. which served to provide salted fish to Corinthian merchants[181]. Carthaginian activity in the Aegean Sea may be induced also from attestations of patronymics like Ἄννων at Astypalaia, the westernmost of the Dodecanese islands, as early as in the 3rd century B.C.[182], Μάγων at Delos or Ἄννιβας at Chios in the 1st century B.C.[183], and of the proper name Ἄννιβας at Cos and Rhodes in the Hellenistic period[184]. One may recall the honorific inscription of

[174] *IG* II-III², 418. Cf. G. MANGANARO, *art. cit.* (n. 126), p. 258.
[175] ARISTOTLE, *Politics* II, 11, 1-16.
[176] ATHENAEUS, *The Deipnosophists* XIV, 27a. One should recall here that also POLYBIUS, *History* VI, 51-52, had a fairly good knowledge of Carthaginian Constitution.
[177] DIOGENES LAËRTIUS, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* VII, 1, 37, where Καρχηδόνιος is written in manuscripts, while VII, 3, 165 reads Χαλκηδόνιος. For this scribal error, occurring quite often in Greek manuscripts and inscriptions, see G. MANGANARO, *art. cit.* (n. 126), p. 259, n. 27 with further literature, and here below, p. 256, n. 155-157.
[178] H. VON ARNIM, *Kleitomachos 1.*, in *PW* XI/1, Stuttgart 1921, col. 656-659.
[179] W. DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1915-24, No. 179 = *SEG* XXXIV, 355. The date of 362/1 B.C. was proposed by P. ROESCH, *Thespies et la Confédération béotienne*, Paris 1965, p. 76-77; cf. *SEG* XXIII, 277.
[180] F. CARRATA THOMES, *Egemonia beotica e potenza marittima nella politica di Epaminonda*, Torino 1952, p. 25-26 with n. 28. Cf. G. MANGANARO, *art. cit.* (n. 126), p. 258.
[181] Y. MANIATIS et al., *Punic Amphoras Found at Corinth, Greece: An Investigation of Their Origin and Technology*, in *Journal of Field Archaeology* 11 (1984), p. 205-222. See also C.G. KOEHLER, *Corinthian Developments in the Study of Trade in the Fifth Century*, in *Hesperia* 50 (1981), p. 449-458.
[182] W. PEEK, *Inschriften von den dorischen Inseln* (Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Kl. 62/1), Berlin 1969, No. 88, 28-30.
[183] P. ROUSSEL - M. LAUNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 110), No. 2618b, II, 35; P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 295b and 42b, No. 1.
[184] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 42b, Nos. 2-3.



Crete.

Hiempsal II (*ca.* 88-50 B.C.), engraved on the base of a statue erected on Rhodes to honour the Numidian king[185], who obviously had close relations with the island.

6. Cythera and Crete

Cythera is a small island of some 281 km^2, mountainous and barren. It lies off Cape Malea (Peloponnesus) and can be reached nowadays from Pireaus in a steamer that calls first at Ayia Pelagía. This place name records that Ἀφροδίτη Πελαγία, called *Ptgyh* in an Ekron inscription[186], is born from the sea off Cythera[187]. The name of the island is said to have derived from the Phoenician who colonized it[188], but the island is also said to have been called Πορφυροῦσα from its abundant *murex* deposits, which attracted an early Minoan colony[189], not Phoeni-

[185] V.N. KONTORINI, *Le roi Hiempsal II de Numidie et Rhodes*, in *L'Antiquité Classique* 44 (1975), p. 89-99.

[186] E. LIPIŃSKI, *"Sea Peoples" and Canaan in Transition, c. 1200-950 B.C.*, in *OLP* 30 (1999), p. 1-35 (see p. 16).

[187] HESIOD, *Theogony* 191-193.

[188] STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Κύθηρα; EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Paraphrase of Dionysius Periegetes* 498, in *GGM* II, p. 310. Cf. G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 119, 229, 259, 264, 363.

[189] There was al least one important colony at Kastri, looking south-eastward, from Middle Minoan II through Late Minoan I (*ca.* 1800-1450 B.C.). Cf. J.N. COLDSTREAM - G.L. HUXLEY (eds.), *Kythera. Excavations and Studies*, London 1972; ID. - ID., *The Minoans of Kythera*, in R. HÄGG - N. MARINATOS (eds.), *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality*, Göteborg 1984, p. 107-110; I.A. SAKELLARAKIS, *Minoan Religious Influence in the Aegean: The Case of Kythera*, in *BSA* 91 (1996), p. 81-99.

cians who would have developed its purple industry. Xenophon mentions a Bay Phoenicus[190], which may have served as a port of call for the Phoenician vessels, since Strabo states that Cythera had good harbours[191]. At any rate, the Phoenician foundation of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Urania on the hill of Palaekastro[192] can only be regarded as a legend[193], just as the role played by Cytherus the Phoenician, the alleged eponym of the island.

The discovery of a cuneiform inscription of Naram-Sin, king of Eshnunna *ca.* 1712-1702 B.C.[194], should be linked with the Middle Minoan settlement at Kastri. In fact, the white stone chest with the engraved inscription was allegedly found in 1849, in a grave near Kastri[195]. It has no relation whatsoever with Phoenician trade and purple industry. The same must be said about the small limestone cup from Userkaf's Sun temple at Abusir, that may have reached Cythera in Early Minoan II[196],

[190] XENOPHON, *Hellenica* IV, 8, 7.

[191] STRABO, *Geography* VIII, 5, 1.

[192] HERODOTUS, *History* I, 105; PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* I, 14, 7; III, 23, 1.

[193] The excavations did not reveal any trace of Phoenician presence: G.L. HUXLEY, *Kythera and the Minoan Maritime Economy*, in *Momenti precoloniali nel Mediterraneo antico*, Roma 1988, p. 65-71 (see p. 71).

[194] M.P. STRECK, *Narām-Sîn of Ešnunna*, in *RLA* IX, Berlin 1998-2001, p. 177-178. The dates should be lowered by 96 years according to the chronology proposed by H. GASCHE - J.A. ARMSTRONG - S.W. COLE - V.G. GURZADYAN, *Dating the Fall of Babylon. A Reappraisal of Second-Millennium Chronology*, Ghent-Chicago 1998.

[195] The chest is lost nowadays, but a description of the object and a copy of the inscription are provided by W.M. LEAKE, *Some Remarks on the Island of Cerigo, anciently Cythera*, in *Transactions of the Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, 2nd ser., 4 (1853), p. 255 ff. (see p. 258). The first decipherment was proposed by H. WINCKLER in U. KÖHLER, *Ueber Probleme der griechischen Vorzeit*, in *SPAW* 1897, p. 258-274 (see p. 262-264). It was improved by E. UNGER in M. EBERT (ed.), *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* XIII, Berlin 1929, p. 313 and Pl. 58A. The inscription was studied again by E.F. WEIDNER, *The Inscription from Kyther*, in *JHS* 59 (1939), p. 137-138; ID., *Könige von Ešnunna, Mari, Jamḫad in altbabylonischen Siegelzylinder-Legenden*, in *JKF* 2 (1953), p. 127-143 (see p. 131-132); Th. JACOBSEN, *The Gimilsin Temple* (OIP 43), Chicago 1940, p. 139; E. SOLLBERGER, in *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes* (LAPO 3), Paris 1971, p. 240, No. IVE 17b. See also J. NOUGAYROL, *Cylindre dédicatoire d'un "serviteur" d'Ipiqadad (II)*, in *Syria* 39 (1962), p. 189-190. The most recent decipherment of lines 1-2 was made by M. REPECIOLI, *Una nuova interpretazione dell'iscrizione cuneiforma di Citera a 150 anni dal suo ritrovamento*, in *NABU* 1999, p. 19-20, No. 18. He reads and translates: "To Sin of Harran, Naram-Sin, son of Ipiq-Adad, for his life". The chest is called erroneously "votive stele" by A. MALAMAT, *Campaigns to the Mediterranean by Iaḫdunlim and Other Early Mesopotamian Rulers*, in *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger*, Chicago 1965, p. 365-373 (see p. 366, n. 6).

[196] Userkaf, the first pharaoh of the Fifth Dynasty, reigned in the 25th century B.C. when Early Minoan II sites provide stone vases imitating Egyptian work of the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Dynasties. The presence of Early Helladic and Early Minoan settlers at

and about the seals found at Thebes in Boeotia[197], although a Phoenician settlement in Boeotia was the current tradition of Greek writers upon primitive times, whether historians or geographers[198]. Despite the unabated belief that Cadmus, the legendary founder of Thebes, was a Canaanite leading Minoan Cretans to settle in Boeotia[199], the seals discovered at Thebes just witness the Levantine connections of the Mycenaean princes ruling in Boeotia. The associated pottery was Late Helladic IIIB, thus dating the final hoard from the 13th century B.C.[200] There is little doubt that aggressive sea trade practised by Phoenicians in the early first millennium B.C. laid the foundations of the legends claiming their involvement in Thasian gold mines, in the purple industry on Cythera, and in ancient relationships with Boeotia.

About 80 km southeast of Cythera, the two narrow mountainous promontories of Cape Vouxa (ancient Corycus) and Cape Spatha shut in the Bay of Kisamos, in western Crete. This elongated island forms the natural southern boundary of the Aegean. Its archaeological importance lies chiefly in its remains from the Aegean Bronze Age, which witness a culture comparable in artistic and material achievement with the contemporary civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt. Both regions had trade connections with Minoan Crete at least from the 19th-18th centuries B.C. onwards[201]. Crete was then called *Kaptāru* in Akkadian[202], later also in Ugaritic[203] and in Hebrew (*Kaptōr*)[204], and *Kftỉw* in Egyptian that transcribes the same name, most likely Minoan, but expresses *r* by *ỉ*[205].

On the coast west of Cape Vouxa lies ancient Phalasarna, the first Cretan harbour mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax[206]. Phoenician activity in the 5th century B.C. can be demonstrated at the site on archaeological grounds[207]. There, best of all in west Crete, the rising of the land since ancient times is evident, the old sea line being up from 6 to 8.5 metres higher than the present one. This was the result of a massive earthquake on July 21st, 365 A.D., which caused the entire island of Crete to tilt[208], the eastern end of the island subsiding while the western end was lifted up. This tilting has brought the ancient harbour remains 130 metres inland[209]. Its rectangular roadstead is excavated in the rock and accessible through a channel, exactly like a typical Phoenician *cothon*. Phalasarna seems to be the haven "Phoenix", where St. Paul's conductors hoped to have wintered their ship. In fact, the harbour is said to be open to the southwest and the northwest[210], while it is clear from the account that their ship was hugging the southern coast of Crete, but the wind pushed it to the small island Cauda, obviously Γαῦδος, about 35 km south of western Crete[211].

Cythera is documented in the American-English excavations: J.N. COLDSTREAM - G.L. HUXLEY (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 189). For the limestone cup, on display in the Athens National Museum (Inv. No. 4578), see A.E. EVANS, *Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script*, in *JHS* 17 (1897), p. 349; K. SETHE, *Ein ägyptisches Denkmal des Alten Reiches von der Insel Kythera*, in *ZÄS* 53 (1917), p. 55-58; W. STEVENSON SMITH, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, New Haven 1965, p. 8-9, Fig. 10. The article by J. YAKAR, *Cythera and the Ancient East*, in *Anatolica* 4 (1971-72), p. 133-137, suffers from insufficient documentation.

[197] The seals, one of them dating to the 14th century B.C., were published by E. PORADA, *The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia*, in *AfO* 28 (1981-82), p. 1-70; H.G. GÜTERBOCK, *The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions on the Hittite Cylinder, No. 25*, in *AfO* 28 (1981-82), p. 71-72; J.A. BRINKMAN, *The Western Asiatic Seals Found at Thebes in Greece: A Preliminary Edition of the Inscriptions*, in *AfO* 28 (1981-81), p. 73-78.

[198] HERODOTUS, *History* V, 57; STRABO, *Geography* IX, 2, 3; PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* IX, 25, 6; etc. Cf. G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), index on p. 414, s.v. Thèbes, en Béotie.

[199] S. SYMEONOGLOU, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times*, Princeton 1985, p. 70-72.

[200] G. DAUX, *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1963. Thèbes, fouilles sur la Cadmée*, in *BCH* 88 (1964), p. 775-779.

[201] F. MATZ, *The Maturity of Minoan Civilization*, in *CAH* II/1, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1973, p. 141-164, in particular p. 143-144 and 162-163; H.-V. HERRMANN, *Kreta. B. Archäologisch*, in *RLA* VI, Berlin 1980-83, p. 230-240 (see p. 230-236).

[202] M. WEIPPERT, *Kreta. A. Philologisch*, in *RLA* VI, Berlin 1980-83, p. 225-230; H. LIMET, *Les relations entre Mari et la côte méditerranéenne sous le règne de Zimri-Lim*, in *Studia Phoenicia* III, Leuven 1985, p. 13-20 (see p. 17-18).

[203] *KTU* 1.1, III, [18]; 1.3, VI, 14; 1.100, 46.

[204] Gen. 10, 14; Deut. 2, 23; Jer. 47, 4; Am. 9, 7; I Chron. 1, 12.

[205] J. VERCOUTTER, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique*, Le Caire 1956, p. 33-123; M. WEIPPERT, *art. cit.* (n. 202). The identification of *Kftỉw* with Cyprus or part of it, still proposed by J. STRANGE, *Caphtor / Keftiu: A New Investigation*, Leiden 1980, is not acceptable in the actual state of our knowledge.

[206] PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §47.

[207] See here above, p. 99 with n. 364.

[208] A detailed account of the event and of the two tsunamis, triggered by the earthquake, is given by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *History* XXVI, 10, 15-19. Two years earlier, in 363, on May 19th, there was a great earthquake in Palestine and Jordan: D.H.K. AMIRAN - E. ARIEH - T. TURCOTTE, *Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas: Macroseismic Observations since 100 B.C.E.*, in *IEJ* 44 (1994), p. 260-305 (see p. 265); D.H.K. AMIRAN, *Location Index for Earthquakes in Israel since 100 B.C.E.*, in *IEJ* 46 (1996), p. 120-130 (see 363 S, passim).

[209] P. PIRAZZOLI - P. AUSSEIL-BADIE - J. GIRESSE - P. HADJIDAKI - M. ARNOLD, *Historical Environmental Changes at Phalasarna Harbour, West Crete*, in *Geoarchaeology* 7 (1992), p. 371-392; F. FROST, *Tectonics and History at Phalasarna*, in S. SWINY et al., *Res Maritimae*, Atlanta 1997, p. 107-116.

[210] Acts of the Apostles 27, 12.

[211] Acts of the Apostles 27, 13-16. Verses 12-19 appear as an account of an eye-witness. For other ancient mentions of the island, see G. UGGERI, *Stadiasmus Maris Magni:*



The Tekke bowl with Phoenician inscription
(Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum at Herakleion).

Following the south coast, which possesses no natural harbours, one reaches the Bay of Mesara, sheltered on the east by Cape Lithinon and receiving the rivers which drain the plain of Mesara, dominated by the inland site of Phaestos. Kommos, a coastal site being Phaestos' harbour, also has a long history, highlighted by a prosperous Minoan settlement and port, as well as a Greek sanctuary active from *ca.* 1020 B.C. to A.D. 200. A chapel of the sanctuary B, built towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and containing three dressed stones in the Phoenician fashion, as well as Phoenician pottery, indicates at least that Phoenician sailors were putting in at Kommos about the 9th-8th centuries B.C.[212] for refitting and repairing their ships. In such a way they were renewing contacts evidenced at the site in Late Minoan I-III by Cypriot and Levantine pottery[213]. Although the sea route along the southern coast was used for navigation, no tradition connects it with Phoenicians.

un contributo per la datazione, in *L'Africa Romana* XI, Uzieri 1996, p. 277-285, in particular p. 283-284.

[212] J.W. SHAW, *Phoenicians in Southern Crete*, in *AJA* 93 (1989), p. 165-183; J.W. & M.C. SHAW (eds.), *Kommos* IV. *The Greek Sanctuary*, Woodstock 2000.

[213] J.W. SHAW, *Kommos in Southern Crete: An Aegean Barometer for East-West Interconnections*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 13-27.

Only Itanos, at the north-eastern corner of the island, was believed to have been named after a Phoenician founder[214]. At the site, there are remains from the Geometric through Hellenistic period, when Itanos was a Ptolemaic naval station[215]. The harbour was used for fishing *murex*[216] and the probable existence of an artificially excavated rectangular basin, similar to a Phoenician *cothon*, has been revealed by aerial photography and geophysical examination in the bay at the foot of the city's eastern acropolis[217]. This may have been one of the reasons why the place has been connected with Phoenicians. Its name could also suggest a link with the Phoenician verb *ytn*, "to give", appearing in many personal names[218]. Cape Sidero, northeast of Itanos, is only 200 km distant from the peninsula of Bozburun in Anatolia, the interval being partly filled by the islands of Kasos, Karpathos, and Rhodes. Itanos appears therefore as the ideal haven on the Mediterranean route east-west and back. Its maritime vocation was expressed vividly on the obverse of its earliest coins (*ca.* 400 B.C.), which feature Triton, the Greek merman, striking with trident, while their reverse represents two marine serpents confronted[219].

Sailing from Itanos westward one can put into the small harbour of Ayios Nicolaos, from where the Eteocretan centre of Drerus can be reached by an inland road. The Delphinion of Drerus, dedicated to Apollo Delphinios, has yielded important archaic statuettes of hammered bronze[220], now housed in the Herakleion Museum. They seem to denote Phoenician artistic influence, but can by no means be regarded as a confirmation of the unlikely hypothesis that the Eteocretan inscriptions, in particular the two Eteocretan-Greek bilinguals from Drerus, are written in a Semitic language[221].

Further to the west, one reaches Amnisos, which was a port of Cnossos. About 1.5 km northwest of the acropolis of Cnossos, at Tekke,

[214] STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Ἰτανός; cf. G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 258.

[215] *PECS*, p. 420-421.

[216] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 151.

[217] T. KALPAXIS - A. SCHNAPP - D. VIVIERS, *Rapport sur les travaux menés en collaboration avec l'École française d'Athènes en 1994*, in *BCH* 119 (1994), p. 716-736 (see p. 728-730).

[218] BENZ, p. 328-329.

[219] B.V. HEAD, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London 1932, p. 23 and Pl. 12, II B, 48.

[220] Sp. MARINATOS, *Le temple géométrique de Dréros*, in *BCH* 60 (1936), p. 214-285 and Pls. XXVI-XXXI; P. DEMARGNE - H. VAN EFFENTERRE, *Recherches à Dréros*, in *BCH* 61 (1937), p. 5-32, 333-348, Pls. I-IV.

[221] C.H. GORDON, *The Decipherment of Minoan and Eteocretan*, in *JRAS* 1975, p. 148-158.

called nowadays Ambelokipi, a cemetery from Protogeometric and Geometric times (10th-7th centuries B.C.) has been discovered in 1975-76. One of the excavated tombs, the Protogeometric tomb J, yielded three bronze bowls, one of them with a Phoenician inscription, and more than fifty painted vases[222]. These include imported Attic pottery from the Recent Protogeometric period that suggests dating the first use of the tomb to the second part of the 10th century B.C. A second burial took place there in the early 9th century B.C. and it is linked with new funerary deposits, including the inscribed bowl. However, the latter must be older, since the Phoenician dedication of a certain Tabni or Tibni to the Egyptian god Amon should be dated from the 10th century B.C.[223]:

ks š ṣ' ⸢t⸣'bn l'mn
"Bowl, which Tabni fashioned for Amon".
Copy of the inscription (Herakleion Museum, Inv. No. 4346).

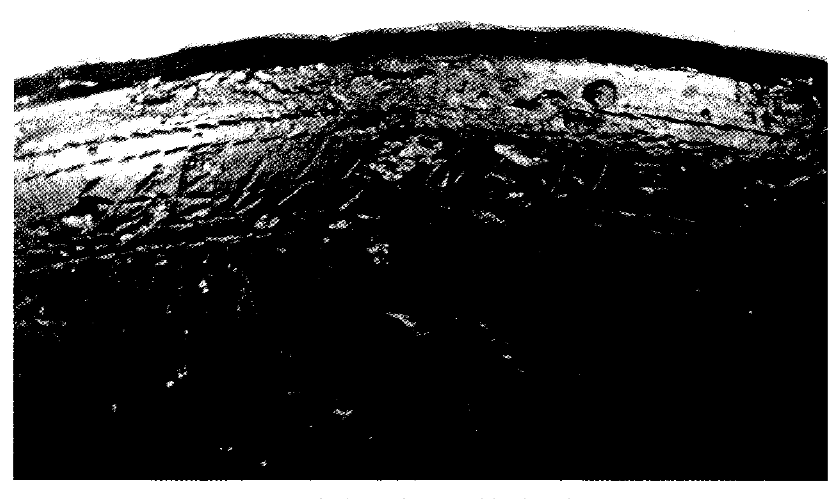
The bowl, like the two other found in the tomb[224], have probably been imported from Phoenicia or Egypt about 900 B.C. The inscription suggests that they have been offered first to a shrine of Amon and then were taken away to serve as gifts or means of payment. Since southern winds were available to mariners wishing to sail northwards from Egypt, while

[222] H.W. CATLING, *The Knossos Area, 1974-1976,* in *Archaeological Reports* 23 (1976-77), p. 3-23 (see p. 11-14); J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Greeks and Phoenicians in the Aegean,* in H.G. NIEMEYER (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen,* Mainz a/R 1982, p. 261-275; ID., *Cypriaca and Creto-Cypriaca from the North Cemetery of Knossos,* in *RDAC* 1984, p. 122-137; J.N. COLDSTREAM - H.W. CATLING, *Knossos North Cemetery. Early Greek Tombs* (BSA. Suppl. 28), London 1996, p. 30, 563-564.

[223] The *editio princeps* was provided by M. SZNYCER, *L'inscription phénicienne de Tekké, près de Cnossos,* in *Kadmos* 18 (1979), p. 89-93 and Pls. 1-2. The first complete decipherment was proposed by E. LIPIŃSKI, *Notes d'épigraphie phénicienne et punique,* in *OLP* 14 (1983), p. 129-165 and Pls. II-VI (see p. 129-133 and Pl. II). Other decipherments include erroneous readings: F.M. CROSS, *Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts,* in *BASOR* 238 (1980), p. 1-12 (see p. 15-17); É. PUECH, *Présence phénicienne dans les îles à la fin du IIe millénaire,* in *RB* 90 (1983), p. 365-395 (see p. 374-395).

[224] Herakleion Museum, Inv. Nos. 4429 and 4430.





Inscription of the Tekke bowl
(Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum at Herakleion).

Aegean pottery at Marsa Matruh, about 270 km south of Crete, indicates that this route was indeed used in Antiquity[225], a direct Egyptian provenance of the bowls dedicated to Amon cannot be ruled out.

At any rate, these bowls and the Phoenician pottery from the 9th century B.C. recovered in the tombs of Tekke, for instance a bichrome or red-slipped and burnished jug, witness trade relations between the Near East and Crete. Moreover, a tholos tomb situated some 50 metres north of tomb J contained the grave of a Levantine silversmith from the 9th century B.C., recognizable thanks to a foundation deposit of Oriental type with Phoenician jewellery and precious metal that had not yet been worked[226]. Further, an apparently Phoenician funerary cippus from about the 8th century B.C. was found in one of the Early Iron Age cemeteries at Cnossos[227].

In the 8th century, imports of Levantine pottery increase at Tekke but appear to have a rather Cypro-Phoenician origin. The large number of *aryballoi*, found especially at the neighbouring site of Fortetsa[228], seems to indicate that about the 8th century B.C. a Cypro-Phoenician workshop was producing unguents in the area of Cnossos and was selling its production in local imitations of Cypro-Phoenician *aryballoi*[229]. Cypro-Phoenician pottery, especially the Black-on-Red juglets, were imitated on Crete until the 7th century B.C.

From Anáyia, a mountain village about 35 km west of Herakleion, one can reach the Idaean Cave on Mount Ida (Psiloritis). The sacred cave — to be distinguished from the Kamares Cave where the beautiful

[225] L.V. Watrous, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 176-178, as against the opposite view of C. Lambrou-Phillipson, *Seafaring in the Bronze Age Mediterranean: The Parameters Involved in Maritime Travel,* in R. Laffineur - L. Basch (eds.), *Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer* (Aegaeum 7), Liège 1991, p. 11-19.

[226] See J.N. Coldstream, *art. cit.* (n. 222).

[227] N. Kourou - A. Karetsou, *An Enigmatic Stone from Knossos: A Reused Cippus?,* in V. Karageorghis - N.C. Stampolidis (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.,* Athens 1998, p. 243-254. However, the shallow circular cavity and the two curving grooves, which start from its 'upper' edge, may suggest that this was a table of libation with a double spout for the discharge of the liquid poured slowly into the cavity; the cavity and the grooves are 15 mm deep. Another cippus was found at Eleutherna: N. Stampolidis, *A Funerary Cippus at Elefterna - Evidence of Phoenician Presence?,* in *BICS* 37 (1990), p. 99-106.

[228] J.K. Brock, *Fortetsa. Early Greek Tombs near Knossos,* Cambridge 1957; G. Falsone, *La coupe phénicienne de Fortetsa, Crète. Une reconsidération,* in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 181-194. See also J.N. Coldstream, *art. cit.* (n. 222).

[229] D.W. Jones, *Phoenician Unguent Factories in Dark Age Greece: Social Approaches to Evaluating the Archaeological Evidence,* in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 12 (1993), p. 293-303.

polychrome pottery of Middle Minoan IB-II was first discovered — contained many rich finds of Iron Age date, 9th-7th centuries B.C., including carved ivory and the famous bronze "shields" depicting mythological scenes in relief, now housed in the Herakleion Museum. These have lion's head bosses and repoussé decoration showing fight and hunting scenes, an eagle gripping a sphinx, the Mistress of Animals. A bronze "tympanum" shows the Weather-god overthrowing wild animals, while two winged Assyrian genii are beating drums. The decoration of these bronzes is *qua* topic and style Oriental[230] and the objects in question must have been either imported from the Levant, just like most carved ivories found in the Idaean Cave[231], or produced in Crete by Syro-Phoenician craftsmen. Recent finds at Eleutherna, about 70 km west of Herakleion, include a bronze votive "shield" of Idaean type. It was uncovered in an archaeological context showing that these objects probably were lids of urns[232].

The fine decorated bronze armours found southeast of Herakleion, in late 7th-century B.C. tombs of Afrati, ancient Arkades, witness a Levantine influence as well[233]. The find consists of helmets, bell corslets, and

[230] E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronzereliefs,* Stuttgart 1931; P. Faure, *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises,* Paris 1964, p. 99-137; J. Boardman, *Orientalen auf Kreta,* in *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta im 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.,* Mainz a/R 1970, p. 14-25; F. Canciani, *Bronzi orientali e orientalizzanti a Creta nell VIII e VII sec. a. C.,* Roma 1970. See also P. Demargne, *La Crète dédalique,* Paris 1947; H.-V. Herrmann, *Kreta, B. Archäologisch,* in *RLA* VI, Berlin 1980-83, p. 230-240 (see p. 236-240); I.A. Sakellarakis, *L'antro ideo. Cento anni di attività archeologica (1884-1984),* in *Atti dei Convegni Lincei* 74 (1985), p. 19-48; H. Matthäus, *Cyprus and Crete in the Early First Millennium B.C. A Synopsis with Special Reference to New Finds from the Idaean Cave of Zeus,* in V. Karageorghis - N.C. Stampolidis (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.,* Athens 1998, p. 127-158; Id., *Die Idäische Zeus-Grotte auf Kreta. Griechenland und der Vordere Orient im frühen 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.,* in *Archäologische Anzeiger* 2000, p. 517-547, with former literature.

[231] E. Kunze, *Orientalische Schnitzereien aus Kreta,* in *AM* 60-61 (1935-36), p. 218-233 and Pls. 84-88 (see p. 222 ff.); R.D. Barnett, *Early Greek and Oriental Ivories,* in *JHS* 68 (1948), p. 1-25; I.A. Sakellarakis, *The Idaean Cave Ivories,* in J.L. Fitton (ed.), *Ivory in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period,* London 1992, p. 113-140; Id., *Ivory trade in the Aegean in the 8th century B.C.E.,* in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990,* Jerusalem 1993, p. 345-366.

[232] N.C. Stampolidis, *Imports and Amalgamata: The Eleutherna Experience,* in V. Karageorghis - N.C. Stampolidis (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C.,* Athens 1998, p. 175-185 (see p. 181-182).

[233] D. Levi, *Arkades, una città cretese all'alba della civiltà ellenica,* in *ASAtene* 10-12 (1927-29), p. 5-710. See further H. Hoffmann - A.E. Raubitschek, *Early Cretan Armorers,* Mainz a/R 1972, as well as A. Kanta - A. Karetsou, *From Arkadhes to Rytion. Interactions of an Isolated Area of Crete with the Aegean and the East Mediterranean,* in V. Karageorghis - N.C. Stampolidis (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-*

mitrai or crescent-shaped abdominal shields. The reliefs and engraved representations on these objects show animals, monsters, demons, and a mythological scene. Their quality, which is very high, and their style go beyond anything known previously from Crete for the Early Archaic period. However, they cannot be attributed to Syro-Phoenician or Cypriot craftsmen without further evidence. It is also unlikely that the graves in question were burials of Syrians living at Afrati[234], since most names appearing in the short inscriptions incised on the armours are Greek[235]. The inscriptions are no dedications and probably do not reveal the names of the first owners of the armours, as the objects were inscribed after their manufacture, possibly when the armour was taken as a battle spoil.

An inscribed bronze mitra acquired in 1969 by the British Museum is related to the Afrati armours and cannot be widely separated from them. Its particular importance is due to the legal text incised on it in the 6th century B.C. — at the latest *ca.* 500 B.C. — and proving its Cretan provenance, as it shows an omega in the form of two concentring circles, like texts known from Afrati and Lyttos[236]. The inscription gives unparalleled evidence of the Phoenician origin of the Cretan alphabet and of the establishment of a special magistrate in charge of written documents. The verb ποινικάζεν (obv., line 4), used with the meaning "to write down", "to put down in writing", and the title ποινικαστάς (rev., lines 1 and 3-4), deriving from this verb of action and designating the master of the rolls, like the Athenian γραμματεύς, clearly show that "to write the way the Phoenicians do" was the basic meaning of these words. Although Crete has produced as yet no Greek inscription certainly datable to the 8th century B.C., except a graffito inscribed on the shoulder of a pithos[237], Cretan letter-forms are closest of all to the Semitic, Cretan alphabet lacks the non-Semitic letters φ, χ, ψ, and even indicates ξ by κς

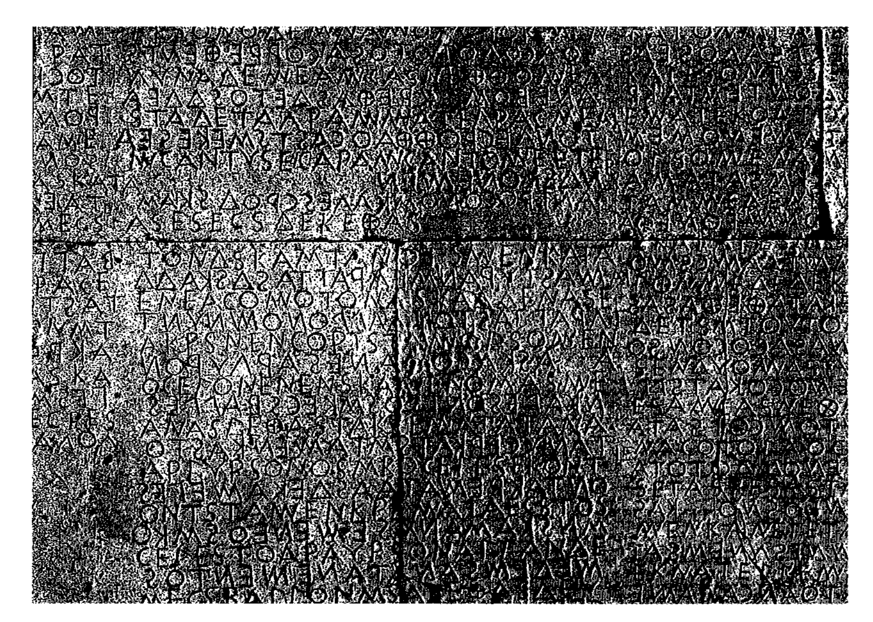
Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th Century B.C., Athens 1998, p. 159-173. Cf. also J. BOARDMAN, *The Khaniale Tekke Tombs* II, in *BSA* 62 (1967), p. 57-75.

234 R.D. BARNETT, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East and Adjacent Countries* (Qedem14), Jerusalem 1982, p. 90, n. 10.

235 A.E. RAUBITSCHEK, in *op. cit.* (n. 233), p. 15.

236 The inscription was published by L.H. JEFFERY - A. MORPURGO-DAVIES, *ΠΟΙΝΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ and ΠΟΙΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΝ: BM 1969.4-2.1, a New Archaic Inscription from Crete*, in *Kadmos* 9 (1970), p. 118-154. See also A.E. RAUBITSCHEK, in *op. cit.* (n. 233), p. 47-49 and Pl. 36, 1-2.

237 D. LEVI, *Antichità presso gli Antichi*, in 'Αρχαιολογικὰ 'Ανάλεκτα ἐξ 'Αθηνῶν 2 (1969), p. 390-393; L.H. JEFFERY, in *op. cit.* (n. 94), p. 824 and 829, Fig. 106: 3. Some laws of Drerus might also date from the end of the 8th century B.C., but L.H. JEFFERY, *The Local Scripts, op. cit.* (n. 94), p. 309-313, advocates a later date.



Part of the Law Code of Gortyn.

or ϙς like in Semitic[238], as in ὁ Πρικς and ὁ Πριϙς, "the Phrygian", at Afrati[239]. Since some Phoenician presence on the island from the 9th century B.C. onwards can no longer be doubted, a direct link with the Phoenician script might be established indeed. It would even seem in the light of φοινικάζειν and φοινικαστάς that Greeks called their alphabet Φοινικαῖα γράμματα "because they had taken them from the Phoenicians who had used them to write Greek"[240].

This leads us to the question of a possible Phoenician influence on the regulations of the famous Law Code of Gortyn[241], as "its style and content reveal it to be an heir to the Mesopotamian scientific tradition, retaining the method of the Near Eastern academies and occasionally an echo of their canon of scholarly problems"[242]. Gortyn was one of the most important towns of Dorian Crete. It was situated in the southern

238 Cf. here above, p. 75 and 81 with n. 254.

239 H. HOFFMANN - A.E. RAUBITSCHEK, *op. cit.* (n. 233), C 5 and M 9, p. 9 and 13.

240 A.E. RAUBITSCHEK, in *op. cit.* (n. 233), p. 49.

241 R.F. WILLETTS, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Kadmos. Suppl. 1), Berlin 1967.

242 R. WESTBROOK, *Adultery in the Ancient Near Eastrn Law*, in *RB* 97 (1990), p. 542-580, quotation from p. 555.

Mesara plain of the island, east of Kommos. Phoenicians are thus the most likely intermediaries in the transmission process of this Near Easten heirloom to the Dorians, but we possess no Phoenician law code that would enable us to make some comparison. It is advisable, therefore, to refrain from engaging here in speculations of a recondite kind.

Neither Crete no any other region around the Aegean Sea appear to have been colonized by Phoenicians. However, communities of Phoenician merchants and craftsmen settled in several points of this large area for trading or working purposes. They do not seem to have penetrated into the interior of the regions concerned, much less attempted to take possession of some parts of the territory, as they did in Cyprus, Ibiza, Malta, Sardinia, Sicily, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula. The reason is probably that the Aegean realm was already a well organized territory at the time of Phoenician expansion, which does not appear to have reached it before the 10th century B.C. The "Dark Age" was then over. The cultural and commercial influence of the Phoenicians was nevertheless so strong that ancient writers attributed them foundations and colonizations, which had never taken place. They were also aware that Phoenician trade expansion in the Mediterranean preceded by some generations the foundation of the Greek colonies in the West. The traditions recorded by Thycydides[243] are in fact consistent with the approximate date of the earliest Greek colony in Italy, at Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia, where a scarab of the pharaoh Bocchoris (726/5-720 B.C.)[244] was found in a grave[245], providing an absolute chronology[246].

[243] J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Greek Geometric Pottery*, London 1968, p. 322-327.

[244] For the dates, cf. D. KAHN, *The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var and the Chronology of Dynasty 25*, in *Orientalia* 70 (2001), p. 1-18 (see p. 15-16).

[245] Grave 325.16: G. BUCHNER - D. RIDGWAY, *Pithekoussai I. La necropoli: tombe 1-723 scavate dal 1952 al 1961*, Roma 1993, p. 378-382.

[246] D. RIDGWAY, *The Rehabilitation of Bocchoris*, in *JEA* 85 (1999), p. 143-152; J.N. COLDSTREAM, *Aegean Reactions to the Chronological Debate in the Southern Levant*, in *Tel Aviv* 30 (2003), p. 247-258 (see p. 248).

CHAPTER VI

OPHIR

The country called "Ophir" in the Bible was renowned once upon a time for its gold to such a degree that it designated the precious metal by metonymy (Job 22, 24). Its name qualifies gold in phrases like *zəhab 'ōpīr*[1], "gold from Ophir", and *ketem 'ōpīr*[2], "Ophir jewellery", another metonymy based on the meaning "goldsmith" of k ù - d i m in Sumerian and *kutīmu/kuttimmu* in Akkadian. Also the original meaning of Hebrew *ktm* was "goldsmith", a noun borrowed from Akkadian[3]. In other texts, Ophir is the name of the country from which gold was imported[4]. The

[1] I Chron. 29, 4; Sir. 7, 18, and the Ostracon from Tell Qasile (see below, p. 196, n. 40). The usual spelling in the Hebrew Bible is *'wpyr*, but *'pyr* (I Kings 10, 11) and *'wpr* (Gen. 10, 29) occur as well. The manuscripts of the Septuagint have οὐφειρ, ὠφειρ or variants of σωφηρ(α). The Ostracon from Tell Qasile undoubtedly provides the oldest spelling *'pr*.

[2] Is. 13, 12; Ps. 45, 10; Job 28, 16.

[3] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Emprunts suméro-akkadiens en hébreu biblique*, in *ZAH* 1 (1988), p. 61-73 (see p. 68). M.P. STRECK, rev. in *OLZ* 97 (2002), col. 283, is ill-informed when he expresses doubts about the opinion of P.V. MANKOWSKI, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*, Winona Lake 2000, p. 76-77. *Ktm,* "goldsmith", is likely to appear as personal name in Punic, in *CIS* I, 159, 2, and *ketem* is used in this sense in Prov. 25, 12, which probably provides its oldest attestation in Hebrew. It belongs indeed to the collection attributed to the time of king Hezekiah (Prov. 25, 1) and may thus date back to *ca.* 700 B.C. In this proverb, written in Court style, *ktm* is paralleled by *ḥākām*, "wise man":

"A golden ring and a goldsmith's jewel,
such is a wise man's argument to an attentive ear".

The plural *ktmm* in a Neo-Punic funerary inscription of a commander of mounted troops has the broader meaning "ornaments" or "trophies": *'d mkn nḥr w'l kl ktmm 'ṣ'l 'qmt* (*KAI* 165, 3-4), "Pass the charger's socle by and all the trophies near (his) tumulus". For this use of the verb *'d* see Job 28, 8, and for *nḥr*, "charger", cf. the *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 95. It is hard to understand how Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Studia Phoenicia XV; OLA 90), Leuven 2000, p. 427, s.v. *qmt*, can justify his translation.

[4] I Kings 9, 28 = II Chron. 8, 18; I Kings 10, 11 = II Chron. 9, 10; I Kings 22, 49; Jer. 10, 9, where Targum Jonathan, the Syriac versions, and Theodotion read *m'wp(y)r* instead of *m'wpz*, which is the reading of the Hebrew Bible. Two different lands of Ophir are distinguished by V. CHRISTIDÈS, *L'énigme d'Ophir*, in *RB* 77 (1970), p. 240-247: the one mentioned in Gen. 10, 29 among the sons of Yoqtan, in South Arabia, and the second one connected with the narratives on king Solomon. At any rate, the texts show that Ophir is no simple qualification of gold, as suggested by R. NORTH, *Ophir, Parvaim and Petra Joktheel*, in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Papers* I, Jerusalem 1967, p. 197-202.

Table of Nations, in Gen. 10, 29 duplicated by I Chron. 1, 23, mentions it with Hawila, another auriferous region, which was located to the west of the Red Sea[5].

As the latter area is close to Egypt, attention should be paid here also to the Neo-Egyptian word *ktm.t* or *kṯm.t*, "gold", attested at the time of the Twentieth Dynasty, thus in the 13[th] century B.C. It is rightly regarded as a Semitic loanword[6], but its consistent use as a feminine noun and the occasional spelling *kṯm.t* require an explanation. Although a change *ṯ* > *t* had taken place in Classical Egyptian — not the opposite one *t* > *ṯ* —, hieroglyphic *ṯ* had already obtained the value of *t* in many Middle Egyptian words[7]. Therefore, there is no reason why the variant Neo-Egyptian spelling *kṯm.t* should be taken in this particular case as basis for further research and comparison[8]. As for the final *t*, it certainly reveals a feminine derivative of *ktm*, "goldsmith", so far attested only in the Seleucid period by *kutimmūtu*, which designates the prebend of the goldsmith[9], not "jewellery". Although one can assume that a feminine noun in *-t*, not attested so far, existed in the Late Bronze Age in Canaan or Syro-Phoenicia, where Neo-Egyptian borrowed it, one should also remember that the feminine *-t* may be an Egyptian feature like, for instance, in *dd.t*, the name of a vessel called *dūd-* in Semitic languages. At any rate, the Egyptian attestations of *ktm.t* does not seem to be of any avail in the research of a location for Ophir. By contrast, they underline the metonymic nature of the use of *ketem* in Hebrew poetry, which names golden jewellery by its producer, the goldsmith.

According to biblical texts belonging to the Deuteronomistic History[10], trade with Ophir was possible by sea from the port of Ezion-Geber, on the Gulf of Aqaba or Elat. But sailing to Ophir could not be accomplished apparently without the expert help of Tyrian sailors.

[5] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Les Chamites selon Gen 10, 6-10 et 1 Chr 1, 8-16*, in *ZAH* 5 (1992), p. 135-152 (see p. 142-145).

[6] J.E. HOCH, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton 1994, No. 51.

[7] A. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3[rd] ed., London 1957, p. 28, §19; R. HANNIG, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, 2[nd] ed., Mainz a/R 1997, p. LI.

[8] Contrary to the opinion of D. MEEKS, *Les emprunts égyptiens aux langues sémitiques durant le Nouvel Empire et la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. Les aléas du comparatisme*, in *BiOr* 54 (1997), col. 32-61 (see col. 53-53). R. HANNIG, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 890, rightly lists the word as *ktmt*, but indicates the variant spelling *kṯmt* as well.

[9] *CAD*, K, p. 609; cf. *AHw*, p. 518b.

[10] I Kings 9, 26-28 = II Chron. 8, 17-18, and I Kings 22, 49. The Deuteronomistic History, which reaches from Deut. 1 to II Kings 25, was compiled *ca.* 550 B.C., but its final shape dates from the 5[th] century B.C., possibly from the period around 400 B.C.

A successful attempt at reaching this region was accordingly made in the time of Solomon with the assistance of sailors provided by Hiram, king of Tyre. A second attempt, made during the reign of Jehoshaphat, did not succeed, as the ships prepared for the undertaking broke on the rocks in Ezion-Geber.

There were many assumptions concerning the location of Ophir, the role played by the Phoenicians was interpreted diversely, and the historical value of the biblical accounts was evaluated differently.

1. Location of Ophir

Eupolemus, a Hellenistic Jewish historiographer of the 2[nd] century B.C., was of the opinion that Ophir was an island in the Red Sea[11]. David would "have sent miners to the island of Ophir (Οὐρφή), situated in the Erythraean Sea and possessing gold mines: the miners transported the gold from there to Judaea"[12]. This episode fits the pattern of the emulation between Jews and Phoenicians, which appears in the Hellenistic historiography of the 2[nd] century B.C.[13] In this particular account, in which the Tyrians are eliminated altogether, the aim may have been to put a Jewish parallel in opposition to Herodotus' description of Phoenician gold mines on the island of Thasos[14] or to a similar story. The notice on Ophir follows upon the mention of David "commissioning ships to be built in Elana, a city in Arabia", an obvious reinterpretation of I Kings 9, 26-28 = II Chron. 8, 17-18, where Solomon is said to "have made a fleet at Ezion-Geber, which is beside Elat, on the shore of the Papyrus Sea (literally Sea of Reeds), in the land of Edom". Eupolemus may have thought of the island of Ǧazīrat al-Fara'ūn, south of Elat in the Gulf of Aqaba, where ancient remains of a fortified settlement have been found[15].

[11] For Eupolemus, see B.Z. WACHOLDER, *Eupolemus. A Study of a Judeo-Greek Literature*, Cincinnati 1974; C.R. HOLLADAY, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* I, Chico 1983, p. 83-156.

[12] Eupolemus is quoted by EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Praeparatio evangelica* IX, 30, 7; cf. K. MRAS, *Eusebius: Werke* VIII. *Die Praeparatio Evangelica* I (GCS 43/1), 2[nd] ed., Berlin 1982, p. 539; C.R. HOLLADAY, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 116. The spelling Οὐρφή implies a metathesis of *Οὐφρή, based on Hebrew *'wpr*.

[13] D. MENDELS, *Hellenistic Writers of the Second Century B.C. on the Hiram-Solomon Relationship*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Century B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 429-441.

[14] HERODOTUS, *History* VI, 46-47. Archaeological research has confirmed the existence of ancient gold mines on Thasos; cf. B. HOLTZMANN, *Des mines d'or à Thasos?*, in *Thasiaca* (*BCH*, Suppl. 5), Paris 1979, p. 345-349; T. KOŽELJ - A. MULLER, *Thasos* VI. *Mines antiques*, in *BCH* 105 (1981), p. 960-961; J. DES COURTILS - T. KOŽELJ - A. MULLER, *Des mines d'or à Thasos*, in *BCH* 106 (1982), p. 409-417, 674.

[15] Grid ref. 133/871. Cf. B. ROTHENBERG, *God's Wilderness: Discoveries in the Sinai*,

Josephus Flavius locates Ophir in India, but he calls it Σώφειρα, like do some manuscripts of the Septuagint[16]. This name was apparently identified with Σούππαρα, a seaport of Gujarat, near Bombay in western India[17], and it probably reflects the sea-borne trade with India in Ptolemaic and Roman times[18]. Josephus even identifies Elana (Elat) with Berenice, the seaport of Egypt on the west coast of the Red Sea, founded by Ptolemy II (285-274 B.C.) and named in honour of his mother. Berenice was connected with Coptos on the Nile by a desert camel-track supplied with cisterns and stations. It became the second Egyptian port, after Myos Hormos, for maritime trade with Arabia, east Africa, and India in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Obviously, this is the reason why Josephus identified Elana with Berenice. Perhaps he had in mind also Berenice Panchrysos, "all in gold", discovered in 1989 in the Wādī al-Allāqi, near the Nubian gold mines[19].

Josephus' location of Ophir in India was accepted by several authors in the 19th and 20th centuries[20]. Some of them went even so far as to suggest Malaya[21], not to forget the location of Ophir in Elam[22]. It has also been suggested that Ophir should be situated along the coast of the Ara-

London 1961, p. 185-189; A. HASHIM SHONI, in B. ROTHENBERG, *Timna': Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*, London 1972, p. 202-207.

[16] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* VIII, 6, 4, §164; cf. I, 6, 4, §147, followed by Eusebius and St. Jerome: E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *Eusebius: Werke* III/1. *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS 11/1), Leipzig 1904, p. 150: 14; 151: 14; 160: 19-20; 161: 19-20; 176: 13-17; 177: 14-17. For the Septuagint, see: J. LINDBLOM, *Ophir-Sophir. Zum Problem der Namenbildung in der Septuaginta,* in *Eranos* 19 (1920), p. 108-117. R.D. BARNETT, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, London 1957, p. 59-60, 168, attempted to return, with new arguments, to Josephus' theory.

[17] *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 52; cf. H. FRISK, *Le Périple de la Mer Érythrée*, Göteborg 1927, p. 17.

[18] M.G. RASCHKE, *New Studies in the Roman Commerce with the East,* in *ANRW* II/9, 2, Berlin 1978, p. 604-1361, Maps 1-6, Pl. I-II. — M. GÖRG, *Ofir und Punt*, in *BN* 82 (1996), p. 5-8, thinks of a lapis lazuli land (Badakhshan?).

[19] A. & A. CASTIGLIONI - S. DONADONI - J. VERCOUTTER - K. SADR, *Das Goldland der Pharaonen. Die Entdeckung von Berenike Pancrisia*, Mainz a/R 1998.

[20] Thus S. LASSEN, *Indische Alterthumskunde* I, Leipzig 1875, p. 538-539; M.R. HAIG, *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir*, London 1894, p. 26; J. HORNELL, *Sea-Trade in Early Times,* in *Antiquity* 15 (1941), p. 233-256 (see p. 244); ID., *Naval Activity in the Days of Solomon and Ramses III,* in *Antiquity* 21 (1947), p. 72; G.F. HOURANI, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton 1951, p. 9; J. SCHREIDEN, *Les entreprises navales du roi Salomon,* in *AIPHOS* 13 (1953), p. 587-590; R.D. BARNETT, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 59-60, 168.

[21] G.R. TIBBETTS, *Pre-Islamic Arabia and South-East Asia*, in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29/3 (1956), p. 182-206 (see p. 185-187); J.I. MILLER, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, p. 260-267.

[22] G. HÜSING, *Tarsis und die Jona-Legende,* in *Memnon* 1 (1907), p. 70 ff.; ID., *Miscellen. 5. Taršiš,* in *OLZ* 10 (1907), col. 26-27.



Satellite photograph of the Peninsula of Sinai with the Gulf of Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba, the alleged exit water ways of the expeditions of Necho and of Solomon.

bian Peninsula[23], since Ophir is located between Sheba and Hawila in Gen. 10, 28-29. It might have been the South Arabian 'Αφάρ, mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* 23[24]. Besides, since *'wpr* is followed immediately by Hawila, which must be located on the western side of the Red Sea[25], one might reckon even with the possibility that the

[23] E. GLASER, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens* II, Berlin 1890, p. 357-383; H. VON WISSMANN, *Ōphīr und Ḥawīla,* in *PW, Suppl.* XII, Stuttgart 1970, col. 906-980. B. MORITZ, *Die Bergwerke im alten Arabien,* in *Der neue Orient* 1 (1917), p. 36 ff.; ID., *Arabien. Studien zur physikalischen und historischen Geographie des Landes*, Hannover 1923, part II: "Das Land Ophir", locates Ophir in the south-western corner of Saudi Arabia, in the province of 'Asir. Among authors keeping to the traditional opinion about the historical value of the biblical account, this suggestion is considered as the most acceptable by D.T. POTTS, *Distant Shores: Ancient Near Eastern Trade with South Asia and Northeast Africa*, in J.M. SASSON (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York 1995, Vol. III, p. 1451-1463 (see p. 1460-1461).

[24] 'Αφάρ is the reading of the codices. Cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Les Sémites selon Gen 10, 21-30 et 1 Chr 1, 17-23,* in *ZAH* 6 (1993), p. 193-215 (see p. 212-213).

[25] See above, p. 190, n. 5.

land of the Afars is meant, known also as Danakils. This tribe of Cushitic stock occupies the arid coast-lands between Ethiopia and the sea. In both cases, an initial long *'ā-* would normally change in Hebrew into *'ō-*, and the name be spelt *'wpr* accordingly.

Since the products of Ophir are similar to those of Punt, which is known in Egyptian inscriptions as a source of gold[26], it has also been suggested that Ophir was in the area of Somaliland[27] or, further south, in Mozambique, in the region between the Zambezi and the Limpopo rivers[28], where Phoenician seamen in pharaoh's service would have put into port. This opinion is based on Herodotus' account of the circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician sailors in the days of Necho II[29]. The journey would have lasted three years, and it is explicitly said that the seamen went ashore to sow and to reap the wheat. It has even been pointed in this context at the relatively small distance of some 350 km between the Bay of Sofala and the famous stone ruins of Great Zimbabwe in a region of south-eastern Zimbabwe, where remains of extensive gold-diggings were discovered in 1871. However, the ruins, as well as the gold mines, have now been proved to be of native African origin, and not older than the 9th century A.D.[30]

It is interesting to record here that the famous Borgian Planisphere or Velletri Table in the Vatican Library's cartographic collection locates the *Offir provincia* near a source of the Nile, at the foot of a long chain of

[26] For Punt, see R. HERZOG, *Punt*, Glückstadt 1969; K.A. KITCHEN, *Punt and How to Get There*, in *Orientalia* 40 (1971), p. 184-207; K. ZIBELIUS, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (BTAVO B/1), Wiesbaden 1972, p. 114-117; K.A. KITCHEN, *Further Thoughts on Punt and its Neighbours*, in A. LEAHY - J. TAIT (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, London 1999, p. 173-178. As rightly stressed by W. VYCICHL, *Lag das Land Punt am Meer oder im Sudan?*, in *Chronique d'Égypte* 45 (1970), p. 318-324; ID., rev. in *BiOr* 34 (1977), p. 45, Punt must be located on the coast of the Red Sea, not inland.

[27] This location is preferred by G. RYCKMANS, *Ophir*, in *DBS* VI, Paris 1960, col. 744-751.

[28] A.H. KEANE, *The Gold of Ophir. Whence Brought and by Whom?*, London 1901; T. PRICE, *Sofala. Thought Ophir ...*, in *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society* 20 (1963-64), p. 23-37. A similar idea is expressed by M.D.W. JEFFREYS, *Some Semitic Influences in Hottentot Culture*, Johannesburg 1968, p. 13.

[29] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 42. This chapter was extensively discussed by DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 7-16.

[30] For the site of Great Zimbabwe, see G. CATON-THOMPSON, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford-New York 1931; R. SUMMERS - K.R. ROBINSON - A. WHITTY, *Zimbabwe Excavations*, Salisbury 1961; P.S. GARLAKE, *Great Zimbabwe*, London 1973. For the gold mines, cf. T.N. HUFFMAN, *Ancient Mining and Zimbabwe*, in *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974), p. 238-242; D.W. PHILLIPSON, *Les débuts de l'Âge du fer en Afrique méridionale*, in G. MOKHTAR (ed.), *Histoire générale de l'Afrique* II. *Afrique ancienne*, Paris 1980, p. 729-749 (see p. 746-747).

mountains bordering the earth in the extreme south, which is shown in the upper part of the planisphere, like in all Mediaeval cartographic works[31]. The planisphere, which is a circular engraved brass plate with a diameter of 64 cm, is a South-German work of art dating to the early 15th century. Quite an accurate date can be proposed, because the map shows knights of the Teutonic Order confronting Polish and Lithuanian horsemen and archers, a clear reference to the battle of Grunwald/Tannenberg, fought on 15 July 1410[32]. The legend accompanying the opposing warriors reads: *Hic sunt confinia Paganorum et Christianorum qui in Prussia ad invicem continuo bellant.* The exceptional value of this unique Mediaeval work of art depends partly on its date, since it was produced a few years or decades before revolutionary geographical discoveries were to transform the Western view of the earth. In particular, it antedates the crucial Portuguese discovery of 1434, when Gil Eanes first experimented that adverse winds and currents encountered in West-African coastal waters could be avoided when sailing northwards between 30° and 40° west of Greenwich[33], at the longitude of the Azores. This discovery admitted of rounding the Cape of Good Hope in 1488, reaching India in 1498, and returning to Portugal. On the Borgian Planisphere, Ophir is placed decidedly in Africa, but at the edge of the world, near the southern ocean, from which it was separated by a range of mountains, possibly the "Ethiopian mountains" of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*[34].

All the theories about Ophir — some rather extravagant[35] — assume that the basic text of I Kings 9, 26-28 has a historical value. Instead, this is the most questionable issue.

The location of Solomon's harbour "on the shore of the Reed Sea" (I Kings 9, 26) contradicts the whole historiographic reconstruction of the Deuteronomistic Historian, since *Yām Sūp* cannot be either the Red Sea or the Gulf of Aqaba for the simple reason that the papyrus plant did not grow there[36]. This inconsistency of the topographical indications was

[31] Facsimile edition: *Mappamondo, Borgiano XVI*, Città del Vaticano 1981.

[32] A.H. HEEREN, *Explicatio Planiglobi Orbis terrarum faciem exhibentis ante medium saeculum XV summa arte confecti Musei Borgiani Velitrensis*, in *Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis*, 1st ser., 16 (1808), p. 250-284.

[33] R. MAUNY, *Les navigations médiévales sur les côtes sahariennes antérieures à la découverte portugaise (1434)*, Lisbonne 1960, in particular p. 42-53.

[34] ARISTOTLE, *Meteorologica* I, 13, p. 350b.

[35] A number of them have been collected by A. ŠANDA, *Die Bücher der Könige* I, Münster 1911, p. 263-270, and G. RYCKMANS, *art. cit.* (n. 27).

[36] The Hebrew word *sūp* is borrowed from Egyptian *ṯwfi* and designates the paper

apparently noticed already by the Chronicler, who suppressed the name *Sūp* in his text (II Chron. 8, 17). Besides, one can hardly believe that a Tyrian fleet was operating in the Red Sea, in the mid-10th century B.C.[37], all the more so as the seamen are supposed to have brought *'algummīm* or *'almuggīm* wood from the voyage in question (I Kings 10, 11), while this precious species of trees was found in the wooded hills of Lebanon and northern Syria, especially in the Amanus range[38]. The biblical text considers on the contrary that the area of Ezion-Geber lay in the Land of Edom, which did not exist as such before the 7th century B.C. This indication may even mean that the Edomite province of the late Persian period is meant. Moreover, I Kings 22, 49 calls "Tarshish-ships" the vessels made by Jehoshaphat in order to sail to Ophir for gold, thus implying that Ophir was close to Tarshish, which could be reached by the Mediterranean[39].

More importantly, the inscription *[z]hb 'pr l-Byt Ḥrn* on the ostracon found at Tell Qasile, on the outskirts of Tel Aviv[40], not only indicates that Ophir was no fairy tale land[41], but also provides a clue for its approximate location. Tell Qasile is the site of an urban settlement founded by the Philistines on the northern bank of the Yarkon River, the Nahr 'Auğa, some 2 km from the sea. "The choice of this site must have been associated with Philistine maritime activity along the Mediterranean coast, as the Yarkon River provided a convenient anchorage"[42]. The town was destroyed in a mighty conflagration, apparently in the 10th century B.C. during Siamun's or Shishak I's campaign in Canaan, but the site was later reoccupied, since the ostracon dates from the 8th or early 7th century B.C. and should be regarded as Philistine on palaeographic ground[43]. Now, the inscription mentioning "30 shekels of gold from Ophir" indicates that the metal belonged to or was intended for the temple of Horon or, most likely, for the city of Beth-Horon, an inland town situated 35 km southeast of Tell Qasile, as the crow flies. The logical conclusion is that "the gold of Ophir" was shipped to the anchorage of Tell Qasile in order to be delivered inland, at Beth-Horon. In this case, Ophir had to be reached by the Mediterranean, not by the Gulf of Aqaba or Elat and by the Red Sea.

In fact, the *Yām Sūp* of the early Exodus narratives is a particular area of the eastern Mediterranean[44] and *Yām Sūp* is not yet identified with the Red Sea in Jer. 49, 21, that refers to it like to a distant place, situated far away from Edom. Now, this chapter of the Book of Jeremiah cannot be dated before the 6th century B.C., while *Yām Sūp* is identified with the Red Sea in the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch, datable to the 3rd century B.C.[45] One can assume therefore that this identification is not older than the late 6th or the 5th century B.C. and that the insertion of

reed, *Cyperus papyrus*; cf. W.F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (AOS 5), New Haven 1934, p. 65; A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Oxford 1947, Vol. II, p. 201*; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5), 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971, p. 575, No. 286; H. Lamberty-Zielinski - M. Ottosson, *sûp*, in *ThWAT* V, Stuttgart 1986, col. 794-800. There can be no doubt about the identity of the two words. The study by W.A. Ward, *The Semitic Biconsonantal Root SP and the Common Origin of Egyptian ČWF and Hebrew SUP: 'Marsh(-Plant)'*, in *Vetus Testamentum* 24 (1974), p. 339-349, is based on a whole range of questionable speculations. The plant grows in tropical marches and was cultivated in the delta of the Nile in Egypt, also in upper Nile regions, in the swamps along the Palestinian coast, in the Huleh swamp, as well as in some marshy areas of Syria and occasionally of southern Europe. In historical times, the necessary ambient conditions did never exist on the shores of the Red Sea and of the Gulf of Aqaba.

[37] However, the presence of "Hiram's fleet" in the Red Sea does not seem to disturb A. Lemaire, *Les Phéniciens et le commerce entre la mer Rouge et la mer Méditerranée*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium* B.C. (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 49-60 (see p. 51).

[38] J.C. Greenfield - M. Mayrhofer, *The* 'algummīm / 'almuggīm - *Problem Reexamined*, in *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschrift ... W. Baumgartner* (VTS 16), Leiden 1967, p. 83-89.

[39] Tarshish must be identified with Tartessos; see the next chapter, p. 229-252.

[40] The ostracon was published by B. Maisler (Mazar), *The Excavations at Tell Qasile*, in *M. Schwabe Volume* (ErIs 1), Jerusalem 1951, p. 45-72 (in Hebrew) and Pls. I-XIV (see p. 66-67, Fig. 20 and Pl. X, 4); Id., *Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Qasile,* in *JNES* 10 (1951), p. 265-267 and Pls. XI-XII (see p. 266-267 and Pl. XI B). See now J. Renz - W. Röllig, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, Darmstadt 1995, Vol. I, p. 229-231.

[41] The mention of Ophir on the Tell Qasile ostracon dispenses us from the need of discussing the alleged mythical origin of the place, as suggested by M. Görg, *Ophir, Tarschisch und Atlantis. Einige Gedanken zur symbolischen Topographie,* in *BN* 15 (1981), p. 76-86, reprinted in M. Görg, *Aegyptiaca-Biblica* (Ägypten und Altes Testament 11), Wiesbaden 1991, p. 22-32, and Id., *Ofir und Punt,* in *BN* 82 (1996), p. 5-8.

[42] A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B.C.E.*, New York 1990, p. 311.

[43] J. Naveh, *Writing and Scripts in Seventh-Century B.C. Philistia: The New Evidence from Tell Jemmeh,* in *IEJ* 35 (1985), p. 8-21 and Pls. 2-4 (see p. 16).

[44] See, for instance, H. Cazelles, *Les localisations de l'Exode et la critique littéraire,* in *RB* 62 (1955), p. 321-364 (see p. 340-343); R. de Vaux, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël* I, Paris 1971, p. 354-358. The biblical toponym must correspond to the *p3-ṯwfi* of the Egyptian documents; the latter should be located in the swampy areas to the east of the present-day Menzaleh Lake: A.H. Gardiner, *loc. cit.* (n. 36). The fruitless attempt by B.F. Batto, *The Reed Sea: Requisecat in Pace,* in *JBL* 102 (1983), p. 27-35, at explaining all the biblical attestations of *Yām Sūp* as references to the Red Sea is unable to account for the places Pi-Hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-Zephon, which the Israelites passed.

[45] *Yām Sūp* seems to be the Gulf of Aqaba in Genesis Apocryphon (*1QGenAp*), col. 21, 18: "the Gulf (*lišān*) of *Yām Sūp*, which goes forth from the Red Sea".

Ezion-Geber in the texts referring to Solomon's and Jehoshaphat's commissioning of ships, which would go to Ophir, dates from the same period. In the earlier tradition, the Reed Sea, which had engulfed pharaoh's army in Moses' time, was one of the lagoons or swampy areas on the shores of the Mediterranean, possibly in Canaan, in the very area of the Yarkon River, where three harbour sites existed in the early Iron Age: Tell Qasile[46], Tell Ğerīše (Tel Gerisa)[47], on the opposite side of the river, and, at its mouth, Tell Qudadi, which was not yet excavated.

Which is the source of the Ophir gold imported by ship? The earliest mining work of which traces remain was on gold ores in Egypt[48], and gold working scenes are depicted on monuments of the Old Kingdom[49].

The Eastern Desert of Egypt and Nubia, ancient Cush, had indeed been renowned since the early Dynastic period as major regions for gold production[50]. Pharaonic domination of these areas provided Egypt with large quantities of precious metal, still increased by imports from Punt and possibly other countries. It is often assumed that also ancient Mesopotamian gold came from Egypt[51], and one could be inclined to admit an Egyptian source for the Ophir gold as well. However, the Hebrew name of the auriferous region on the western side of the Red Sea appears to have been Hawila, mentioned among the sons of Cush in

[46] According to A. MAZAR, *Excavations at Tell Qasile* I (Qedem 12), Jerusalem 1980, p. 11 and 59; Vol. II (Qedem 20), Jerusalem 1985, p. 1, the site was abandoned from the end of the 10th to the end of the 7th century B.C., but he considers at present that "the pottery in Strata VIII-VII belongs to ninth- and eighth-century BCE types common in the Israelite kingdom", and that the settlement was "probably destroyed in 732 BCE": A. MAZAR, *Qasile, Tell*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. IV, p. 1204-1212 (see p. 1206). In fact, the script of the ostracon suggests a date in the 8th century B.C.

[47] The partly unpublished material from E.L. Sukenik's excavations attests the occupation of the site until the 10th century B.C., and more recent excavations confirm the abandonment of the site after the 10th century: Z. HERZOG, *Tel Gerisa, 1982*, in *IEJ* 33 (1983), p. 121-123; ID., *Tel Gerisa, 1983*, in *IEJ* 34 (1984), p. 55-56; ID., *Gerisa, Tel*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 480-484 (see p. 484). The publication of Sh. GEVA, *Tell Jerishe* (Qedem 15), Jerusalem 1982, only concerns the Middle Bronze Age II.

[48] Some two hundred ancient gold mines are known in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, even as early as the Old Kingdom: R. & D.D. KLEMM, *Chronologischer Abriss der antiken Goldgewinnung in der Ostwüste Ägyptens*, in *MDAIK* 50 (1985), p. 189-222; B. ROTHENBERG - C.T. SHAW - F.A. HASSAN - A.A. HUSSEIN, *Reconnaissance Survey of Ancient Mining and Metallurgy in the Mersa Alam Region, Eastern Desert of Egypt*, in *IAMS* 20 (1998), p. 4-9.

[49] See, for instance, *ANEP*, No. 133.

[50] Cf. *LÄg* II, Wiesbaden 1975-77, col. 740-751; Vol. IV, Wiesbaden 1980-82, col. 526-532.

[51] A different point of view is expressed by K.R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP, *Sources of Sumerian Gold*, in *Iraq* 39 (1977), p. 83-86 and Pl. I.

the Table of Nations[52]. Ophir was obviously the name of another region, where Levantine merchants and seamen could acquire gold without having to reckon with pharaonic supervision, control, and taxes. Since nothing suggests that Ophir was the island of Thasos in the Aegean[53], it may be advisable to follow the Targum Jonathan, where Jer. 10, 9 reads *kaspā'... me-'Aprīqā'*, "silver from Africa", in synonymous parallelism with *dahbā' me-'Ōpīr*, "gold from Ophir"[54]. In fact, it is likely that Ophir was regarded there as another name of *Africa*, the Roman province corresponding to the former realm of Carthage. This opinion is somehow connected with the legend of Epher, Abraham's grandson (Gen. 25, 4), whom Josephus Flavius calls 'Ωφρήν, obviously by reference to *'wpr*, "Ophir". He had conquered Libya, his offspring settled there and named the land Africa in his honour[55]. According to Josephus, this tradition is confirmed by Alexander Polyhistor quoting Cleodemus Malchus, an obscure Hellenistic historiographer from the 2nd century B.C. The latter mentions two sons of Abraham and Ketura, named 'Αφέρας and 'Ιαφέρας; they had accompanied Heracles in Libya and given their name to the city of Afra and to Africa[56].

The toponym *Africa*, surviving in *Friguia* — as the valley of the middle Medjerda, in Tunisia, is called — is a derivative of *Afri*, the Latin plural of *Afer*. Now, *Afer* is used in Latin texts from the 3rd century B.C. on to qualify a North African, but the word has no Latin etymology[57] and does certainly not derive from an Oscan adjective **āfrico-*, "rainy"[58]. It must have a Libyco-Berber origin, as suggested by the *a*-prefix of masculine singular nouns of the non-active case[59]. It may derive from *fr* or *ffer*, "to hide"[60], hence "hiding-place", "cave" (*ifri*). Since no

[52] Cf. here above, p. 190, n. 5.

[53] Cf. here above, p. 191 with n. 14.

[54] A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic* III, Leiden 1962, p. 160.

[55] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* I, 15, §239, cf. §238. There are variant spellings: 'Εώφρην and 'Ωφηρ.

[56] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* I, 15, §241.

[57] For the use of *Afer* in classical texts, see GSELL, *HAAN*, VII, p. 2-7; M. FANTAR, in F. DECRET - M. FANTAR, *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1981, p. 22-26.

[58] G. GUGLIELMI, *Origine e remoto uso dei nomi Libia ed Africa II. Africa*, in *Africa. Società africana d'Italia* 1970, p. 305-336; M. FRUYT, *D'Africus ventus à Africa terra*, in *Revue de Philologie* 50 (1976), p. 221-238.

[59] W. VYCICHL, *La peuplade berbère des Afri et l'origine du nom d'Afrique*, in *Onoma* 19 (1975), p. 486-488. See also (F. DECRET) - M. FANTAR, *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 25-26. - This explanation is by far more convincing than S. SEGERT's, *Contributions philologiques à l'histoire carthaginoise*, in *Mnèma Vladimir Groh*, Prague 1963, p. 7-12, who connects *afer* with *'apīru*, a name which occurs in Middle Eastern texts of the II millennium B.C.

[60] M.G. KOSSMANN, *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)*, Paris-Louvain 1997, p. 421.

ancient Libyco-Berber personal name seems to be related to this root, while the name of the alleged god *IFRU* should be read *IERU*, "Moon"[61], it is quite probable that the name was a generic initially and indicated a place of safe storage. In North Africa, grain was stored in underground granaries, as recorded by the author of *Bellum Africum* 65, 1 in the 1st century B.C.: "In Africa, the inhabitants are used to have caves in the fields and in almost all the farms to hide grain there". Also people were living in caves surrounding a court excavated in a hill and accessible by an underground gallery, like in the Matmata area of present-day Tunisia. Some of these troglodytic villages of "cave-dwellers" may have been called by a name derived from *ifri*, "cave", but it is too hazardous to assume that such a derivative could designate a whole region by metonymy, like e.g. the *Friguia*, the valley of the middle Medjerda.

We do not know whether a real settlement stands behind *Ifera*, mentioned by Corippus[62], and 'Αφρας allegedly founded by two Abraham's sons[63]. Corippus also refers to the *Ifuraces*[64]. These names can be compared with the modern toponyms Ifera[65], Ifri, Tiffrit, in Algeria, Ifren in Tripolitania, some 120 km south-west of Tripoli[66], and with the name of the Ifora (an "apophonic" plural). This Tuareg confederation, centred on the mountainous Adrar of the Ifora, lives in northern Mali, east of Tassalit, which lies on the main trans-Saharan caravan route. There is also the small harbour of ''Επηρος, located by the *Stadiasmus* in the area of the Greater Syrtis[67] and called *Opiros* on the Peutinger Table, where this name is written in capitals on the western side of the Greater Syrtis. This world-map of the 3rd or 4th century A.D., copied in the 13th century from a lost original, is probably based on the geographical commentary of Agrippa (1st century B.C.), from which a map of the Roman Empire was constructed after Agrippa's death and displayed in Rome on the Porticus

[61] This reading in *CIL* VIII, 5673 = 19107 = *ILAlg* II, 4190 is certain according to G. CAMPS, *Qui sont les Dii Mauri?*, in *AntAfr* 26 (1990), p. 131-153 (see p. 140); cf. K. JONGELING, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, p. 65. *IERU* is apparently related to the West-Semitic name *yrḥ* of the moon.

[62] CORIPPUS, *Iohannis* II, 57; cf. I. DIGGLE - F.R.D. GOODYEAR, *Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos libri VIII*, Cambridge 1970.

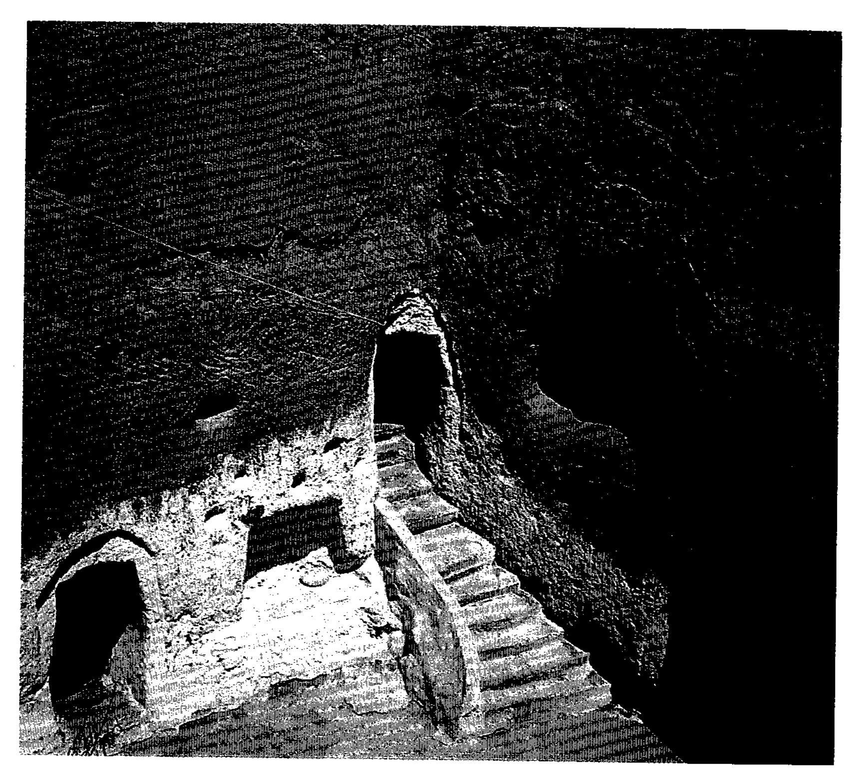
[63] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* I, 15, §241.

[64] CORIPPUS, *Iohannis* II, 113; III, 412; IV, 641; VIII, 490 and 648; cf. I. DIGGLE - F.R.D. GOODYEAR, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 31, 63, 91, 183, 190.

[65] Close to this place, there is a cavity in a rock with some four hundred Tuareg *tifinaġ* inscriptions: GSELL, *HAAN* VI, p. 98 and 137; *RIL* 848 and Pl. XII, 11. Cf. *AAAlg*, fol. 6 (Fort National), No. 108.

[66] W. VYCICHL, *loc. cit.* (n. 59).

[67] *Stadiasmus maris magni* §86-87, in *GGM* I, p. 458. For the *Stadiasmus*, see here below, p. 347, n. 29.



Dwellings of the "Troglodytes" at Matmata.

Vipsania. Manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* read Οἰσπορίς, 'Ισπορίς, etc.[68], spellings that may go back to Ιεπορις or Οπορις[69]. The correct form seems to be either Οπηρος, on which *Opiros* is based, or Ιεπορις, with a metathesis of the vowels.

The site is likely to correspond to Qaṣr az-Za'fərān[70], "Fortress of Saffran", west of Sirta. This place name seems to be Arabized from *Qaṣr ḏ-Afər(ān) or *Qaṣr ḏā-Ifran and may thus preserve the old toponym Επηρ-/*Opir*- from Roman times. It is located close to the end

[68] PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 3, 4 (p. 633).

[69] A lunate epsilon (∈) can easily be misread as a lunate sigma (*C*), which may lead to *ICΠOP*- instead of *I∈ΠOP*-, while *O* added to this form gives the *lectio conflata* Οἰσπορις. A lunate epsilon (∈) in ''Επηρος may have originated from ''Οπηρος, but also the opposite change is possible.

[70] Ch. TISSOT, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique,* Paris 1888, Vol. I, p. 219; *GGM* I, p. 458b.

of the caravan route from Murzuk through Sabha, Sawkna, and Bū Nğem to the Mediterranean. The Dorian foundation of Kinyps, soon destroyed by the Carthaginians and their Libyan allies, was situated not far from this site[71], 18 km southeast of Lepcis Magna.

Considering the usual change *ā* > *ō* in Hebrew and in Phoenician, *'ōpīr* can at any rate be identified with *Afer*, even if the initial *a-* was not long in Libyco-Berber. Accidentally, the spelling *'pr* of the Tell Qasile ostracon from the 8th-7th century B.C. does not provide any vocalization, but the name of the mysterious country 'Απείρα in the Odyssey is vocalized[72]. This is the land from which "curved ships" had brought the maiden of Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, the Phaeacian king who reigned over Scheria, supposed to be the isle of Corfu. If this is the case, 'Απείρα is certainly Epirus ('Ήπειρος)[73], thus discarding any possible connection with Ophir and Afer.

2. Sources of Ophir Gold

Assuming that Ophir is related to *Afer* or a similar derivative of *fr*, one wonders how Ophir could qualify a high quality gold, since the coastal regions of Tunisia and Tripolitania were no producers of the precious metal. Of course, Tyrian ships could have brought gold from the Iberian Peninsula[74] and transit through Carthage or another Punic harbour, but why should that gold be called "gold from Ophir" and not, for instance, "gold from Tarshish"? At any rate, the phrase is not Phoenician, since "gold" is called **ḥarūṣ* in Phoenician and Punic, not *zāhāb* like in Hebrew and in the coastal Canaanite dialect spoken by the Philistines.

Herodotus reports how Carthaginians were acquiring gold from the indigenous population beyond the Pillars of Heracles, thus on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. In *History* IV, 196, he gives so graphic an account of the "dumb commerce", which the Carthaginians carried on with so much advantages to themselves[75]:

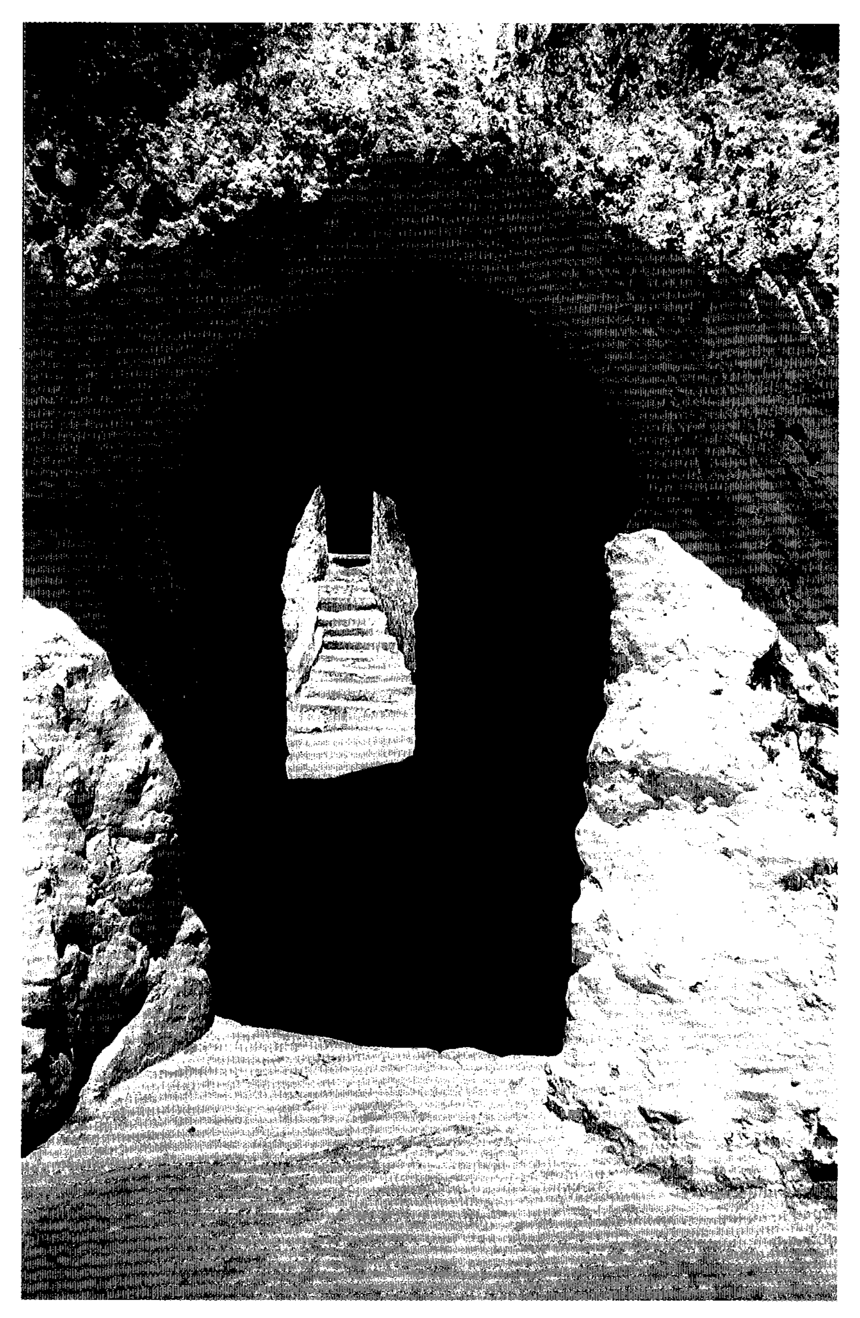
[71] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 175.198; V, 42; PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §109.

[72] HOMER, *Odyssey* VII, 8-9.

[73] This passage has not been taken into consideration by W. PAJĄKOWSKI, *Ilirowie*, Poznań 1981, although the author mentions Alcinous and Scheria (p. 40, 41, 271).

[74] Many studies deal with the gold mines in the Iberian Peninsula and with the local goldsmithery, that would go back to the III millennium B.C.: V. PINGEL, *Zum Beginn der Goldmetallurgie der Iberischen Halbinsel,* in *Gedenkschrift für Gero von Merhart* (Marburger Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 7), Marburg/Lahn 1986, p. 193-211.

[75] A sociological interpretation of this passage was proposed by N.F. PARISE, *Baratto silenzioso fra Punici e Libi al di là delle Colonne di Eracle,* in *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia* 8 (1976), p. 75-80: the "dumb commerce", far from pursuing the fixing of a just price, would have aimed in the Libyan mentality at giving satisfaction to the foreigners in the frame of an exchange of gifts.



Corridor in the dwellings of the "Troglodytes" at Matmata.

"The Carthaginians also tell that there is a country in Libya, and a people, beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which they are wont to visit. No sooner they arrive that forthwith they unlade their wares, and having disposed them after an orderly fashion along the beach, they leave them, and returning aboard their ships, raise a great smoke. The natives, when they see the smoke, come down to the shore, and laying out to view so much gold as they think the wares are worth, withdraw to a distance. The Carthaginians upon this come ashore again and look. If they think the gold to be enough, they take it and go their way; but if it does not seem to them sufficient, they go aboard ship once more, and wait patiently. Then the others approach and add to their gold, till the shipmen are satisfied. Neither party deals unfairly by the other: for they themselves never touch the gold till it comes up to the worth of their goods, nor do the natives ever carry off the goods until the gold has been taken away".

The existence of such a traffic for gold indicates that the indigenous population of the Maghrib could supply the Phoenicians with as much gold as they needed and was thus able to obtain it from a gold-producing country. The alleged mines in the Anti-Atlas and to the west of Siğilmāsa[76], although alluded to by Arab writers like al-Bakrī[77], remain somewhat elusive[78], and one should rather reckon with caravan tracks from West Africa reaching Morocco[79]. However, with regard to our question, it is again hard to understand why gold obtained on the Atlantic coast should be called "gold from Ophir", since no known toponym of that area suggests such an appellation. There remains a third possibility, viz. a trans-Saharan gold trade reaching the Mediterranean in the 8th-7th centuries B.C.[80]

[76] H. TERRASSE, *Note sur les mines de Sijilmassa,* in *Deuxième Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés Savantes,* Alger 1936, p. 581-588; B. ROSENBERGER, *Les vieilles exploitations minières et les anciens centres métallurgiques du Maroc,* in *Revue de Géographie du Maroc* 17 (1970), p. 71-108 (see p. 82 and 86); 18 (1970), p. 59-102 (see p. 84). The survey of the ancient town, in 1992, did virtually not recover any vestiges anterior to the 11th century A.D.: R.A. MESSIER et al., *Sijilmassa. An Archaeological Study — 1992,* in *BAM* 19 (2002), p. 257-292.

[77] EL-BEKRI, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale,* ed. E. FOGNAN, Alger 1913, p. 286. There is a new edition by H. VAN LEWEN - A. FERRÉ (eds.), *Al-Bakrī: Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik,* 2 vols., Carthage 1992.

[78] M. POSNANSKY, *Les sociétés de l'Afrique subsaharienne au premier Âge du fer,* in G. MOKHTAR (ed.), *Histoire générale de l'Afrique* II. *Afrique ancienne,* Paris 1980, p. 779-794 (see p. 784). The existence of these mines is nevertheless accepted by DESANGES, *Recherches,* p. 381, n. 36.

[79] P. SALAMA, *Le Sahara pendant l'Antiquité classique,* in G. MOKHTAR (ed.), *Histoire générale de l'Afrique* II. *Afrique ancienne,* Paris 1980, p. 553-574 (see p. 567).

[80] This idea was expressed by S. MOSCATI, *L'épopée des Phéniciens,* Paris 1971, p. 230; ID., *I Fenici e Cartagine,* Torino 1972, p. 418, without elaborating.

There is no direct evidence for the existence of this trade in the Punic period[81] and the import of West African gold to North Africa is often said to have been of no weight until the end of the 4th century A.D.[82] On the other hand, it is striking that *urus* designates gold in Wolof, Sērēr, and Diula, three languages of the Niger-Congo family spoken in this gold producing area, and that this word is reminiscent of Phoenician-Punic *ḥarūṣ*, "gold"[83]. This resemblance should not be discarded as a fortuitous assonance but taken seriously into account, since the trans-Saharan trade in pre-Roman times is a real possibility despite wide-spread opinions in the contrary. Of course, the light chariots represented in Saharan rock painting scenes were not conceived to carry heavy loads, but there is a significant presence of the dromedary in the Maghrib about the VI millennium B.C., as shown by C-14 analyses of bones. This does not mean that it was then domesticated, and narrower grazing facilities in later dry periods have certainly led to a drop in the reproduction rate of the species, which is lower than that of human beings, since the female produces a single young at a birth, after eleven-

[81] J. DESANGES, *Remarques critiques sur l'hypothèse d'une importation de l'or africain dans le monde phénico-punique,* in *Actes du IIe Congrès international d'étude des cultures de la Méditerranée occidentale* II, Alger 1978, p. 52-58. Reprinted in J. DESANGES, *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta minora,* Paris 1999, p. 49-55.

[82] J.T. SWANSON, *The Myth of Trans-Saharan Trade during the Roman Era,* in *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 8 (1975), p. 582-600; cf. ID., *The Not-yet-Golden Trade. Contact and Commerce between North Africa and the Sudan to the Eleventh Century A.D.,* Diss. Indiana Univ., Bloomington 1978; Cl. CAHEN, *L'or du Soudan avant les Almoravides: mythe ou réalité?,* in *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* 66 (1979), p. 169-175, reprinted in *2000 ans d'histoire africaine. Le sol, la parole et l'écrit. Mélanges R. Mauny,* Paris 1981, p. 539-745; T.F. GARRAND, *Myth and Metrology: The Early Trans-Saharan Gold Trade,* in *The Journal of African History* 23 (1982), p. 443-461, in particular p. 443-453. Even this late date of the 4th century A.D. has been questioned by W.E. KAEGI Jr, *Byzantium and the Early Trans-Saharan Gold Trade. A Cautionary Note,* in *Graeco-Arabica* III. *First International Congress on Greek and Arabic Studies,* Athens 1984, p. 94-100. The author doubts that there was any trans-Saharan gold trade in the Byzantine period, in the 6th-7th centuries A.D. A qualified opinion about trans-Saharan trade in general was expressed by R. MAUNY, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain au Moyen Age,* Dakar 1961, p. 287-291, and R.W. BULLIET, *The Camel and the Wheel,* New York 1990, p. 111-140.

[83] R. MAUNY, *Essai sur l'histoire des métaux en Afrique Occidentale,* in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique noire* 14 (1952), p. 545-595 (see p. 554); M. POSNANSKY, *Introduction à la fin de la préhistoire en Afrique subsaharienne,* in G. MOKHTAR (ed.), *Histoire générale de l'Afrique* II. *Afrique ancienne,* Paris 1980, p. 575-609 (see p. 593). Instead, a Latin origin (*aureus,* "golden", etc.) is assumed by J. DESANGES, *art. cit.* (n. 81), p. 54, reprinted in *op. cit.* (n. 81), p. 51. Such borrowings should at least awake less suspicion than the comparison of Akkadian *ilu,* "god", with the Bantu words *ulu,* "lofty", and *ilu,* "heaven", in Kamba and Mbundu, as proposed by L. TONDELLI, *Il disegno divino della storia,* Torino 1947.

months' gestation. But nothing suggests that the dromedary completely disappeared later, since prehistoric rock paintings and engravings show it next to the horse quite early in the so-called "middle-caballine" period[84]. As for the lack of datable dromedary bones from the I millennium B.C., it parallels the case of the horse bones[85].

The Libyco-Berber name of the dromedary is particularly interesting in this context. It appears first as *GIM-L* in several Numidian inscriptions from Dougga, dating back to the 2nd century B.C. This is by no means an early date for mentions of dromedaries in North Africa, since they appear as beasts of burden in Ptolemaic papyri from the first half of the 3rd century B.C. onwards[86].

The Numidian references are interesting also from a linguistic point of view. The external plural *GIM-L-N* and apparently the "broken" or "polyphonic" plural *GM-I-L* occur in the title *GLD-GIMLN/GMIL*[87] of a high official called "leader of camels"[88]. He was most likely responsible for the dromedary caravans bringing material needed for the construction of monuments, like the sanctuary built in honour of Massinissa[89]. The noun "dromedary" is written in the Numidian dialect with the postpositive determinative *-l*, which initially qualified the grammatical gender of domestic or tamed animals[90]. In modern Libyco-Berber dialects, instead, this element is prefixed to the original root-morpheme, as shown by *a-l-ġem* (plural *i-leġm-an*) and its numerous

[84] V. BELTRAMI, *Introduzione, ecologia, impieghi e rappresentazioni rupestri del dromedario nel Sahara in età protostorica*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana* VIII, Sassari 1991, p. 313-315, referring also to H. CAMPS-FABRER et al., *Un gisement caspien de faciès sétifien Madjez II, el-Eulma (Algérie)*, Paris 1975. Instead A. Muzzolini's publications tended to lower the date of the Saharan paintings, dating the diffusion of the dromedary representations to the beginning of our era. See, for example, A. MUZZOLINI, *Zur Chronologie der Felsbild-Darstellungen in der Sahara*, in G. GÖTTLER (ed.), *Die Sahara. Mensch und Natur in der grössten Wüste der Erde*, Köln 1984, p. 307-311.

[85] See C.M. DANIELS' answer in F.F. GADALLAH (ed.), *Libya in History, Historical Conference*, Benghazi 1968, p. 283-284.

[86] A. LEONE, *Gli animali di transporto nell'Egitto greco, romano e bizantino* (Papyrologica Castroctaviana 12), Roma 1988, p. 47-85, especially p. 47-53.

[87] *RIL* 2, 10; 3, 10; 5, 5; 10, 8; 11, 8. The form *GLD-GMIL* occurs only in *RIL* 2, 10 and was considered to be a mistake of the stonecutter, lately so S. CHAKER, *Linguistique berbère*, Paris-Louvain 1995, p. 180. However, the simultaneous absence of the plural ending *-N* suggests that this may be a "broken" or "polyphonic" plural: **i-gəmal* against **i-gaml-an*. The Libyco-Berber sign *I* may also mark an internal *a*-vowel, like in *SIMT* = *Samate*, etc.; cf. JONGELING, *Names*, p. 223a; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 126.

[88] *DNWSI*, p. 223. Cf. also K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 30-31.

[89] *RIL* 2 = *KAI* 101.

[90] I.M. DIAKONOFF, *Semito-Hamitic Languages. An Essay in Classification*, Moscow 1965, p. 55-56, n. 3; LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §30.10.

phonetic variants[91]. The most ancient form of the word must have been **gām*, or the like, to be compared with Old Nubian *kam*[92] and Bedja *kām*[93], "dromedary". It is related to Egyptian *qm3*, Demotic *gm*, and Coptic *qam*, translated "bull" with some qualification.

The word **gām* could occur in the name of the Libyan tribesmen called Γιλιγάμ(μ)αι by Herodotus IV, 169, who locates them in eastern Cyrenaica and north-western Egypt. In fact, their name can be decomposed into **Kəl-i-gam-*, "People of the dromedaries", with a noun corresponding to Tuareg *kəl*, "people of", and the plural prefix *i-* of Libyco-Berber masculine nouns. Such appellatives are quite common, for instance: *kəl-ehare*, "people of the herd", "shepherds", *kəl-təwəgas,* "people of the fields", "countrymen"[94]. The *k* of *kəl* would be simply voiced by regressive assimilation to the *g* of *gam*. This kind of assimilations is well known in Greek, for example in Attic Μεκακλῆς for Μεγακλῆς. Since these tribesmen are not mentioned by any other ancient writer, it is quite possible that Herodotus regarded their descriptive appellation as a real tribal name.

This apparently primitive form **gām/kam* of the name is all the more significative as Nubia is precisely the area of East Africa where the oldest so far, certain attestation of the dromedary was discovered. Namely, a dromedary's rib was found during regular excavations at Sayala, in a C-group context dating back to the Middle Kingdom (2040-1759 B.C.)[95]. This find does not provide certain evidence for domestication,

[91] LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §30.10; K.-G. PRASSE - GHOUBEÏD ALOJALY - GHABDOUANE MOHAMED, *Lexique touareg-français*, 2nd ed., Copenhague 1998, p. 194. The same word occurs in Chadic languages, *lòkòm(ó)*: "dromedary". A prefixed *l-* appears also in Ethiopic *lahm*, "cow". — A metathesis *gml* > *lġm* is not likely.

[92] G.M. BROWNE, *Old Nubian Dictionary* (CSCO 556), Leuven 1996, p. 84; cf. W. VYCICHL, *Varia grammatica*, in *Kush* 4 (1956), p. 37-46 (see p. 44); ID., rev. in *BiOr* 21 (1964), p. 307-308.

[93] W. VYCICHL, in W. WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965-77, p. 574.

[94] M. AGHALI-ZAKARA, *Racines homophones en berbère: cas de KL*, in K. NAÏT-ZERRAD (ed.), *Articles de linguistique berbère. Mémorial Werner Vycichl*, Paris 2002, p. 43-55, in particular p. 50-53. The linguistic continuity of the Libyco-Berber area in Antiquity, from the Maghrib to Western Egypt, is best illustrated by names like Osorkon's, composed of the elements *w*, "son of", and *srkn/slkn*, in Neo-Assyrian *ši-il-kan-ni.* The second one appears frequently in Neo-Punic, Libyan, and Latin inscriptions of North-Africa: K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 130-131.

[95] M. BIETAK, *Ausgrabungen in Sayala-Nubien 1961-65. Denkmäler der C-Gruppe und der Pan-Gräber-Kultur* (ÖAW, Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 92), Wien 1966, p. 33-34, 38. Cf. B. MIDANT-REYNES - Fl. BRAUNSTEIN-SILVESTRE, *Le chameau en Égypte*, in *Orientalia* 46 (1977), p. 337-362 and Pl. XXV (see p. 348-349). The alleged camel-hair rope from the Old Kingdom appeared to be made from sheep-hair (cf. *ibid.*, p. 347), while

but the ceramic statuette of a dromedary carrying two jars, found at Rifeh in a tomb of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1295-1186 B.C.)[96], and the faience from Abydos, representing a dromedary with four jars and dated variously between the Twentieth and the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (1186-526 B.C.)[97], provide the evidence for the dromedary used in Egypt as beast of burden. Camels appear among the animals brought as tribute from Egypt for Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.).

The Egyptian provenance of the so-called "tribute", which should be seen in the general frame of diplomatic exchange gifts, results clearly from the Egyptian loanwords used to designate some of the animals[98]. Thus, the bull with single horn in line with the eyes is called *sa-ke-e-ia*[99], a transcription of *s3-k3*, "son of a bull", "bull", or more likely *s3-k3(.ỉ)* with the adjectival ending *-y*, "bovine", "oxlike". This is a correct description, since a one-horned bull is a mythical creature, while the animal represented on the Black Obelisk is not similar to a rhinoceros. The sculptor did obviously not see it, but the name — apparently proposed by an Egyptian — matches the representation. This bull is followed by an antelope with lyre-shaped horns shown sideways. It is called *su-ú-su*, a transcription of Egyptian *šš3w*, "bubalis antelope", as shown by the Coptic vocalized forms *šoš*, *šōš*. After the elephants, the inscription mentions *ba-zi-a-ti*, what can also be read *pá-sí-a-ti*, especially when considering the Neo-Assyrian weakening of the distinction between voiced and unvoiced occlusives. The name designates a middle-sized hairless primate without tail, walking like a human being on the back legs. The identification suggested to the scribe points at Egyptian *p3-š3t(.ỉ)*, "Nubian", written *pá-sí-a-ti*. There follow two small hairless primates with tails, called *ú-qup*, what transcribes Egyptian *gwf* or *gỉf*, Demotic *kf* or *kwf*, "long-tailed monkey", most likely the common

the rock depictions of the animal in Egypt cannot be dated easily (*ibid.*, p. 355). For the archaeological evidence from Western Asia, see P. WAPNISH, *Camel Caravans and Camel Pastoralists at Tell Jemmeh*, in *JANES* 13 (1981), p. 11-121.

[96] W.M.F. PETRIE, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London 1907, p. 23 and Pl. 27; cf. B. MIDANT-REYNES - Fl. BRAUNSTEIN-SILVESTRE, *art. cit.* (n. 95), p. 350-351.

[97] A. MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris 1880, Vol. II, Pl. 40; Vol. III, p. 587, No. 1495; cf. B. MIDANT-REYNES - Fl. BRAUNSTEIN-SILVESTRE, *art. cit.* (n. 95), p. 350.

[98] *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.89, p. 150. One should avoid correcting the inscription, as often done.

[99] The reading is certain, despite *AHw*, p. 1586, and *CAD*, S, p. 176, followed by Sh. YAMADA, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, Leiden 2000, p. 257. One can see the word on the photograph published in *RLA* I, Pl. 8. Only the upper horizontal wedge of KI slants somewhat, instead of being parallel to the lower ones. The sign is certainly no DI.

guenon (*Cercopithecus aethiops*), which is a small animal. At the end of the row, there is a large hairless primate with tail and another large primate with tail, long hair on the head and some hair on the shoulders. They appear to be called simply MI.MEŠ, *ṣalmāti*, "Blacks", unless one regards *ú-qup* MI.MEŠ as the name of the four primates: "black long-tailed monkeys", thus certainly no chimpanzees.

The Egyptian loanwords used in the legend accompanying the series of animals should dissipate the doubts raised by the two camels brought from Muṣri, although the Egyptian embassy may have bought them on its way to Assyria. True, both animals are represented on the Black Obelisk as two-humped (Bactrian) camels[100] and the accompanying text calls them ANŠE.A.AB.BA^{MEŠ} *šá šu-na-a-a ṣe-ri-ši-na*, "dromedaries[101] whose backs are double", but the sculptor most likely repeated the representation of the Bactrian camels in the Gilzanu band of the Obelisk[102] and the scribe matched the text to the representation[103]. This information provides additional evidence for Egyptian use of dromedaries in the 9th century B.C. and connects it with a distant journey to Assyria. Westward journeys from the Nile valley are suggested by a rock sculpture with a dromedary, found in north-eastern Chad (Erdi). It is dated to the beginning of the Iron Age, in the mid-first millennium B.C., and some painted specimens from this region (Ennedi) are attributed to the later part of the same millennium[104].

Since anthroponomy is very conservative, the word **gam* might still appear in the Carthaginian personal name *Gmn*[105], with the suffix *-an*

[100] BM. WA. 118885: *ANEP*, No. 351 III. There are better photographs of sides 3 and 4 in *RLA* I, Berlin-Leipzig 1928, Pl. 8.

[101] There is no Sumerian and no native Akkadian word for "dromedary". The sumerogram ANŠE.A.AB.BA, "donkey of the sea", originated from the knowledge that the dromedary was coming "from across the sea, i.e. down the Persian Gulf". Cf. W.G. LAMBERT, *The Domesticated Camel in the Second Millennium — Evidence from Alalakh and Ugarit*, in *BASOR* 160 (1960), p. 42-43; W. HEIMPEL, *Kamel*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 330-332 (see p. 330b). This probably implies that the domestication of the dromedary in the late third millennium B.C. took place in the south-east of the Arabian Peninsula, but archaeological evidence is so far sparse and suggests an initial use of the dromedary as meat, beside milk, wool, and dung serving as fuel.

[102] *ANEP*, No. 353 I. Cf. *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.87, p. 149. The error was already noticed by W.M. MÜLLER, *Das Land Muṣru des schwarzen Obelisk*, in *ZA* 8 (1893), p. 209-214, and in *OLZ* 5 (1908), col. 218-220.

[103] T.C. MITCHELL, *Camels in the Assyrian Bas-Reliefs*, in *Iraq* 62 (2000), p. 187-194 (see p. 188-190).

[104] P. HUARD, *État des recherches sur les rapports entre cultures anciennes du Sahara tchadien, de Nubie et du Soudan*, in *BiOr* 21 (1964), p. 282-289 (see p. 288-289).

[105] *CIS* I, 1116, 5; 5951, 2.

which can be either Semitic or Libyco-Berber[106]. In any case, it reveals the long history of the dromedary in North Africa, where the one-humped camel can be recognized at least in one of the "Libyco-Berber" rock drawings found north of Marrakech[107]. It does not appear there carrying a load, but the title of the Numidian officials in the 2nd century B.C. clearly indicates that the use of dromedaries as beasts of burden was well anchored at that time in the life of North Africans.

The willingness of the dromedary to eat shrubs rejected by most mammals, and its ability to go for three days without drinking allowed those who tamed and bred it to travel great distances through sand deserts. The wide-spreading, soft feet of the dromedary are adapted for walking on sand and a well-fed animal will carry a load of 200 kg 40-45 km a day. According to B.D. Shaw, dromedaries were used in the Sahara as beasts of burden at least from the mid-2nd millennium B.C.[108], but we can assume that they were not herded in any great numbers before the I millennium B.C. and that urban-based dromedary caravans became significant transport systems in the Sahara not much earlier than the 8th century B.C., like along the western side of the Arabian Peninsula.

However, the domesticated dromedary had appeared in the Horn of Africa long before the discovery of its use as a means of transport. It seems that initially milk production was the prime factor in its rearing, which was designed to maximize this product. The milking potential of the dromedary became recognized also among the Libyco-Berber populations and this explains why the Tuareg name *alam* of the dromedary is the same word as Gafat *älamʷä*, "cow", in Ethiopia. In the case of Cushitic tribal groups, such as the Somalis and Rendilles, milk production is the prime factor even nowadays, although dromedaries are also employed as beasts of burden. However, riding them is taboo.

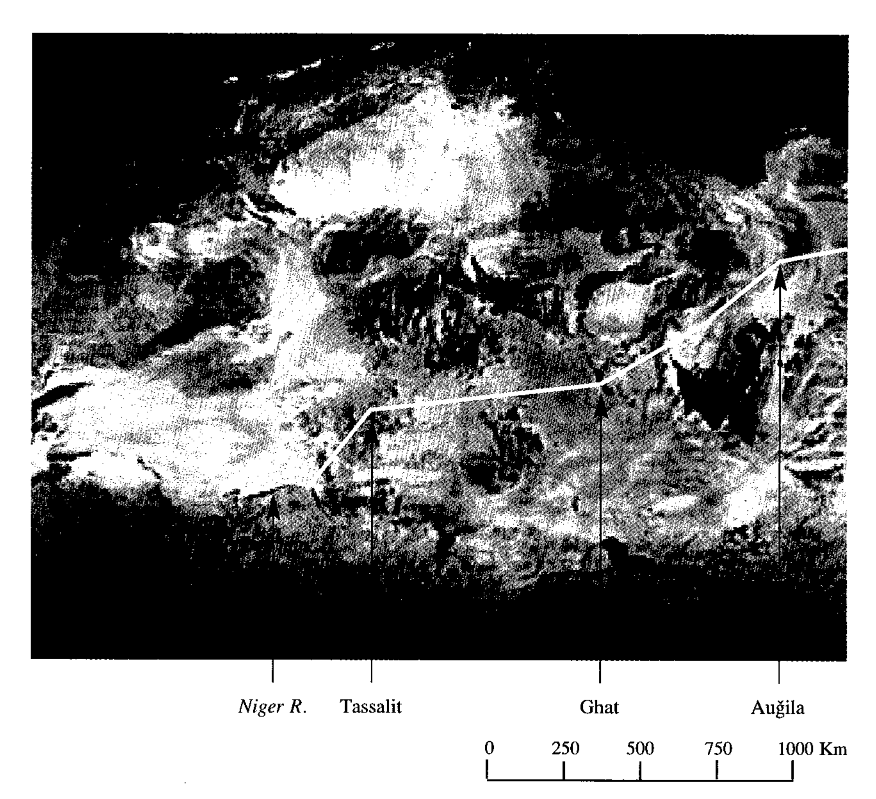
We do not know whether dromedaries were used by the young Nasamonians whose journey from the Greater Syrtis area to the Niger River is reported by Herodotus[109]. At any rate, they were dwelling not far from

[106] K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. XIV-XV. However, there is also a name *Gumina* besides *Gumma*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 54.

[107] A. RODRIGUE, *Corpus des gravures rupestres libyco-berbères de Marrakech,* in *BAM* 17 (1987-88), p. 89-180 (see p. 117, No. 49). According to the author, it is "un animal difficilement identifiable" (p. 95).

[108] B.D. SHAW, *The Camel in Roman North Africa and the Sahara: History, Biology, and Human Economy,* in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique noire* 41B (1979), p. 663-721, reprinted in B.D. SHAW, *Environment and Society in Roman North Africa. Studies in History and Archaeology* (Collected Series Studies 479), Aldershot 1995.

[109] HERODOTUS, *History* II, 32-33. This passage is analyzed extensively by DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 177-183.



Satellite photograph of the Sahara with an approximate indication of the route followed by the Nasamonians.

the Giligamae, the "People of the dromedaries" as suggested above. The great river flowing eastward, reached by the Nasamonians as reported by Herodotus, can be no other but the middle course of the Niger[110]. The

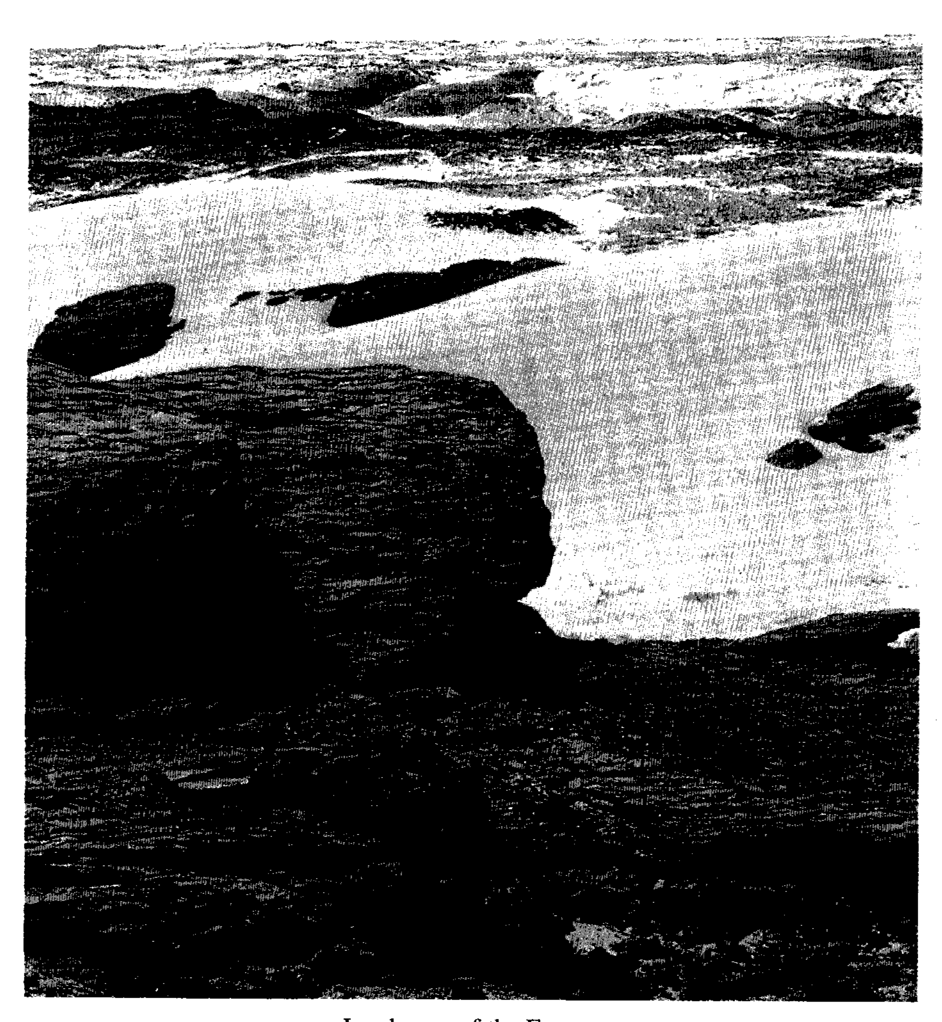
[110] Since the Nasamonians crossed the desert travelling westward (πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον), they could impossibly have reached the Baḥr al-Ġazal (Tchad), as argued by R. CARPENTER, *A Trans-Saharan Caravan Route in Herodotus,* in *AJA* 60 (1956), p. 231-242, followed by A.B. LLOYD, *Herodotus. Book II. Commentary 1-98* (ÉPRO 43/2), Leiden 1976, p. 133-139, and DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 182-183. Besides the fact that Baḥr al-Ġazal flows southward, the crossing of the desert must have taken place in the winter, in order to avoid the great heat. Now, in winter months, the daily descent of the sun below the horizon is observable in the Sahara on the south-west, which for the Nasamonians was precisely the direction of the Niger River. This explanation was rightly proposed by several authors, already mentioned by St. GSELL, *Hérodote*, Paris-Alger 1915, p. 206, n. 2, also by R.C.C. LAW, *The Garamantes and Trans-Saharan Enterprise in Classical Times,* in *Journal of African History* 8/2 (1967), p. 181-200 (see p. 185). At any rate, it does not seem that the *Nigritae* mentioned by PLINY THE ELDER, *Geography* V, 43, have something in common with the Niger River.

route they have followed, probably in the 6th century B.C.[111], must largely correspond to the Libyan caravan track described also by Herodotus in *History* IV, 181-185. Starting from Thebes in Egypt, it first ran northward to the Oasis of Siwa, then continued westward to Aûğila. Heading further south-westward it crossed the territory of the Garamantes in the Fezzan and the Tadrart (Atarantes) range, reaching Ghat. It ran then along the Ahaggar massif rising up to 2,918 metres in the peak of Tahat, sometimes snow-capped, clearly heading via Ideles and Tassalit for the middle course of the Niger River[112].

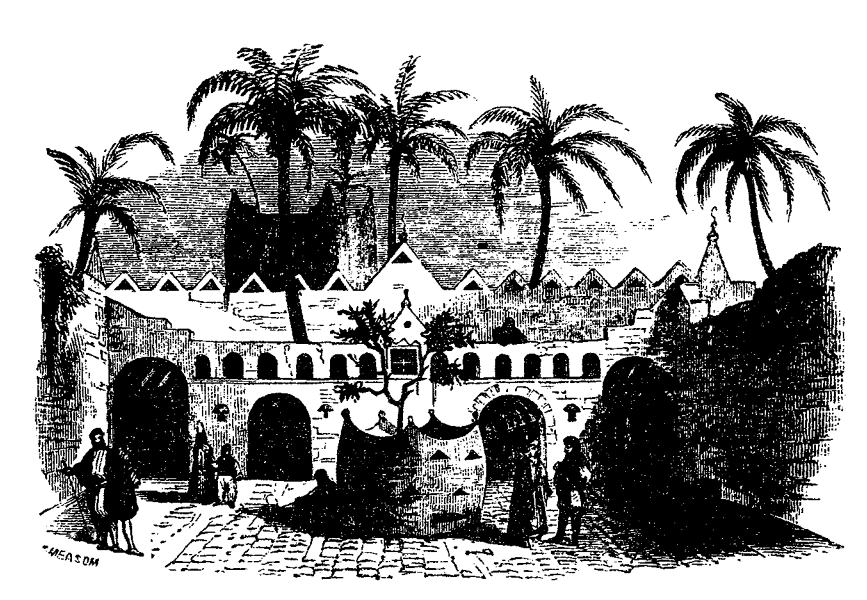
This route is divided by Herodotus in sections travelled over in ten days and being each from 400 to 500 km long. They correspond indeed to the distance covered by dromedary caravans in ten marching days, while the settlements encountered after a ten days' journey must coincide with the regular and necessary halts of the caravans, that may rest in certain places for two, three, four and even more days. Herodotus is able to name the inhabitants of five sections of the trans-Saharan caravan route, but their number was larger, since two or three months were required in the Middle Ages to cross the Sahara in caravan[113].

Herodotus also reports that thirty days were required to reach the Garamantes from the country of the "Lotus-eaters"[114], i.e., from the region of Zarzis and the island of Djerba. Nowadays, a distance varying from 35 to 45 km is covered by caravans every marching day and the thirty days are barely sufficient for such a journey, without reckoning with usual prolonged halts. The route most likely ran through Ghadames, Bir al-Gazeil, El-Hasi, Edri to Ğerma, the capital of the Garamantes. The distance from Zarzis to Ghadames by road and track amounts today to almost 600 km and the real distance from Ghadames to Ğerma through the Hamada exceeds the 800 km. Such a journey was simply not feasible without dromedaries. The distance is smaller (1,050-1,100 km) from Lepcis Magna[115]. Yet, in 1850, H. Barth needed a full month to reach Ğerma from the neighbourhood of Tripoli. His caravan started the journey on April the 2nd and Barth could visit Ğerma only on May the 2nd. During this period, the caravan halted all together for six days[116]. The journey

[111] In fact, Herodotus reports this information from the third hand.
[112] Cf. M. Liverani, *The Libyan Caravan Road in Herodotus IV.181-185,* in *JESHO* 43 (2000), p. 496-520.
[113] R. Mauny, *op. cit.* (n. 82), p. 401, n. 6, and p. 403.
[114] Herodotus, *History* IV, 183.
[115] St. Gsell, *op. cit.* (n. 110), p. 149-150; Desanges, *Recherches*, p. 194-195.
[116] H. Barth, *Voyages et découvertes dans l'Afrique septentrionale et centrale* I, Bruxelles 1860, p. 63-94.



Landscape of the Fezzan
(photo: E.M. Ruprechtsberger).



The square of fountains at Ghadames, in 1845/6.

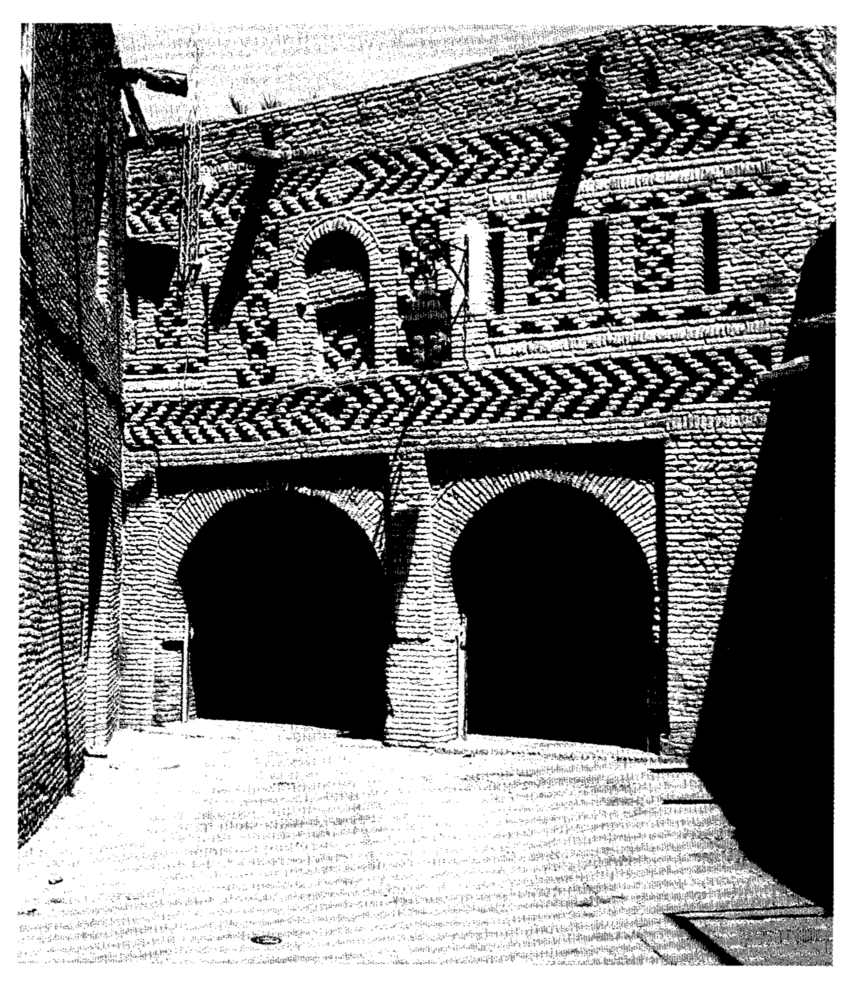
was certainly easier and somewhat shorter (about 950 km) from the Greater Syrtis to Ǧerma.

The caravan route described by Herodotus IV, 181-185 implies the existence of a trans-Saharan trade in Antiquity. Saharan commerce has always been of two types: the supplying of wheat, barley, wool, and manufactured goods to the desert peoples in exchange for dates, and the long-established trans-Saharan trade in salt, ivory, and gold[117]. Salt is still an important product for the sub-Saharan peoples and Herodotus' account of the caravan track uniting the salt oases of the Libyan desert makes it plain that this was mainly a salt route.

Ivory and alluvial gold from the West African gold providing alluvions in the Upper Niger and surrounding areas, like the Bambouk region (Mali)[118], could instead satisfy the great demand for the precious

[117] M. LIVERANI, *art. cit.* (n. 112), in particular p. 508.

[118] Going beyond the overcautious synthesis by E.-F. GAUTIER, *L'or du Soudan,* in *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 7 (1935), some authors have related this alluvial gold to the Carthaginian gold resources, especially J. CARCOPINO, *Le Maroc antique*, 2nd ed., Paris 1947, with a long chapter on "Le Maroc, marché punique de l'or (Ve-IIIe siècles av. J.-C.)", p. 73-163, and a map on p. 139. Unfortunately, the earliest datable writing from this region goes back to the 11th century A.D.: P.F. DE MORAES FARIAS, *Arabic Medieval Inscriptions from the Republic of Mali. Epigraphy, Chronicles, and Songhay-Tuareg History*, Oxford 2002, with a unique corpus of primary-source material from the 11th-15th centuries.



Tozeur: Gate to the old quarter of the Ouled al-Hadef.

metal in the Phoenician-Punic settlements on the Mediterranean. Already Thucydides, in the 5th century B.C., was saying that Carthaginians "have large quantities of gold and silver"[119]. Golden jewellery frequently occurs in Carthaginian tombs from the 7th century on[120]. Some

[119] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* VI, 34, 2. Cf. M.H. FANTAR, *Carthage. Approche d'une civilisation* I, Tunis 1993, p. 291.

[120] C. PICARD, *L'essor de Carthage aux VIIe et VIe siècles*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Carthago* (Studia Phoenicia VI; OLA 26) Leuven 1988, p. 43-50. One should refer here to the study of Carthaginian jewellery by B. QUILLARD, *Bijoux carthaginois* I-II (Aurifex 2-3), Louvain-la-Neuve 1979-1987.

of the oldest golden artefacts seem to have a slightly deeper colour than other pieces, a fact which might point to alluvial or placer gold[121], distinguishable to some extent from reef gold, mined from quartz lodes in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, Nubia, and the Iberian Peninsula. We do not know whether such a criterion was used in order to distinguish the Ophir gold from gold of Egyptian provenance.

To give a sense to the phrase "gold from Ophir", one should assume that an ancient caravan track reached the Mediterranean at a settlement or in a region bearing a name comparable with Ophir. Now, in the Middle Ages, the main trans-Saharan caravan route was running from the great bend of the middle Niger, in the area of Djenna, Timbuktu, and Gao, to Tassalit, 'In Salah, the oasis of Wārğlā, and Tozeur[122]. However, other caravan routes existed as well and methodologically the safest choice is the track referred to by Herodotus and joining the great bend of the middle Niger with the Greater Syrtis. Having reached Ghat and the territory of the Garamantes in the Fezzan, caravans could proceed northwards from Murzuk to Sabha, Sawkna, Bū Nğem and the Mediterranean. This was the shortest way to the sea, ending in the area of the harbour called Opiros on the Peutinger Table. In the mid-first millennium B.C. this region was in the Phoenician-Punic sphere of influence[123]. Pseudo-Scylax §109 does not state that the Altars of the Philaenoi belonged to the Carthaginians, but he qualifies the harbour as ἐπίνειον, "warehousing port". Such a harbour was meaningful for the trade with the coastal and inland peoples. One can assume therefore that Phoenicians and possibly seafarers from Philistine cities like Ascalon developed such a profitable trade with them that they erected an emporium on land rented from a local tribe. In subsequent years, another emporium was built, viz. Opiros, described by the *Stadiasmus* as a small harbour.

Traders followed known tracks between oases and wells, and urban centres grew up gradually at their point of departure and arrival. The sub-Saharan caravan terminus had thus to be a regional centre of power, most likely the site of the forerunner of the Ghana empire which dominated the Sahel between the Niger and the Senegal from the 4th to the

[121] P. Ramdohr, *The Ore Minerals and Their Intergrowths*, Oxford 1969, p. 338.

[122] Mediaeval Arab texts referring to gold trade on the trans-Saharan route have been analysed by E.-F. Gautier, *art. cit.* (n. 118), p. 115-118.

[123] Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 20, considers the area between the Altars of the Philaenoi and the Tower of Euphrantas as the border between the former Carthaginian territory and Cyrenaica. Also the *Peutinger Table* VIII, 2 indicates: *Are Philenorum fines Affrice et Cyrenesium.*

13th century A.D. Archaeological research shows that its roots go back to *ca.* 1000 B.C. and that traces of foreign influence appear there as early as *ca.* 600 B.C.[124] On the other hand, Herodotus reports that the Nasamonians have reached a city inhabited by black people[125], that may have lain in the area of Timbuktu[126]. Assuming the existence of this trans-Saharan route in Antiquity, West-African gold could reach the Mediterranean. Direct evidence of this trade is so far missing, but only early Punic texts could provide it.

3. Biblical Ophir Narratives

Given this reconstruction of the Ophir trade, Phoenician sailors certainly played a role in bringing the gold to the Middle East, but they could not have been sent by Hiram I, king of Tyre in the 10th century B.C. Phoenician presence in the Western Mediterranean is not attested before the end of the 9th century B.C. Therefore only Hiram II (*ca.* 736-732/29 B.C.) at the time of Ahaz, king of Judah, or another Hiram of the earlier part of the 8th century B.C., may be taken here into account. In other words, the original notice about Ophir cannot be dated either from the reign of Solomon or from the time of David, as stated by Eupolemus. The topographic references to Ezion-Geber and the name of Solomon reveal a rewriting of the text, that originally must have been an independent notice, possibly belonging to royal annals[127], or to the supposed "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (I Kings 11, 41). In fact, the sentence does not begin with a *wayyiqtol* of *'āśā*, but with its direct complement *'ŏnī*, "fleet"[128], placed as a heading[129]. In the Greek translation of the

[124] P.J. Munson, *Archaeology and Prehistoric Origin of the Ghana Empire,* in *Journal of African History* 21 (1980), p. 457-466.

[125] Herodotus, *History* II, 32.

[126] J. Ferguson, *Classical Contacts with West Africa*, in L.A. Thompson - J. Ferguson (eds.), *Africa in Classical Antiquity*, Ibadan 1969, p. 1-25 (see p. 10).

[127] This possibility is taken into account for I Kings 10, 11-13.22.28-29 by such a circumspect author as J.A. Soggin, *Storia d'Israele*, 2nd ed., Brescia 2002, p. 225, who eventually thinks of Solomon. However, royal annals did not yet exist at that time, since even the exact length of Solomon's reign was unknown.

[128] The term *'ŏnī* is a collective notion, while *'ŏniyyā* is a singulative. Cf. E. Strömberg Krantz, *Beiträge zur Erforschung der nautischen Terminologie des Alten Testaments*, Lund 1982, p. 32-33. For this formation of singulatives in Semitic, see Lipiński, *Semitic*, §31.41.

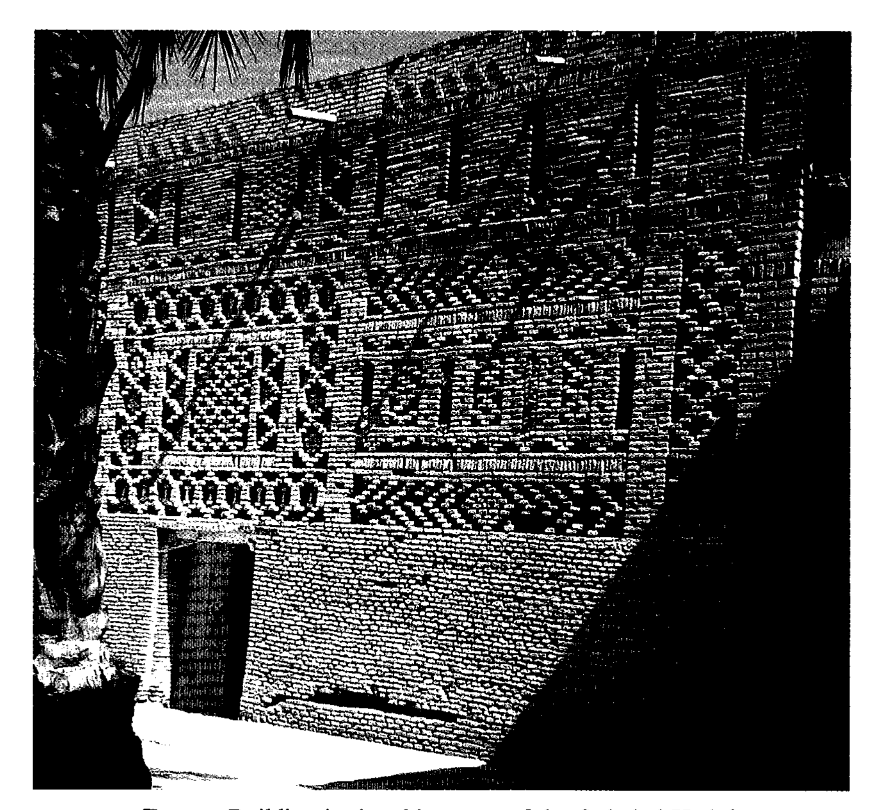
[129] The significance of these stylistic factors is unduly minimized by M. Noth, *Könige* I (Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament IX/1), Neukirchen 1968, p. 207-208, 221. This opinion hinders him from inducing right consequences from his observations on the composition of the passage in question (p. 205-209, 221-222, 227-232).

Codex Alexandrinus and of the *Codex Vaticanus* ναῦν is followed by υπερ ου, which gives no acceptable sense in the present context[130], unless this is read Υπερου, the genitive of the name of Ophir[131] in a form which is not attested elsewhere, but may go back to the oldest shape of the version and provides a vocalization close to *Ifera*. The name is missing here in the Masoretic text, but perfectly suits the heading of a notice, which could be translated as follows: "The king made an Ophir fleet on the shore of the Papyrus Sea and Hiram sent in the fleet his servants, seamen who knew the sea, and they went to Ophir and brought gold from there".

The name of the king was not mentioned in the original notice, but he must have been Ahaz of Judah, if Hiram is Hiram II, king of Tyre[132]. After his submission to Tiglath-pileser III and the latter's campaign against the Philistines in 734 B.C., Ahaz may have received an access to the sea in the area of the Yarkon River, and Hiram II, another tributary of the Assyrian king[133], may have provided seamen for the Ophir expedition, the aim of which was to bring gold badly needed to pay tribute to Tiglath-pileser III. The selective principle, on which the sources of the Books of Kings were used, deprives us of important historical information about the reign of Ahaz. However, the notice on the Ophir enterprise may preserve an extract from the annals of this king of Judah, but linked in the Bible or in one of its sources with the reign of Solomon, since it contained a positive element. The same happened possibly in I Kings 10, 11.

An additional question is raised by the insistent reference of the biblical text to Ezion-Geber as the harbour from which the fleet sailed to Ophir. Since the connection of the story with Solomon cannot antedate the 6th century B.C., it is likely that the biblical redactors were inspired by the reports on attempted circumnavigations of Africa, fashionable around the Persian period. Xerxes I (485-465 B.C.) sent out Sataspes to attempt this voyage from the Pillars of Heracles, but the latter failed in his enterprise[134]. According to Heraclides Ponticus, a certain Μάγος

[130] Cf. D.W. Gooding, *Text-Sequence and Translation-Revision in 3 Reigns IX 10-X 13,* in *Vetus Testamentum* 19 (1969), p. 448-463 (see p. 450-453).
[131] The name must have been written *'pr* in Hebrew, without any *mater lectionis*.
[132] Another Hiram may have reigned at Tyre in the first part of the 8th century B.C.; cf. here above, p. 47-48.
[133] K. Fabritius - A. Fuchs, *Ḫī-rūmu (Ḫiram),* in *PNA* II/1, Helsinki 2000, p. 474b.
[134] Herodotus, *History* IV, 43. Cf. Desanges, *Recherches*, p. 29-33. Σατάσπες is an authentic Old Persian name; cf. M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, Wien 1973, p. 229, No. 8.1472.



Tozeur: Building in the old quarter of the Ouled al-Hadef.

visiting the court of Gelon, tyrant of Gela (*ca.* 540-478 B.C.), claimed to have sailed around Libya successfully[135], while Euthymenes of Massilia was believed to have travelled *ca.* the 5th century B.C. around Africa to the Nile sources in the Ocean[136].

In the 4th century B.C., Ephorus of Cyme (*ca.* 405-330 B.C.) considered the possibility of reaching Cerne, in Africa, by the Red Sea. He knew Hanno's *Periplus*[137] and obviously accepted the latter's reckoning

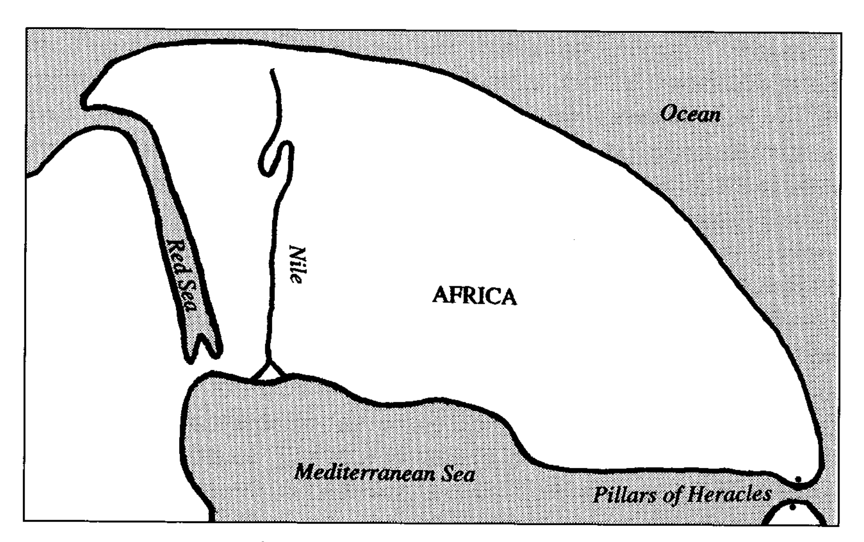
[135] Quoted by Strabo, *Geography* II, 3, 4. Cf. K. Geus, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager* (Studia Phoenicia XIII; OLA 59), Leuven 1994, p. 213.
[136] See Desanges, *Recherches*, p. 17-27. Cf. also R. Werner, *Zum Afrikabild der Antike*, in K. Dietz - D. Hennig - H. Kaletsch (eds.), *Klassisches Altertum, Spätantike und frühes Christentum*, Würzburg 1993, p. 1-36 (see p. 14, n. 30 with references).
[137] G. Schepens, *The Phoenicians in Ephorus' Universal History*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 315-330 (see p. 323-325).

of the distances, as well as his conclusion that Cerne was situated directly below Carthage[138]. Hanno has reached Cerne by the western route, through the Pillars of Heracles. Since Carthage lay approximately in the middle of the Mediterranean, Ephorus considered the feasibility of a journey to Cerne by the eastern route, through the Red Sea, but he concluded that this would be impossible because of the great heat[139].

The best known account is provided by Herodotus, *History* IV, 42, recording pharaoh Necho II's (610-595 B.C.) Phoenician seamen who would have sailed for a voyage around Libya (i.e., Africa) from a harbour on the Red Sea and returned to Egypt in the third year[140]. A similar story may have recorded enterprises of king Solomon. Like Necho, Solomon used Phoenician sailors, who were put at his disposal by king Hiram of Tyre. Like Necho's seamen, they sailed from a port on the Red Sea, viz. Ezion-Geber, near Elat. They were bringing precious lading from their journey once in three years[141], the time Necho's seamen needed to complete their circumnavigation. The Pillars of Heracles are not mentioned in the preserved fragments of the story to the glory of Solomon, but the king's fleet is called "Tarshish fleet" in I Kings 10, 22 and II Chron 9, 21. Moreover, *lāleket 'ōp̱īrā* in Jehoshaphat's episode of I Kings 22, 49 is paralleled by *lāleket Taršīš* in II Chron 20, 36. This implies that the fleet in question was bound for Tarshish, the country in the Far West, where Jonah tried to fly out of reach of the Lord (Jon. 1, 3), beyond the Pillars of Heracles. Necho's seamen had to come back to Egypt while sealing throughout the Mediterranean sea. Solomon's crews were perhaps supposed to sail back around Africa, but the length of this voyage was very likely regarded as equivalent to the crossing of the Mediterranean from the one end to the other.

In fact, Libya (i.e., Africa) was considered, at least until Alexander's time, as a right-angled triangle or trapezoid, with the right angle at the Nile delta or the northern tip of the Red Sea, a short eastern side, and an eventually spherical south-western side or obtuse south-western angle[142]. Since the author of the Book of Jonah, written about the 5th century B.C.[143], still knew that Tarshish was located in the Far West, also the

[138] See here below, p. 462.
[139] Quoted by PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VI, 199; cf. *FGH* II A, §70, Frg. 172.
[140] For an analysis of this account by Herodotus, see DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 7-16.
[141] I Kings 10, 22; II Chron 9, 21. The extra-biblical story may have referred to a single journey that lasted three years.
[142] K. ZIMMERMANN, *Libyen. Das Land südlich des Mittelmeers im Weltbild der Griechen* (Vestigia 51), München 1999, p. 112-127.
[143] It dates from the Persian period, when Jaffa had become a Sidonian harbour (*CIS*



Conception of Africa in Antiquity.

redactors of the Books of Kings and the Chronicler must have known that this country and Ophir could be reached from Ezion-Geber only by sailing around the lands inhabited by the sons of Ham, i.e., Africa. They may have thought that Ophir was the area beyond the Pillars of Heracles, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, to which Herodotus refers reporting how the Carthaginians were acquiring gold from the indigenous population[144]. They did not need to read Herodotus' work. They could have heard such stories in Palestine just like Herodotus did it in Egypt, Cyprus or the Aegean. One of these tales, only summarized by a certain Palaephatos, writing around the 3rd century B.C., presents the Ethiopians living beyond the Pillars of Heracles, on the Atlantic seacoast, as people "rolling in gold": εἰσὶ δὲ σφόδρα χρυσοῖ[145].

The biblical text provides us also with the figure indicating the quantity of gold brought from Ophir. It is uncertain whether this figure belonged to the assumed original notice. At any rate, the Hebrew text of

I, 3 = *KAI* 14 = *TSSI* III, 28, 18-20); cf., for example, W. RUDOLPH, *Joel-Amos-Obadja-Jona* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament XIII/2), Gütersloh 1971, p. 329-330; J. NAVEH - J.C. GREENFIELD, *Hebrew and Aramaic in the Persian Period,* in W.D. DAVIES - L. FINKELSTEIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* I, Cambridge 1984, p. 115-129 (see p. 121).
[144] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 196. Cf. here above, p. 204.
[145] PALAEPHATOS, Περὶ ἀπίστων XXXI, ed. N. FESTA, Leipzig 1902, p. 45-46. On Palaephatos, see DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 45-48.

I Kings 9, 28 reports 420 talents, the parallel account of II Chron 8, 18 gives the amount as 450, while the Septuagint gives it as 120 (III Kings 9, 28), which corresponds to *ca.* 4,100 kg, if we assume that one talent is equal to 3,000 Judaean shekels of 11.4 g. There are no means of determining the original text, but it should be stressed that the last amount is close to figures known from completely different sources.

In 1324 A.D., Mansa ("king") Mūsā, the black sultan of Mali (1312-1337 A.D.), crossed the Sahara on his way to Mecca in a caravan including thirty dromedaries carrying each three *qinṭār* of West African gold-powder[146]. One *qinṭār* corresponds in Syria to 256.4 kg, which is excluded here, to 53.9 kg in Tunis, and to 44.93 kg in Egypt, which is the most likely estimation, since the caravan was first heading for Cairo. This equivalence gives us an amount of 4,043 kg. In 1935, countrymen working on placers in the Guinean district of Siguiri, near the border with Mali, collected more than 3,000 kg of gold[147], and in some year after 732 B.C. Metenna (Mattan II), the successor of Hiram II, paid 150 talents (*ca.* 5,125 kg) of gold as tribute to Tiglath-pileser III[148]. It is not impossible that 120 talents of gold were once brought from Ophir in a single journey.

The other mention of an attempted expedition to Ophir, in I Kings 22, 49-50, is a displaced fragment, attached to the Deuteronomistic summary of the reign of Jehoshaphat. The name of Jehoshaphat in verse 49 was probably an explicative gloss of *melek* in verse 48. It is followed by the incomplete sentence: "ten ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but he did not go for the ships were wrecked (at Ezion-Geber)". The episodes of I Kings 22, 41-51 appear in the *Codex Vaticanus* of the Septuagint at another place, after III Kings 16, 28, and the notice on the failed expedition to Ophir is reported in II Chron. 20, 36-37 in a different way, without mentioning either Ophir or the gold, but quoting a prophetic warning[149]. Josephus Flavius drastically changes the episode

[146] E.-F. GAUTIER, *art. cit.* (n. 118), p. 117; D.C. CONRAD, *Mansa Mūsā,* in *EI* VI, Leiden 1991, p. 406-407. The main report on Mūsā's arrival to Cairo and on his pilgrimage is due to 'UMARĪ, *Masālik al-abṣār* (written in Cairo in 1337/8 A.D.), French translation by M. GAUDEFROY-DEMOMBYNES, *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte*, Paris 1927.

[147] H. LABOURET, *Paysans d'Afrique occidentale*, Paris 1941, p. 220.

[148] *Tigl. III*, p. 170, line 16'. But "50 talents of gold" according to *Tigl. III*, p. 190, line 26'.

[149] It is quite evident here that the Chronicler has also used a source distinct from I Kings 22, contrary to the opinion of T. YAMAGA, *König Joschafat und seine Außenpolitik in den Chronikbüchern,* in *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 27 (2001), p. 59-154 (see p. 145-149.

into an attempt at trading by sea with Pontus and Thrace[150]. Thrace is apparently his interpretation of Tarshish, at least in this passage[151], while Pontus stands apparently for Ophir, probably understood as Phrygia. In fact, a prosthetic *aleph* was used in writing the name of this country in Aramaic, thus *'pryqy'* with initial *'pr*[152]. All the versions of the episode connect it with king Jehoshaphat, who reigned in the mid-9th century B.C. The date, contents, and provenance of the original story are unknown, but it may have belonged to an account of the reign of Jehoshaphat. Of course, no historical expedition to Tarshish or Ophir — even a foiled one — can be linked with this king of Judah[153] for the simple reason that the story implies an anachronistic knowledge of both regions. Besides, the wrecking of the ships points to a different original setting of the story, probably on the Mediterranean, since the area between the coast south of Elat and the 275 metres distant Ğazīrat al-Fara'ūn[154] offers the safest anchorage in the Gulf of Aqaba[155].

How long did the gold from Ophir play a role in the Levant? If we accept an annalistic origin for the Ophir of I Kings 9, 28, dating it from the second half of the 8th century B.C., and consider the mention of Ophir in Gen. 10, 29 as a sign of a certain knowledge of this place in the late 7th century, the only remaining independent attestation of the toponym is provided by the Tell Qasile ostracon from the 8th-7th centuries B.C. The other mentions of Ophir are either depending on I Kings 9, 28 and Gen. 10, 29 or indicate a gold quality[156]. This means that a historically accessible Ophir existed for the Levantines during a short period between *ca.* 750 and 625 B.C. The contact with the site may have been broken as a consequence of the events either in the Near East or on the territory of the Maces occupying this coastal area of Libya.

[150] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* IX, 1, 4, §17.

[151] Instead, it is Tarsus in *Jewish Antiquities* I, 6, 1, §127; VIII, 7, 2, §181; IX, 10, 2, §208.

[152] JASTROW, p. 108-109. It is not likely that Josephus Flavius had the small island of 'Οφιοῦσσα in mind, the present-day Afsia (Avşa Ad.) in the Sea of Marmara, ancient Propontis. Although traces of the καιγε recension have been found in Josephus' work by G. HOWARD, *Kaiγε Readings in Josephus*, in *Textus* 8 (1973), p. 45-54, it is not clear which version of the biblical text Josephus used in this particular passage, possibly one with εις **ωφιρ** γε πορευεσθαι, suggestive of Phrygia. For a survey of older opinions concerning Josephus' biblical text, see P.E. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza*, Oxford 1959, p. 229-235.

[153] The possibility of a historical attempt is nevertheless considered by B.U. SCHIPPER, *Israel und Ägypten in der Königszeit* (OBO 170), Freiburg-Göttingen 1999, p. 182-185.

[154] Grid ref. 133/871.

[155] A. FLINDER, *Is this Solomon's Seaport?,* in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 15 (1989), p. 30-49, in particular p. 39 with 19th-century references quoted there.

[156] Is. 13, 12; Ps. 45, 10; Job 22, 24; 28, 16; I Chron. 29, 4.

CHAPTER VII

TARSHISH

The Tarshish of Scripture is a distant land or port from which sailors brought precious freight to Palestine: gold[1], silver[2], iron, lead, tin (Ez. 27, 12), ivory[3], as well as "knifes and razors"[4], which became "carved and hewn stones" in Greek, λίθων τορευτῶν καί πελεκητῶν, and "apes and peacocks" in Targum Jonathan, *qōpīn ū-ṭwāsīn*[5] (ταώς). In fact, both the Greek and the Aramaic translators did not understand the Hebrew words used in this passage[6], viz. *q(w)pym* and *t(w)kyym*. The first one is attested in Late Babylonian as *quppû* and means "knife"[7], while the second one occurs in Coptic as *tok*[8] and in Demotic as *tk*[9], also with the meaning "knife" or "razor", and without clear Egyptian etymology. Therefore it might be a Semitic loanword. A derivative **qpyt*, "cutlery", is possibly encountered in a Late Punic inscription from Carthage[10], where it is spelt *qpy'* (*-ot* > *-o*[11]) in the professional

[1] I Kings 10, 22; II Chron. 9, 21; cf. I Kings 22, 49; Is. 60, 9. The "gold of Tarshish" is mentioned also on a recently published ostracon: P. BORDREUIL - F. ISRAEL - D. PARDEE, *Deux ostraca paléo-hébreux de la Collection Sh. Moussaieff*, in *Semitica* 46 (1996), p. 49-76, Pls. 7-8; ID., *King's Command and Widow's Plea. Two New Hebrew Ostraca of the Biblical Period*, in *Near Eastern Archaeology* 61 (1998), p. 2-13. However, the inscription is most likely a fake from the second half of the 20th century: A. BERLEJUNG - A. SCHÜLE, *Erwägungen zu den neuen Ostraka aus der Sammlung Moussaieff*, in *ZAH* 11 (1998), p. 68-73; I. EPH'AL - J. NAVEH, *Remarks on the Recently Published Moussaieff Ostraca*, in *IEJ* 48 (1998), p. 269-273.

[2] I Kings 10, 22; II Chron. 9, 21; Jer. 10, 9; Ez. 27, 12; cf. Is. 60, 9.

[3] I Kings 10, 22; II Chron. 9, 21; cf. Ez. 27, 15.

[4] I Kings 10, 22; II Chron. 9, 21.

[5] A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic* II, Leiden 1959, p. 240.

[6] The Greek translator or the revisor of the Septuagint still knew that the Hebrew words referred somehow to cutting.

[7] *AHw*, p. 928b; *CAD*, Q, p. 311-312.

[8] W. WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965-77, p. 226; W. VYCICHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Louvain 1983, p. 212.

[9] W. ERICHSEN, *Demotisches Glossar*, Kopenhagen 1954, p. 659.

[10] The inscription was re-edited by A. FERJAOUI, *À propos d'une inscription funéraire de Carthage*, in *Actes du III^e Congrès international des Études phéniciennes et puniques*, Tunis 1995, Vol. II, p. 7-9, and J. FERRON, *À propos de l'inscription funéraire punique découverte à Carthage en 1924*, in *CEDAC Carthage* 19 (1999), p. 22-26. Both authors suggest an activity related to coinage of money. The word is missing in Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Studia Phoenicia XV; OLA 90), Leuven 2000.

name *b'l qpy'*, apparently "chief cutler", like *b'l ḥrš*, "chief craftsman"[12].

The imports from Tarshish point at their provenance from a country with rich copper and iron ores. Instead, Josephus Flavius, who used I Kings 10, 22 as well, mentions "Ethiopians and monkeys"[13]. His Greek source seems to have related *qpym* to κῆπος, an Ethiopian monkey described independently by Pythagoras, author of a Περὶ τῆς 'Ερυθρᾶς θαλάσσης (3rd century B.C.)[14], and by Agatharchides of Cnidus (2nd century B.C.)[15]. It was identified with the Ethiopian gelada (*Theropithecus*)[16]. This large baboonlike animal, sometimes called lion baboon, possibly suggested the addition of the Ethiopians, unless the original text only referred to "Ethiopian monkeys". Nothing of this can be found in the Hebrew text of I Kings 10, 22, which records the shipment of metallic utensils. Other biblical passages mention "Tarshish ships"[17], but generally do not describe their freight[18].

1. Tarshish in the Mid-First Millennium B.C.

According to Gen. 10, 4 and I Chron. 1, 7, Tarshish belonged to the Mediterranean world, since it is said to be a "son of Yavan" (Ionia, Greece), but the biblical references to Tarshish are vague and apparently contradictory. It is evident, at any rate, that the place was considered in those times as the limit of enterprise to the seafaring peoples of the Levant. This appears in an inscription of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (680-669 B.C.), also in Ps. 72, 10 and Jon. 1, 3. Emphasizing the broad expanse of his power, which through his Phoenician vassals was supposed to reach the western fringe of the Mediterranean world, Esarhaddon states in 673 B.C. that "all the kings from amidst the sea — from Cyprus (*Ia-da-na-na*), Ionia (*Ia-man*), as far as Tarshish (*Tar-si-si*) — bowed to my feet and I received heavy tribute (from them)"[19]. A similar idea is expressed in Ps. 72, 10, where the universality of the royal power is signified by the gifts, which "the kings of Tarshish and of the islands shall bring" from the Far West, and "the kings of Sheba and Saba" from the skirts of the Southern lands, in Yemen and Sudan[20].

The mention of Sheba does not require long comments, since direct contacts are known to have existed between the South Arabian kingdom, Mesopotamia, and Syria-Palestine at least from the early 8th century B.C. onwards. It will suffice to recall here the record kept in the archive of Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur[21], governor of Sūḫu and Mari, or the story of the visit of the queen of Sheba to Solomon (I Kings 10), probably dating from the 8th or 7th century B.C., like the South Arabian inscriptions found in the City of David, Jerusalem[22]. Instead, *Səbā'* can probably be linked with Soba in Sudan, on the east bank of the Blue Nile, some 20 km above Khartoum. The origins of Soba are so far unknown, but the remains of a Hathor temple, the inscribed ram from the 2nd century A.D., two Napatan-type scarabs, and some pottery leave little doubt that there was a settlement there in Late Meroitic times. Since Meroë, some 200 km to the north, was from the reign of Aspalta (*ca.* 593-568 B.C.) the southern cap-

[11] Cf. J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Roma 1999, p. 150, §229.

[12] *DNWSI*, p. 408.

[13] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* VIII, 7, 2, §181. See also here below, p. 262.

[14] His work is lost, but the passage in question is quoted by AELIAN, *On the Characteristics of Animals* XVII, 8. Cf. also PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VIII, 70 and 216. On Pythagoras, see DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 278-279.

[15] His work is lost, but the concerned passage is quoted by DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* III, 35, 6, and PHOTIUS, *Bibliotheca* 250, 75; cf. *GGM* I, p. 160, §75.

[16] D. WÖLK, *Agatharchides of Knidos: Über das Rote Meer. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Bamberg 1966, p. 180.

[17] Is. 2, 16; 23, 1.14; 60, 9 (mention of silver and gold); Ez. 27, 25; Jon. 1, 3; II Chron. 9, 21; 20, 36-37.

[18] Tarshish is also mentioned in Gen. 10, 4; Is. 23, 6; 66, 19; Ez. 38, 13; Jon. 4, 2; Ps. 48, 8; 72, 10; I Chron. 1, 7. The biblical texts referring to Tarshish are analyzed, among others, by G. BUNNENS, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, Bruxelles-Rome 1979, p. 57-91; J. ALVAR, *Aportaciones al estudio del Tarshish biblico,* in *RSF* 10 (1982), p. 211-230; M. KOCH, *Tarschisch und Hispanien* (Madrider Forschungen 14), Berlin 1984, p. 9-101; A. PADILLA, *Consideraciones sobre il Tarsis biblico,* in *Aula Orientalis* 12 (1994), p. 51-71. Beside the place name, there is a precious stone ("chrysolith"?) called *taršīš* and a possibly related personal name; cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *taršīš,* in *ThWAT* VIII, Stuttgart 1995, col. 778-781.

[19] R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO. Beih. 9), Graz 1956, p. 86, §57, lines 10-11. For *Iaman*, "Ionia", see J.A. BRINKMAN, *The Akkadian Word for "Ionia" and "Ionian"*, in R.F. SUTTON (ed.), *Daidalikon. Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder*, Wauconda, Ill., 1989, p. 53-70. A proper understanding of Esarhaddon's text and of its Phoenician connotations is missing in M.E. AUBET, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade*, Cambridge 1993, s. 178.

[20] For the location of Sheba and Soba, see E. LIPIŃSKI, *Les Chamites selon Gen 10, 6-10 et 1 Chr 1, 8-16*, in *ZAH* 5 (1992), p. 135-162 (see p. 141-142 and 147-149). The earliest royal tombs of Cush, at El-Kurru, display knowledge of Egypt before Piye (8th century B.C.). The existence of the Napatan kingdom does not need to go back to the second millennium B.C., as argued by L. TÖRÖK, *The Kingdom of Kush*, Leiden 1997, to be echoed in the Bible, especially in the Psalms, the dating of which is a difficult and controversial question. Even an allusion to the beginnings of the Meroitic kingdom is not impossible.

[21] A. CAVAIGNAUX - B.Kh. ISMAIL, *Die Statthalter von Suḫu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr.*, in *BaM* 21 (1990), p. 321-456 and Pls. 35-38 (see p. 346-347 and 417, No. 2, col. IV, 26-38), and *RIMB* II, text S.0.1002.2, col. IV, 26-38.

[22] Y. SHILOH, *South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David, Jerusalem*, in *PEQ* 119 (1987), p. 9-18.

ital of the Cushite kings of Napata, it stands to reason that the kingdom of Cush at the height of its power must have had some settlement near the junction of the two Niles, and where more likely than at Soba? But if so, remains from that time are yet to be discovered and they may well exist in this extensive site or its neighbourhood. At any rate, the name of Soba should neither be linked with the Sobat River in Southern Sudan[23], nor be related to the Libyco-Berber tribe *(I-)s-b-t(-n)*, called *'I-s-b-t-w* in Papyrus Harris I, 77, 3 and Ἀσβῆται by Greek writers[24].

Contacts between Phoenicia and the northern part of the kingdom of Cush existed in the 8th century B.C., as shown by some pottery and by a Phoenician sculpted bronze bowl discovered at Sanam, in the Gebel Barkal[25]. Phoenicians were certainly interested in purchasing tusks of elephants. Now, elephants were appearing from Ṣamna southwards according to Bion, who visited the region in the 3rd century B.C. and noticed their occurrence from *Zamnes* on[26]. One cannot prove that there were direct contacts already in the 8th century B.C., but the existing relations may have sufficed to spread the information that the kings of Napata were ruling in Nubia as far as Soba. Such Phoenician connections make it seem probable that the Sudanese Soba is alluded to in Ps. 72, 10. A Phoenician source lies also behind the reference to Tarshish in the Far West.

As for Jonah, who tried to escape from his mission to Nineveh by flying in the opposite direction, as far as he could, out of reach of the Lord, he went at Jaffa on board of a ship bound for Tarshish (Jon. 1, 3). Since the renowned Pillars of Heracles were considered in Antiquity as the limits of enterprise to seafaring peoples of the Mediterranean world, this was obviously the region, which Jonah had hoped to reach. In fact, the Pillars of Heracles were the gate to Gades, founded by Phoenician entrepreneurs in the 8th century B.C., as well as to the mining district of the Huelva Province and to the rich Baetis (Guadalquivir) valley[27].

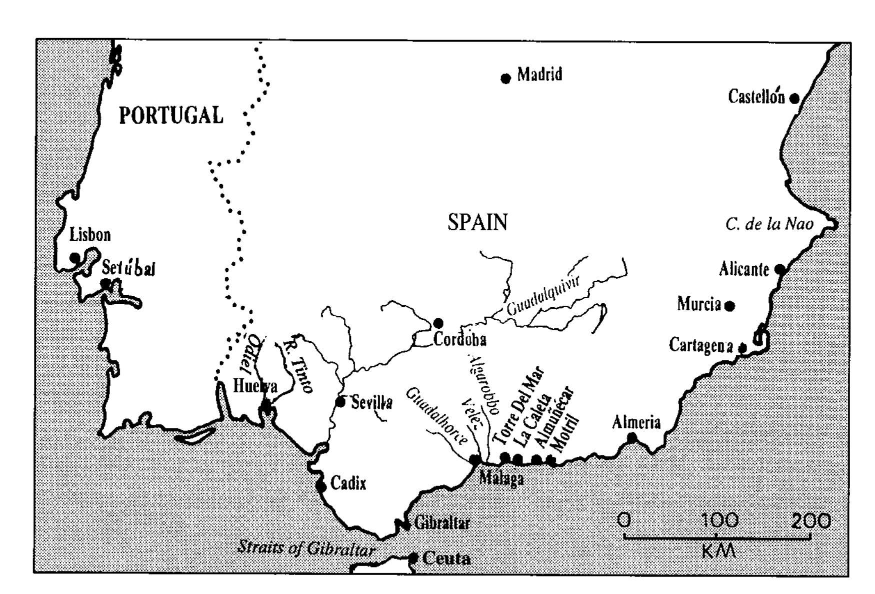
[23] Instead, Astasobas of Classical authors is probably the "Soba River", i.e. the Blue Nile joining the White Nile just below Soba. This explanation is already proposed by A. DILLMANN, *Über die Anfänge des Axumitischen Reiches*, in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1878, Berlin 1879, p. 177-238 (see p. 184 and 225). The element *asta* seems indeed to mean "river": DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 313, n. 32; ID., *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta minora*, Paris 1999, p. 280 with n. 8.

[24] See W. VYCICHL, rev. in *BiOr*34 (1977), p. 44.

[25] A. LOHWASSER, *Eine phönizische Bronzeschale aus dem Sudan*, in *Ägypten und Levante* 12 (2002), p. 221-234.

[26] BION, quoted by PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VI, 180.

[27] R. THOUVENOT, *Essai sur la province romaine de Bétique* (BÉFAR 149), Paris 1940, p. 47.



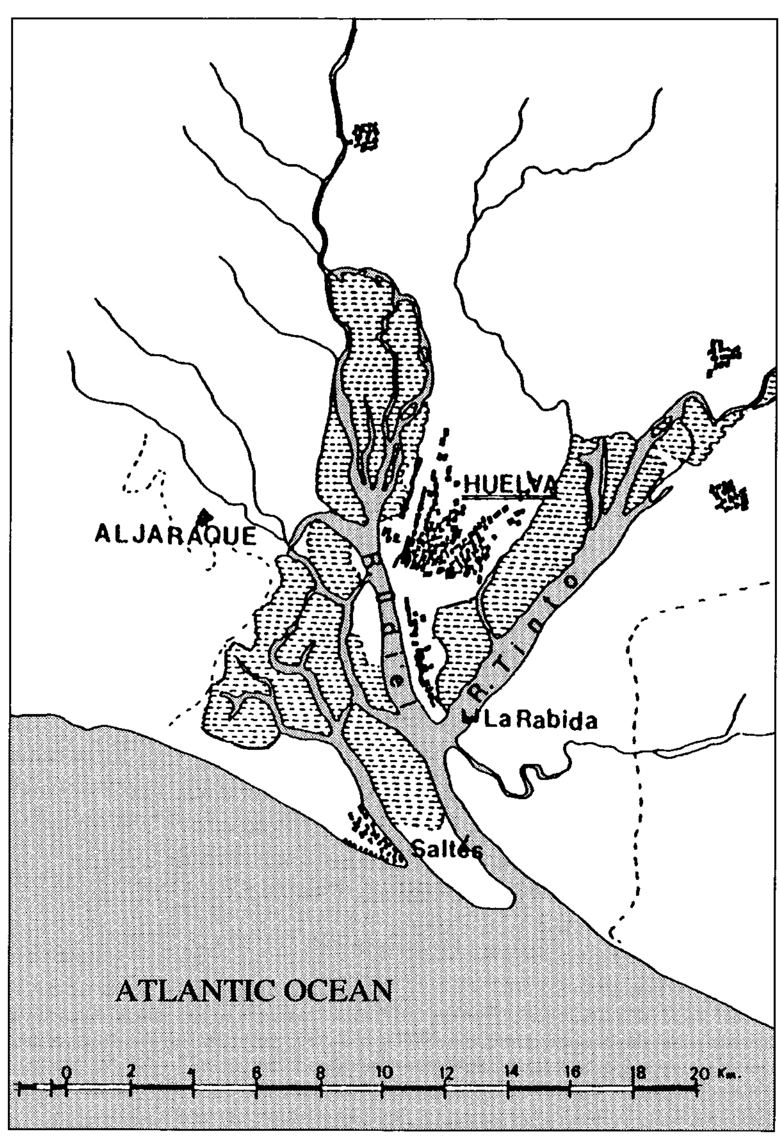
The South of Spain and Portugal.

In Greek sources, this area is called Tartessus[28], regarded by some as properly the name of a country rather than a town[29]. The statements of early Greek writers to the contrary are nevertheless too positive to be disregarded. Tartessus is called ἐμπόριον by Herodotus in the passage narrating the adventurous voyage of a Greek sailing ship from Samos, which was driven by storm past the Pillars of Heracles. The Samians "at last reached Tartessus. This trading-town (ἐμπόριον) was untouched (ἀκήρατον) at that time, and they in consequence made a greater profit, when they had returned home, than any Greeks before their day"[30]. This event supposedly took place about 670-650 B.C. During the century

[28] HERODOTUS, *History* I, 163; IV, 152.192; etc. Greek and Latin sources have been collected by J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ, *Fuentes griegas y romanas referentes a Tartessos*, in *Tartessos y sus problemas*, Barcelona 1969, p. 91-110. A systematic repertory of all the ancient literary references to Tarshish and Tartessus is presented by Mª.M. MYRO, *Los enígmas de Tarteso: apéndices documentales*, in J. ALVAR - J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ (eds.), *Los enígmas de Tarteso*, Madrid 1993, p. 201-246 (see p. 204-214), and a study of the Greek navigation beyond the Pillars of Heracles is provided by L. ANTONELLI, *I Greci oltre Gibilterra* (Hesperia 8), Roma 1997. See also YU.B. TSIRKIN, *Ancient Spain* (in Russian), Moscow 2000, especially p. 35-54, 67-71, 78-84, 101-106, and 310-315, 318-319, 321-322, 326-327 (footnotes); M. BLECH - P. BARCELÓ, *Tartessos*, in *Der Neue Pauly* 12/1, Stuttgart-Weimar 2002, col. 39-40.

[29] A detailed discussion is provided by M. KOCH, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 103-138.

[30] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 152.



Huelva according to *Huelva Arqueológica* 5 (1981), p. 153.

thereafter, Tartessus was certainly frequented by trading vessels of the Greeks of Phocaea, in the Bay of Smyrna, and the place was regarded as a town by their later neighbour, Ephorus of Cyme (*ca.* 405-330 B.C.), quoted by Pseudo-Scymnos and Strabo[31]. This was also the conviction of Polybius, quoted by Stephen of Byzantium[32], and of later writers, who could not be, all of them, mistaken on such a point. There was, at least, a town, which was named Tartessus by Greek sailors who gave it the name of an important river of southern Spain, where it was located. In fact, the earliest source, which is Stesichorus (632/29-553/3 B.C.), only mentions a river Tartessus[33] and the old source translated by Avienus only knows a river bearing that name[34]. At any rate, the town in question was not Gades, for Ephorus mentions both cities; it was not Carteia, for Tartessus lay west of Gades, while Carteia lay east of it. According to Ephorus, it was distant two days of sailing from Gades[35]. This represents no more than 100 km and brings us to Huelva, the ancient *Onoba*, *Onuba* or *Onuba Aestuaria*[36].

Tartessus was believed to have occupied, as Strabo writes, a peninsula formed by the double estuary of the river, like present-day Huelva, built on the triangular peninsula formed by the navigable estuaries of Odiel and Tinto, which meet below the town. Stesichorus calls the sources of the Tartessus river "silver sources"[37], pointing precisely at Riotinto and its lead-silver mines, some 80 km north of Huelva[38]. These

[31] Pseudo-Scymnos, *Periplus* 161-164, in *GGM* I, p. 201; Strabo, *Geography* III, 2, 11.

[32] Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, ed. A. Meineke, *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, Berlin 1849, s.v. Ταρσήϊον.

[33] Stesichorus, *Geryoneis*, quoted by Strabo, *Geography* III, 2, 11; cf. E. Diehl (ed.), *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, 3[rd] ed., Leipzig 1949-52, Frg. 4; G.P. Goold, *Greek Lyric* III, Cambridge, Mass., 1991, p. 65. New papyrus fragments of Stesichorus were published by M.W. Haslam et al., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* LVII, London 1990, No. 3876, p. 1-45, Pls. I-II.

[34] Avienus, *Ora Maritima* 225 and 284, ed. J.P. Murphy, *Rufus Festus Avienus: Ora Maritima*, Chicago 1977, p. 16 and 20. The two verses identifying Tartessus with Gades (v. 85 and 269) are obviously spurious and do not belong to an older source, as noticed already by Gsell, *HAAN* I, p. 406, n. 2. However, the identification of Tartessus with Gades occurs already in Cicero, *On Old Age* 19.

[35] See above, n. 31.

[36] A. Tovar, *Iberische Landeskunde* II/1. *Baetica*, Baden-Baden 1974, p. 62-64.

[37] Stesichorus, *Geryoneis*, see above n. 33 and *GGM* I, p. 201, lines 161-166.

[38] The main silver producing area in south-western Spain is the district of Riotinto with the sites of Cerro Salomón and Tejada la Vieja. Mining started there in the 9[th] century B.C. and continued until the 6[th] century B.C. This earliest mining activity is described by B. Rothenberg - A. Blanco Freijeiro, *Studies in Ancient Mining and Metallurgy in South-West Spain*, London 1981. See also J.A. Macías Pérez, *Metalurgia extractiva prerromana en Huelva*, Huelva 1996.

are the reasons why an increasing number of authors located Tartessus at Huelva[39].

The beginnings of the settlement on the San Pedro hill at Huelva are characterized by a material culture of the Late Bronze Age and go back to the 10th century[40]. The first contacts with the Mediterranean world can be dated to the 9th century. They grew gradually in the 8th-7th centuries, when Huelva became a flourishing place, expanding to other hills (La Esperanza, Molino del Viento) and to the seashore (Puerto 6). It had important trade relations with Hispano-Phoenician settlements, which prompted the development of the so-called "Orientalizing" civilization of southern Spain. The prosperity brought by the rich lead-silver mines of the area[41] allowed Huelva's population to acquire Oriental luxurious objects, as shown by the funerary deposits of the necropolis La Joya from the 7th century B.C. Yet, there seems to have been no Phoenician colony at the site, although such settlements have been founded much further on the Atlantic coast, especially at Abul (Portugal)[42], on a promontory shaped as a peninsula in the estuary of the Sado, near Setúbal. This small Phoenician emporium was established before the mid-7th century B.C., but was abandoned in the first half of the 6th century, although the nearby sanctuary still existed in the 5th century. At Huelva, the period of 600-550 is characterized by an increase of East Greek pottery, probably brought

[39] A. García y Bellido, *Tartessos pudo estar donde está ahora la isla de Saltés, en el estuario de Huelva*, in *AEArq* 17 (1944), p. 191-195; J.M. Luzón, *Tartessos y la Ría de Huelva*, in *Zephyrus* 13 (1962), p. 97-104; J.Mª. Blázquez, *Tartessos y los origines de la colonización fenicia en Occidente*, 2nd ed., Salamanca 1975, p. 226-229; J.P. Garrido Roiz, *El problema de Tartessos en relación con la región onubense*, in *Revue des Études Ligures* 33 (1967) = *Hommage à Fernand Benoit* I, Bordighera 1972, p. 354-360; J. Fernández Jurado, *La orientalización de Huelva*, in Mª.E. Aubet (ed.), *Tartessos. Arqueología protohistorica del Bajo Guadalquivir*, Sabadell 1989, p. 339-373.

[40] This summary presentation is based on D. Herrera, *Huelva*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 220-221, with literature. A large bibliography concerning the archaeological excavations at Huelva has been collected by C.J. Pérez in *Aula Orientalis* 4 (1986), p. 324-327. See also the contributions to *Tartessos y Huelva* = *Huelva Arqueológica* 10-11 (1988-89), and add the Phoenician graffiti datable around the 7th century B.C.: M. Heltzer, in F. Gonzáles de Canales - L. Serrano, *Consideraciones en torno al Tarteso griego y al Tarsis de Salomón con motivo de unos grafitos hallados en Huelva*, in *Revista de Arqueología* 16/175 (1995), p. 8-17 (see p. 11-12).

[41] See here above, p. 231, n. 38.

[42] F. Mayet - M.C. Tavares da Silva, *L'établissement phénicien d'Abul (Portugal)*, in *CRAI* 1994, p. 171-188; Id. - Id., *Le site phénicien d'Abul (Portugal). Comptoir et sanctuaire*, Paris 2000; Id. - Id., *L'atelier d'amphores d'Abul (Portugal)*, Paris 2002. See also *Estudos Orientais* IV. *Os Fenicio no territorio português*, Lisboa 1993. According to M. Sznycer, *Une ancienne inscription phénicienne découverte à Abul (Portugal)*, in *Semitica* 50 (2001), p. 226-228, the Phoenician letters of the inscription *l-Krhn*[? or *l-Kdhn*[? would represent a Lusitanian personal name.

by the Phocaeans who challenged the Phoenician commercial influence. In fact, the amount of Oriental imports decreased in the 6th century, when the small emporium of Abul came to an end, possibly due also to the situation in Syro-Phoenicia under Babylonian rule. Huelva gradually decayed in this period and entered an obscure phase of its history, which lasted from *ca.* 550 to 400 B.C., when Greek imports started to appear again, apparently as a result of Carthaginian expansive trade.

The legend of the foundation of Gades, reported by Strabo[43], implies that the Phoenicians intended initially to establish themselves on an island in front of Onoba (Huelva). The distance of 1,500 stadia or 277.5 km from the Pillars of Heracles, given by Strabo, corresponds quite well to the sailing distance from the Straits to Huelva. The island in question could only be Saltés[44], but this attempt did not succeed.

It has little importance for our subject whether Tarshish was first the name of the river, of the town or of the region. Archaeological data and legends seem to indicate that the area of Huelva was the main centre of interest for the Phoenicians on the Atlantic coast of southwest Spain. From this area the name was then extended to other parts of Andalusia or Baetica.

The identification of the Tarshish of Scripture with Tartessus occurs first in Hippolytus' *Chronicle* of history from Creation to A.D. 234[45]. This Roman presbyter, who died in exile in Sardinia (*ca.* 236) under Maximinus' persecution, was a quite erudite literary man who conserved valuable philosophical and historiographic fragments of earlier writers. More precise was the location of Tarshish in Baetica, stated in a Late Roman lexicon: Θαρσεῖς ἡ Βαιτική[46]. Christian humanism later influenced the interpretation of the Old Testament and, in the 16th-17th centuries, induced J. Van Gorp (1518-1572), a court physician of Philip II, to identify the Tarshish of the Bible with the Tartessus of the Greek classical writers, as appears from his posthumous work *Hispania*, published in 1580. He was followed by J. de Pineda (1557-1637) and R. Caro, both from Seville, and by J.B. Suárez de Salazar from Cádiz[47]. The same con-

[43] Strabo, *Geography* III, 5, 5. Ephorus of Cyme, in *FGH* II A, §70, Frg. 129b, understood that the foundation of Gades was related to the metal ore deposits in neighbouring Tartessus.

[44] A. Schulten, in *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae*, Barcelona 1922 ff., Vol. VI, p. 163.

[45] R. Helm (ed.), *Hippolytus: Werke* IV. *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (GCS 46), 2nd ed., Berlin 1956, §71.

[46] F. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra. Untersuchungen zum Liber Interpretationis Nominum Hebraicorum des Hl. Hieronymus* (Texte und Untersuchunggen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 41 = 3rd ser., 11/1-2), Leipzig 1914-15, p. 195-196, 697, 722. See also R. Helm, *op. cit.* (n. 45).

[47] J. Alvar, *El descubrimiento de la presencia fenicia en Andalucia*, in F. Gascó - J.

clusion was reached a few years later by Samuel Bochart (1559-1667), an erudite Orientalist and pastor, whose *Geographia Sacra* was first published in 1646[48]. However, owing to the biblical accounts, especially in II Chron. 20, 36-37, Bochart admitted the existence of a second *Tharsis*, that could be reached from the Gulf of Elat: *alia Tharsis... in Oceano Indico, ad quam contendebant naves profectae ex Esiongaber*. He could not be aware in his time that no historical value should be attached to these biblical passages in their actual setting and context. Neither did he compare these accounts with the story of the circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician sailors sent by Necho II from a harbour on the Red Sea[49].

2. The Nora Stone

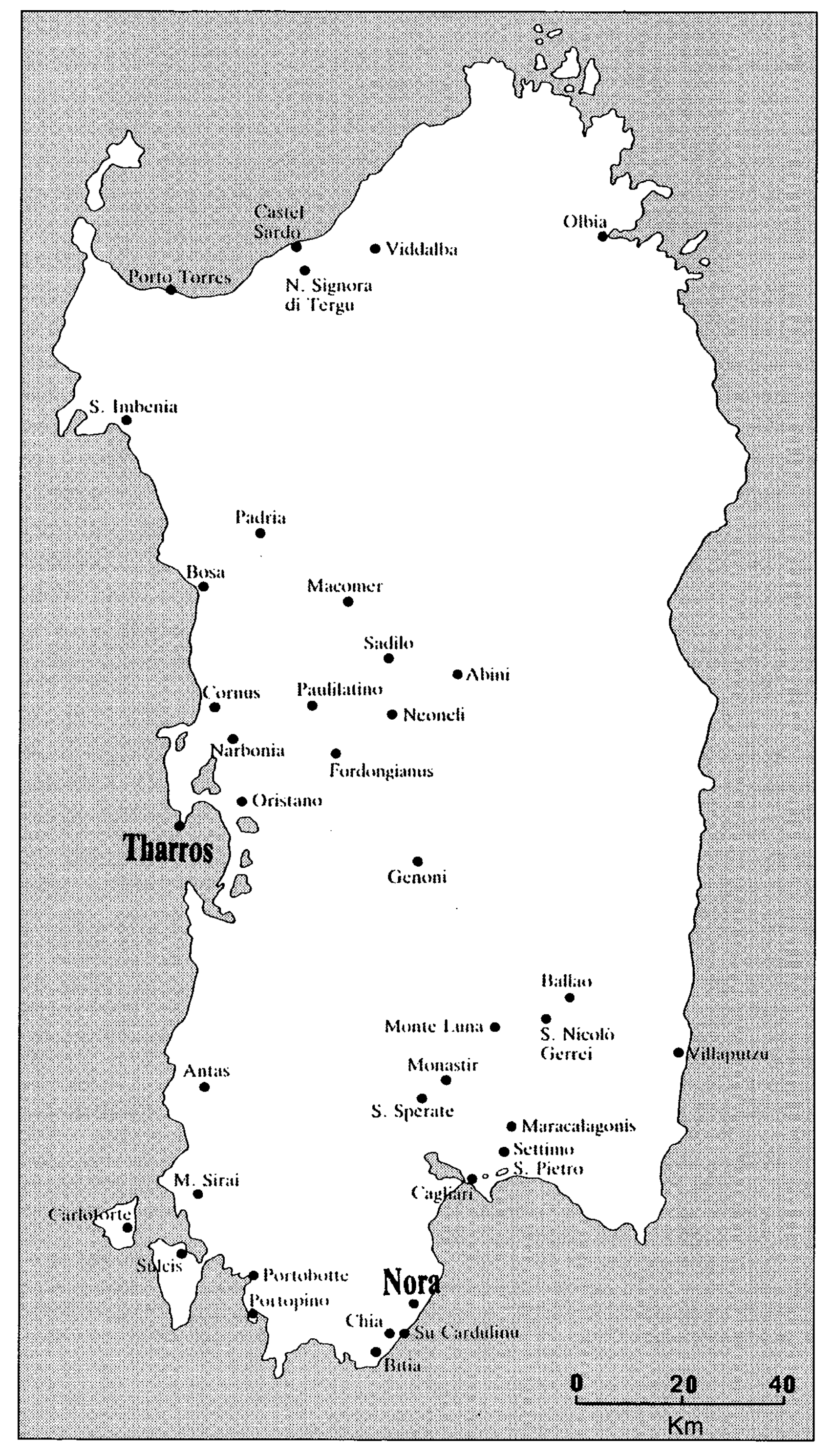
Van Gorp's, de Pineda's, and Bochart's identification of Tarshish with Tartessus is so more remarkable, as they did not know the Phoenician stele from Nora, a site at the south-western tip of Sardinia. This stele, dating from the end of the 9th century or the first half of the 8th century B.C., provides the earliest attestation of the name of Tarshish, written — as expected — *tršš* and correctly recognized by G.-A. Arri as early as 1834[50]. The discovery of the stele in 1773 was purely fortuitous,

BELTRÁN (eds.), *El pasado como argumento*, Sevilla 1994, p. 153-169. J. de Pineda's work was first published in 1609: J. DE PINEDA, *Salomon praevius, id est de rebus Salomonis regis libri octo* (1st ed., Lyon 1609), 2nd ed., Moguntiae (Mainz a/R) 1613, p. 217 ff., 243 ff.; cf. P. SCHAUER, *Orient im spätbronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Occident. Kulturbeziehungen zwischen der Iberischen Halbinsel und dem Vorderen Orient während des späten 2. und des ersten Drittel des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, in *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* 30 (1983), p. 175-194 (see p. 176). J. de Pineda was followed by J.B. SUÁREZ DE SALAZAR, *Grandeza y antigüedades de la isla y ciudad de Cádiz*, Cádiz 1610, and a few years later by R. CARO, *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustríssima ciudad de Sevilla y Chorographía de su Convento iurídico o antigua chancilleria*, Sevilla 1634.

[48] S. BOCHART, *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Chanaan. Geographiae Sacrae pars prior. Phaleg seu de dispersione gentium et terrarum*, 2nd ed. by P. DE VILLEMANDY, Lugduni Batavorum (Leiden) 1674, p. 188-194 (Cap. VII: Tharsis).

[49] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 42.

[50] G.-A. ARRI, *Lapide fenicia di Nora, in Sardegna*, in *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* 38 (1834), p. 590 ff.; ID., *De lingua Phoenicum*, in *Memorie della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, 2nd ser., 1 (1838), p. 351-384, Pl. I. An excellent study and survey of the research about the Nora Stone and Tarshish is provided by G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 30-41 and 331-348. Instead, this essential monument referring to Tarshish is not taken into account by M. KOCH, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 103, n. 1, because of the certainly incorrect reading *bt rš š* proposed by G. (W.) GESENIUS, *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta*, Leipzig 1837, p. 154, but impossible in the 9th-8th centuries B.C. The earliest examples of a spelling *rš* instead of *r'š* occur in the second half of the 4th century B.C. in the legend *r'š mlqrt* or *rš mlqrt* of Siculo-Punic tetradrachms.



Sardinia.

but it excited a continuous interest and generated a large number of studies. Summing up their results we can state nowadays that the Nora Stone — as it is often called — is neither a fragment of a public decree covering the face of several stones[51], nor a commemorative inscription of a victorious Phoenician general[52], but a thanksgiving monument dedicated by a high official to the god Pummay. It exhibits a series of letter forms that need not have been carved before the end of the 9th century B.C. and this is consonant with the archaeological data showing that the earliest documented appearance of the Phoenicians in Sardinia is to be placed in the second half of the 9th or in the early 8th century B.C.[53], the period to which also the so-called Nora Fragment should be dated[54]. There is no material evidence that their ships had come even as far as the Aegean before the 10th century B.C. and Cypriot bronzework, supposedly from the 11th-10th centuries like some tripod-stands, need not have been brought to Sardinia and Spain before the 9th century, when they were no longer fashionable on Cyprus. Any earlier dating should be confirmed by the presence of some Cypriot pottery from the period concerned. Now, typical Cypriot pottery of the 11th century B.C. — the Proto-White Painted ware — is lacking even on Crete and Cypriot pottery is still very rare there in the 10th century B.C., showing that contacts in the eastern Mediterranean were then much reduced[55].

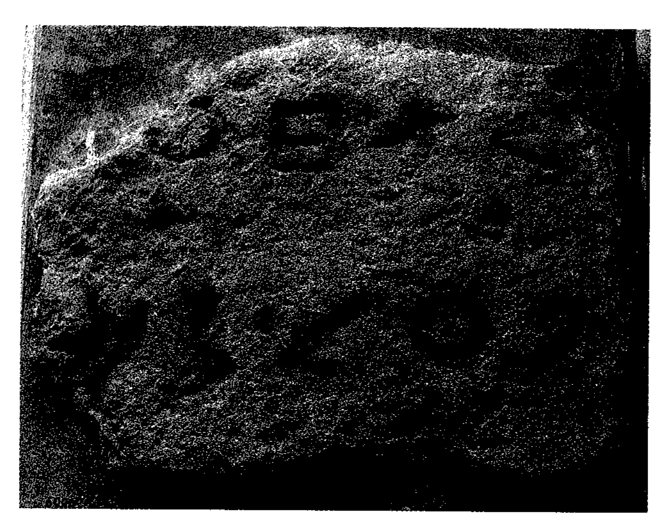
[51] This opinion, based on an inaccurate examination of the stele, was held by W.F. ALBRIGHT, *The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization*, in G.E. WRIGHT (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, New York 1961, p. 328-362 (see p. 346-347 and 360, n. 95a); ID., *Syria, the Philistines, and Phoenicia*, in *CAH* II/2, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1975, p. 507-536 (see p. 523). It is wrongly attributed there to B. MAZAR, *The Philistines and the Rise of Israel and Tyre* (Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities I/7), Jerusalem 1964, p. 17 ff.

[52] The reading *mlktn bn šbn ngd lpmy*, "Milkatōn, son of Šubnā (Shebna), general of (king) Pummay", was proposed by F.M. CROSS, *An Interpretation of the Nora Stone*, in *BASOR* 208 (1972), p. 13-19. This interpretation is based on the erroneous reading *d* of the last letter in line 7. This letter is quite different from the triangular *d* of line 3 and has a tail like the *r* of lines 1, 2, 3. Besides, the abridged name *mlktn* does not appear before the Late Punic period (see below, n. 58-60), a genitival function is attributed to the preposition *l*, like in Late Punic, and the king is supposed to be mentioned without his royal title and with a name reduced to the theonym Pummay, for which see LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 297-306.

[53] The available information did not change the basic conclusions of the well-known state of art by F. BARRECA, *La Sardegna fenicia e punica*, Sassari 1974, p. 17-24.

[54] See E. LIPIŃSKI, *Nora Fragment*, in *Mediterraneo Antico* 2 (1999), p. 667-671, and the photograph kindly provided by G. Bunnens.

[55] These factors are not taken into consideration by J.P. CRIELAARD, *Surfing on the Mediterranean Web: Cypriot Long-distance Communications during Eleventh and Tenth Centuries B.C.*, in V. KARAGEORGHIS - N.C. STAMPOLIDIS (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete, 16th-6th century B.C.*, Athens 1998, p. 187-206.



Nora Fragment (*CIS* I, 145): *[z]'t.ḥt / [w]p'l.nk/*[...]
(Cagliari, National Archaeological Museum. Photo: G. Bunnens).

A careful examination of the Nora Stone has shown that only a few initial lines of the inscription are lost[56]. The remaining eight lines allude to a peril on sea and record the final salvage of ship and crew. The loss of the beginning of the inscription does not allow deciding whether passengers and crew went "in Tarshish" on board of the ship bound for the Levant or whether they had to land "in Tarshish", coming from the eastern Mediterranean. At any rate, the ship held its course, heading for Sardinia, which was safely reached. The island was not the final goal of the journey, but its name and geographical position on one of the sea routes were known to the sailors. Its mention (*b-šrdn*) appears here in antithesis to Tarshish (*b-tršš*), underscoring the distinction between the two places. Therefore the obsolete hypothesis identifying Tarshish with Nora itself or with Tharros[57], on the western coast of Sardinia, can be simply

[56] Nothing is missing on the sides of the stele, not even on its left side, as shown by the free space at the end of line 6, insufficient for the engraving of the following *š*. Cf. M.G. GUZZO AMADASI, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente* (Studi semitici 28), Roma 1967, p. 84-85.

[57] The identification of Tarshish with Tharros was first proposed by W.W. COVEY-CRUMP, *The Situation of Tarshish*, in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 17 (1916), p. 280-290. He was referring in particular to the name of the Tirso River, ancient Thyrsus, in front of which Tharros is located. Covey-Crump's hypothesis was taken over by W.F. Albright, who complemented it by W. Gesenius' hypothetical etymology deriving *taršīš* from *ršš*. See here below, p. 251-252.

dismissed: Tarshish must have been a land or a harbour situated to the west of Sardinia. This understanding of the inscription is based on its eight preserved lines:

1) *btršš*	"in Tarshish,
2) *wgrš h'*	and he was driven
3) *bšrdn š*	in Sardinia.
4) *lm h' šl*	He is safe. Safe
5) *m ṣb' m*	is the crew of the
6) *lkt nbn*	'Queen'. Structure
7) *š bn ngr*	which the herald has built
8) *lpmy*	for Pummay".

The prepositional phrase *btršš* followed by a new sentence beginning with the conjunction *w-* and the pronoun *h'* in line 2 indicate that at least a verb, as well as the name and/or the title of the person in charge are lost. It must have been the *ngr* who set up the shrine for the god Pummay (lines 7-8). Considering the width of the lines, each with only five or six letters, it is quite probable that two lines or more are lost on top of the stele.

The understanding of the inscription depends mainly on the meaning of the verb *gurraš* and of the nouns *ṣaba'* and *nāgir*. The verb *garaš* does not occur in other Phoenician texts, but it is known from Ugaritic and Hebrew literature. The former reading *ngrš* instead of *wgrš* was based on the modern tracing with red chalk for display purposes, in which the right side of the letter's semi-circular head was not marked. The form *grš* must be interpreted as a pu'al form, which in Hebrew denotes people being chased away (Ex. 12, 39; Job 30, 5). The nif'al, the meaning of which is often close to the pu'al, refers in Hebrew to the sea that "swells" (Is. 50, 20a; Am. 8, 8) or to someone who "is carried off" by the waves (Jon. 2, 5a). The latter connotation seems to match the use of the pu'al on the Nora Stone quite well, the more so because Phoenician pu'al often has a passive meaning[58].

The noun *ṣb'* is not attested so far in other Phoenician texts, but in Ugaritic it may designate the crew of a ship[59]. Therefore, the following word *mlkt* either means *milkkittī*, "king of Citium", with a *sandhi*

[58] Z.S. HARRIS, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (AOS 8), New Haven 1936, p. 42.

[59] *KTU* 4.40, 1.7.10. The same meaning occurs in Akkadian texts from Ugarit: RS. 20.212, line 22', published by J. NOUGAYROL, in *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, No. 33, p. 106, lines 21'-22'; RS. 19.46, line 20, in ID., *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* VI, Paris 1970, No. 138, line 20.



Nora Stone (*CIS* I, 144).
(Cagliari, National Archaeological Museum. Photo: G. Bunnens).

spelling like in one of the Citium inscriptions[60], or represents the name of the ship called "Queen", since "ship" (*'nyt*) is a feminine noun. As *ṣb'* in this context does not mean "army" but "crew", while the existence of a king of Citium in the 9th-8th centuries B.C. is doubtful, the latter interpretation is to be preferred in the present state of our knowledge[61]. At any rate, a proper name *mlktn*[62] cannot be read here for two reasons. First, this exceptional syncopated form of *Milkyaton* occurs only in Late Punic[63] and Neo-Punic[64], and second, the *n* is needed in the next sentence *nbn š bn*, where *nbn* is the participle nif'al *nibnē* of *bny*, found also in I Chron. 22, 19, but used here as a substantive, like other Phoenician participles, also the passive participle[65].

The noun *nāgiru* designates an official at Ugarit, dealing as a rule also with ships coming from abroad[66]. He seems to have acted as tax collector, like earlier at Mari[67]. In Neo-Assyrian texts, instead, the *nāgiru* of

[60] M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Fouilles de Kition* III. *Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977, No. A1, line 1. The spelling *mlkty* with final *y* is attested *ibid.*, line 2.

[61] Ships were receiving proper names in Antiquity, like *Alexandreia* of Hieron II or *Isis* in the 2nd century A.D. Several names of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman ships are known: J. & L. ROBERT, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1956, No. 3; 1967, No. 683; L. CASSON, *Sea and Seamanship in the Ancient World,* Princeton 1971, p. 348-360 and 439-441; D. JONES, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, London 1988, p. 231-239. In this hypothesis, "Queen" would be the first known name of a Phoenician ship; but cf. below, p. 255.

[62] This interpretation was first proposed by F. BENARY, who was reading "Malchiten": *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 2 (1839), col. 539-583, 585-596. This opinion was revived in the mid-20th century by authors regarding *mlkt* as an abbreviation of *mlkytn*; see the references given by A. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 36, n. 29 and 33.

[63] *CIS* I, 5668, 4; 5706, 4. The spelling *mlktn* is so unusual that some authors regarded it as a scribal error: G. HALFF, *L'onomastique punique de Carthage,* in *Karthago* 12 (1963-64), p. 61-146 (see p. 121); BENZ, p. 140.

[64] However, cf. the doubts expressed by JONGELING, *Names*, p. 181 (*mylk'tn*) and 182 (*mlktn*); ID., *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, p. 95. In any case, this unusual and late orthography cannot be anticipated by 500 years!

[65] Z.S. HARRIS, *op. cit.* (n. 58), p. 41.

[66] The cabin of Sinaranu, the shipowner trading with Creta, is exempted by royal privilege from *nāgiru*'s inspection (RS. 16.238, lines 9-15, in J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* III, Paris 1955, p. 107-108, lines 9-15). Cf. L. SASSMANNSHAUSEN, *Funktion und Stellung der Herolde (nigir/*nāgiru*) im Alten Orient,* in *BaM* 26 (1995), p. 85-194 (see p. 135). An administrative text referring to harbour facilities mentions the "*nāgiru*'s compound" (*gt ngr*: *KTU* 4.125, 3). The legend of king Keret, transferring state institutions to the mythical world, mentions the *ngr* of the gods, who acts in his herald's original capacity (*KTU* 1.16, IV, 3). The *nāgiru* is the royal messenger also in Mari texts: *ARM* XXVI, 168 and 323; cf. L. SASSMANNSHAUSEN, *art. cit.*, p. 137-138.

[67] *ARM* XIV, 48, 8-9. J.-M. DURAND, *Les documents épistolaires du palais du Mari* II (LAPO 17), Paris 1997, No. 651, p. 357 (cf. p. 359), translates *nāgiru* here by "huissier".

Elam is a high Elamite dignitary[68]. The title *ngr* occurs also in Punic texts and a *nāgir* was probably surveying commercial transactions in Sardinia at the time of Carthaginian rule. He must appear under the name κήρυξ in the treaty between Rome and Carthage, quoted by Polybius[69]: "Men coming to trade may conclude no business except in the presence of a herald or town-clerk, and the price of whatever is sold in the presence of such shall be secured to the vendor by the State, if the sale take place in Libya or Sardinia".

The proper name of the *nāgir* of the Nora Stone is not given, possibly because he was acting in his official capacity. His name may nevertheless be lost in the first lines of the inscription. The title is not used here with the article, although the text refers from the beginning to the official in question. However, no article appears on the Nora Stone and, at any rate, the article is rarely used in ancient Phoenician inscriptions.

From the literary point of view, it is remarkable that this inscription follows the pattern of thanksgiving psalms. After recalling the danger incurred (*grš*) by the *nāgir* and the crew, the text mentions the final salvage (*šlm*)[70]. Since this is a dedicatory inscription, the account does not end in a praise formula or in a pious expression of the intent of thanking the deity in a sanctuary, as it would be the case in a thanksgiving psalm. It records instead the dedication of a chapel to Pummay, whose name is mentioned in the last line. The structure of this sentence exactly parallels the Phoenician-Punic dedicatory formulas, that follow a well-established pattern: 1) the name of the dedicated object (*nbn*); 2) the relative pronoun referring to this object (*š*); 3) the verb (*bn*); 4) the designation of the dedicator (*ngr*); 5) the name of the recipient, introduced by the preposition *l* (*lpmy*)[71]. In more recent dedicatory inscriptions from

[68] On *nāgiru* in cuneiform texts, see L. SASSMANNSHAUSEN, *art. cit.* (n. 66); for the *nāgiru* in Elam, see *ibid.*, p. 153-157. A *nāgiru* of Elam is mentioned also in a Neo-Babylonian text from the reign of Nabonid: BM. 75502, lines 12-13, published by M. JURSA, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (AOAT 254), Münster 1998, p. 102-103 and 118, No. 2.

[69] POLYBIUS, *History* III, 22, 8-9, translation by W.R. PATON, *Polybius: The Histories* II, London 1922, p. 55. It does not seem that the function of the κήρυξ can be characterized here as political and diplomatic, as proposed by F. BARRECA, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 90-92.

[70] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Psaumes I. Formes et genres littéraires,* in *DBS* IX, Paris 1973, col. 1-125 (see col. 72-86).

[71] F. MAZZA, *Un tipo di formula votiva nelle iscrizioni fenicie e puniche,* in *RSF* 4 (1976), p. 129-136 (see p. 131-133). Cf. also G. COACCI POLSELLI, *Struttura delle iscrizioni dedicatorie fenicie d'Oriente - I. La formula iniziale,* in *RSF* 4 (1976), p. 137-145.

Cyprus, a date formula replaces the record of the events explaining the causes of the dedication[72].

The name of Sardinia, engraved *Šrdn* on the stone, has been connected with the *Š-r-d-n*, one of the "Sea Peoples" listed in the Egyptian inscriptions of the Ramesside pharaohs[73]. They are known as mercenaries in Egyptian records from the time of Amenhotep III (*ca.* 1387-1350 B.C.)[74], and were incorporated at Ugarit in the royal service system of the 13th century B.C.[75] Their first mention as a "Sea People" dates from the reign of pharaoh Merneptah, who in his records at Karnak and Athribis makes a boast of his victory in his fifth year (1208 B.C.) on an army of Libyans and Meshwesh, supported by "foreigners from the sea"[76]. The battle must have taken place in the western Delta and the "Sea Peoples" participating in it, among them the Shrerdana, must have first reached the Libyan coast. The settlement of an offshoot of this tribe on the great Mediterranean island can be broadly contemporaneous with Merneptah's records and date from the period, to which also belong the Sardinian copper "oxhide" ingots and the late Helladic IIIB-C pottery found at Antigori, about 10 km north of Nora. Both the pottery and the ingots, which are relics of the Mycenaean world, are now considered to have been munufactured between *ca.*

[72] F. MAZZA, *art. cit.* (n. 71), p. 130-131 and 142, n. 30.

[73] R.D. BARNETT, *The Sea Peoples*, in *CAH* II/2, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1975, p. 359-378 (see p. 368-369); G. DANIEL - J.D. EVANS, *The Western Mediterranean*, in *CAH* II/2, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1975, p. 713-772 (see p. 741-742); M.S. BALMUTH, *Phoenician Chronology in Sardinia: Prospecting, Trade and Settlement before 900 B.C.*, in T. HACKENS - Gh. MOUCHARTE (eds.), *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques* (Studia Phoenicia IX), Louvain-la-Neuve 1992, p. 215-227 and Pls. XXXIII-XXXIV, in particular p. 223-224.

[74] W.C. HAYES, *Egypt: Internal Affairs from Tuthmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III*, in *CAH* II/1, 3rd ed., Cambridge 1973, p. 313-416 (see p. 366 with references in n. 2); G.A. LEHMANN, *Zum Auftreten von "Seevölkern"-Gruppen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum - Eine Zwischenbilanz*, in S. DEGER-JALKOTZY (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr.* (SÖAW. PH 418), Wien 1983, p. 79-91 (see p. 79-85).

[75] M. HELTZER, *Some Questions concerning the Sherdana in Ugarit*, in *IOS* 9 (1983), p. 9-16. There are various spellings of their name at Ugarit: *Ṯrtnm* (cf. D. PARDEE, *À propos de la vocalisation du mot* ṯrtnm *dans le texte ougaritique RS 15.094*, in *Semitica* 50 [2001], p. 220-223), *Ṯrdnt, Še-ri-da-nu, Še-er-da-na, Še-er-ta-an-ni, Šè-er-da-na, Še-ri-da-ni*. These different spellings clearly show that this is a foreign name, that cannot be related to a Semitic root, for instance with the meaning "castrated", as proposed by K. AARTUN, *Ugaritisch* ṯrtnm, in *BiOr* 42 (1985), col. 22-27.

[76] K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, Oxford 1982, p. 2-12, especially p. 8, line 52 (Karnak), and p. 19-22, especially p. 22, line 13 (Athribis). Translation by K.A.KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Translations* IV, Oxford 2003, p. 2 and 7.

1300 and 1100 B.C.[77] This would be the period in which the Sherdana "Sea People" settled in Sardinia and gave it not only their name, but also some Aegeo-Anatolian vocabulary[78]. There followed a break of about 300 years in the Sardinian contact with the Levant. Levantine prestige items found in the West and Iberian or Sardinian bronze artefacts discovered on Cyprus do not prove continuing interrelationships between the Levant and the western Mediterranean in the 11th and 10th centuries B.C.[79], for they are not accompanied by contemporaneous pottery. They are "antiquarian" objects given as presents or "souvenirs" when interconnections have been renewed towards the end of the 9th century B.C. Sardinia lay then on the main sea route to Tarshish.

The mention of Tarshish on the Nora Stone confirms, to a certain extent, the identification of Tarshish with Tartessus. In fact, a mythological legend recorded by Hesiod tells the story of Erytheia, daughter of the "three-headed Geryon"[80]. Following her love affair with Hermes she gave birth to the king of Tartessus, whom the legend calls Norax[81]. He founded the city of Nora in Sardinia[82]. At this stage of the tradition, Norax is certainly the mythical eponym of the Sardinian town, but his name Νωραξ is the Greek form given to the Sardinian word *nuraghe* or *nurake*, which designates the megalithic monuments of the island's prehistoric inhabitants[83]. It would seem therefore that the story was origi-

[77] Ample bibliographical references are given by M.S. BALMUTH, *art. cit.* (n. 73), but the research referred to does not justify the title of her contribution.

[78] Their settlement, if accepted, justifies the research in Aegeo-Anatolian origins of some Sardinian vocabulary, as collected, for instance, by M. PITTAU, *Una corrente linguistica egeo-anatolica in Sardegna*, in P; FILIGHEDDU (ed.), *Circolazioni culturali nel Mediterraneo antico*, Cagliari 1994, p. 221-236.

[79] See also here above p. 236 and n. 55: J.P. CRIELAARD, *art. cit.*, especially p. 191-199.

[80] HESIOD, *Theogony* 287.

[81] PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* X, 17, 5; SOLINUS, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* IV, 1, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, Berlin 1958, s. 46, probably quoting Sallust, cf. B. MAURENBRECHER (ed.), *C. Sallusti Crispi Historiarum reliquiae* II, Stuttgart 1967, p. 63, Frg. II, 4-5.

[82] This etiology was examined in a broader context by A. GARCÍA Y BELLIDO, *Los Iberos en Cerdeña, según los textos clásicos y la arqueología*, in *Emérita* 3 (1935), p. 225-256; S. MAZZARINO, *Oriente e Occidente. Ricerche di storia greca archaica*, Firenze 1947, p. 317 ff.; A. SCHULTEN, *Tartessos. Ein Beitrage zur ältesten Geschichte des Westens*, 2nd ed., Hamburg 1950, p. 120, 131-132; M. PALLOTTINO, *La Sardegna nuragica*, Roma 1950, s. 25, 35, 37; ID., *El problema de las relaciones entre Cerdeña e Iberia en la antigüedad prerromana*, in *Ampurias* 14 (1952), p. 137-155 (see p. 138, 146-147); J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 56-57.

[83] E. BLAKE, *Constructing a Nuragic Locale: The Spatial Relationship between Tombs and Towers in Bronze Age Sardinia*, in *AJA* 105 (2001), p. 145-161. According to M. HUBSCHMID, *Sardische Studien*, Bern 1953, p. 43-46, the word *nuraghe* derives from *nurra*, "heap of stones", while M.L. WAGNER, *Dizionario etimologico sardo*, Heidelberg 1962, s.v., thinks that *nuraghe* means "castrum".

nally an etiological legend explaining the origin of these monuments. Since the appellation *nuraghe* does not occur in Classical sources[84], the legend must be autochthonous. The Sardinian nuraghi culture is well represented in the Nora region[85], where it probably persisted with little change until the mid-first millennium B.C. In fact, no early Phoenician settlement was discovered in the area outside the quasi-insular site of Nora, which probably was a trade centre and a call harbour. The single fragment of an Iberian amphora found on Monte S. Vittoria and datable to *ca.* 600 B.C.[86] matches the general background of the etiological legend. Its connection with Tartessus implies the existence of ancient sea links between the island - particularly the Nora area - and southern Spain.

In fact, long-distance commercial relations existed between Sardinia and south-western Iberia in the 9th - 8th centuries B.C., i.e. in the earliest period of Phoenician activity in the western Mediterranean. For example, a typically Sardinian sword from the 9th-8th centuries was found in the Rio Guadalete[87], that falls into the Mediterranean in front of Cadix, often confused with Tartessus[88]. On the other hand, some axes and weapons discovered in 1914 on Monte Sa Idda, in Sardinia[89], are quite similar to such bronze artefacts from the south-western part of the Iberian Peninsula, in particular those found in the estuary of the Odiel[90]. The

[84] G. LILLIU, *Las nuragas,* in *Ampurias* 24 (1962), p. 67-145 (see p. 69); ID., *I nuraghi. Torri preistoriche della Sardegna,* Cagliari 1962, p. 12.

[85] M. BOTTO - M. RENDELI, *Progetto* Nora - *Campagne di prospezione 1992-1996*, in *L'Africa Romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 713-736.

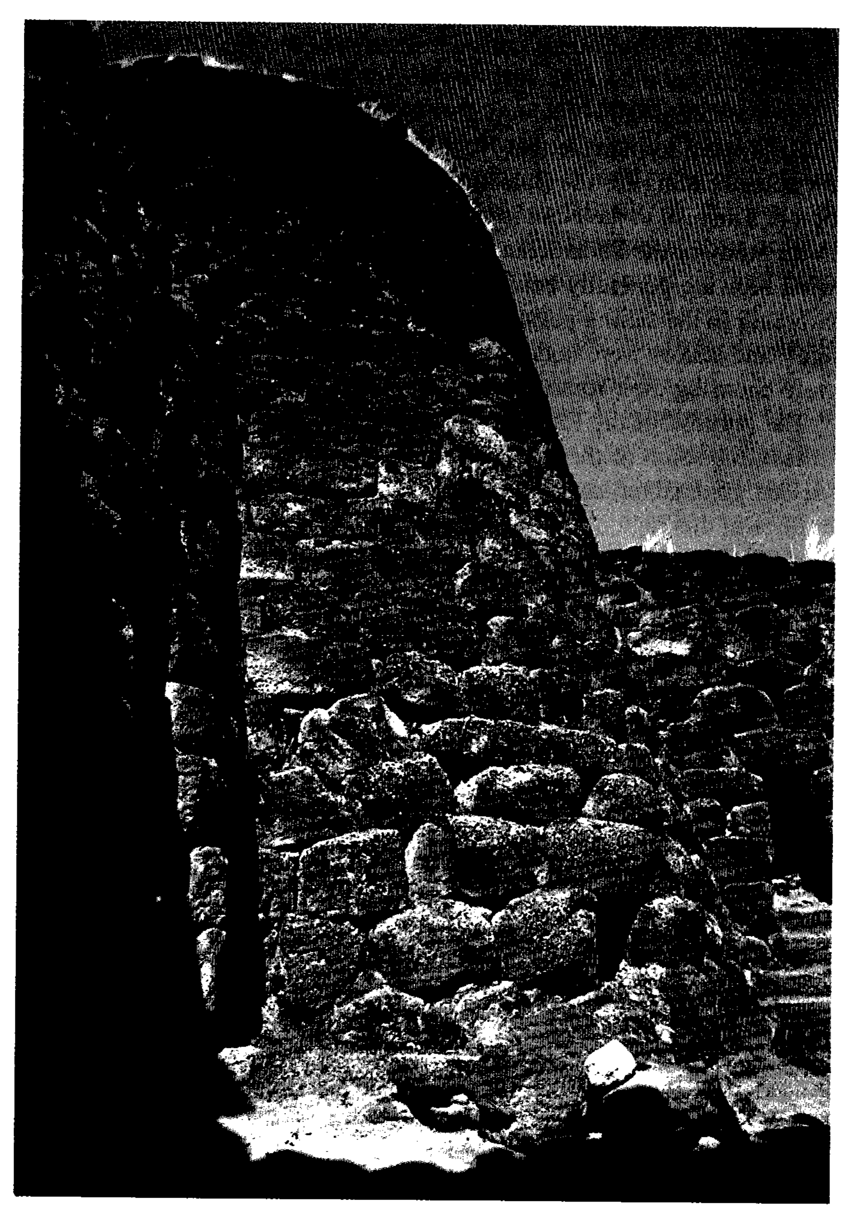
[86] J. RAMÓN TORRES, *Las ánforas fenicio-púnicas del Mediterráneo central y occidental*, Barcelona 1995, p. 230-231; M. BOTTO - M. RENDELI, *op. cit.* (n. 85), p. 727.

[87] W. SCHÜLE, *Die Meseta-Kulturen der Iberischen Halbinsel* (Madrider Forschungen 3), Berlin 1969, *Text und Kataloge*, p. 83-84. There is no absolute certitude that the sword comes from Sardinia: it is typologically Sardinian.

[88] This identification appears already in AVIENUS, *Ora Maritima* 85, 267-270. Cf. here above, n. 34.

[89] A. TARAMELLI, *Il ripostiglio dei bronzi nuragici di Monte Sa Idda di Decimoputzu (Cagliari),* in *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 27 (1921), col. 5-108; F. LO SCHIAVO, *La Sardegna sulle rotte dell'Occidente I. La protostoria,* in *La Magna Grecia e il Lontano Occidente*, Taranto 1990, p. 99-133 (see p. 108-113, 130-131). Monte Sa Idda is situated to the northeast of Siliqua, about 30 km to the northwest of Cagliari.

[90] P. BOSCH GIMPERA, *Rapporti fra le civiltà mediterranee nella fine dell'Età del Bronzo*, Reggio Emilia 1928; ID., *Etnología de la Península Ibérica*, Barcelona 1932, p. 229 ff.; ID., *El pobliamento antiguo y la formación de los Pueblos de España*, México 1944, p. 105 ff.; ID., *La Edad del Bronce de la Península Ibérica,* in *AEArq* 27 (1954), p. 45-92 (see p. 70-71); M. ALMAGRO BASCH, *El hallazgo de la ría de Huelva y el final de la Edad del Bronce en el Occidente de Europa,* in *Ampurias* 2 (1940), p. 85-143 (see p. 109, 113); J. TERRERO, *Armas y objetos de bronce extraidos en los dragados del puerto*



The Nuraghe S. Antine at Torralba (Southwest Sardinia).

bronzes from Sa Idda belonged to a dedicatory hoard and therefore cannot be dated easily. Some authors regarded them as artefacts from the 7th century B.C., but others consider today that the objects related to the Iberian bronzes must date back to the 10th-8th centuries B.C.[91]

Such archaeological findings give a material support to the Norax legend and seem to indicate that Nora was indeed a well-known anchorage for ships heading for the Balearic Islands and southern Spain. The mention of Tarshish in the Nora inscription is therefore an important element in the study of the Phoenician western expansion and trade[92]. An eastern wind blowing generally between the Balearic Islands and the Straits of Gibraltar in the sailing period favourably influenced this part of the voyage[93] and sailors were undoubtedly aware of this opportunity when they were choosing their route.

The purpose of the Phoenician expansion in the West was economic. In fact, the south of the Iberian Peninsula was rich in metallic ores, and yielded gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, and tin. This was the reason why trade with this region was so interesting for Phoenician and Greek entrepreneurs. Phoenician sailors and traders, initially those from the colonies on Cyprus, as it seems[94], have first reached the south of Spain in the

di Huelva, Madrid 1944 (reprinted in *Clasicos de la Arqueología de Huelva* 3/1990); M. PALLOTTINO, *art. cit.* (n. 82), p. 143-144, 151; L. BERNABÒ BREA, *La Sicilia prehistórica*, in *Escuela española de Roma. Serie arqueológica* 1 (1954), p. 212-213; C.F.C. HAWKES - M.A. SMITH, *On Some Buckets and Cauldrons of the Bronze and Early Iron Age*, in *The Antiquaries Journal* 37 (1957), p. 131-198 and Pls. XX-XXIII (see p. 179); H. HENCKEN, *Carp's Tongue Swords in Spain, France, and Italy*, in *Zephyrus* 7 (1956), p. 125-178 (see p. 137-138); J. MALUQUER DE MOTES, *Nuevos hallazgos en el área Tartésica*, in *Zephyrus* 9 (1958), p. 201-219 (see p. 208); W. SCHÜLE, *op. cit.* (n. 87), p. 21, 84; M. ALMAGRO BASCH, *Depósito de bronce de la ría de Huelva*, in *Huelva: Prehistoria y Antigüedad*, Madrid 1974, p. 213-220 and Pls. 209-213.

[91] W. SCHÜLE, *op. cit.* (n. 87).

[92] The problem of Tarshish in the Nora inscription was omitted by M.E. AUBET, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 179-181. Cf. the review of her book by E. LIPIŃSKI, *Économie phénicienne: travaux récents et desiderata*, in *JESHO* 37 (1994), p. 322-327 (see p. 323-325).

[93] L. CASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 272 and n. 10.

[94] An Iberian *obelos* of the Atlantic type, similar to a bronze spit or skewer from the Sa Idda hoard, was found in 1986 in the rich tomb 523 at Amathus, probably Carthage on Cyprus (see above, p. 49): V. KARAGEORGHIS - F. LO SCHIAVO, *A West Mediterranean Obelos from Amathus*, in *RSF* 17 (1989), p. 15-29; F. LO SCHIAVO, *art. cit.* (n. 89), p. 128-130. If this exceptional cremation burial dates indeed from the 10th century B.C., the spit in question would provide the earliest sign of renewed contacts with the West in the early first millennium B.C., probably through a series of intermediaries. Instead, the Cypriot bronze phiale from Berzocana (Extremadura), found with two gold torques, may date even from the 12th century B.C. but need not have been brought to Spain before the 8th century B.C., while the torques can be heirlooms. The hoard was initially dated to the 8th-7th century B.C.: C. CALLEJO - A. BLANCO, *Los torques de oro de Berzocana (Cáceres)*, in *Zephyrus* 11 (1960), p. 250-255; J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 105-106 and

9th century B.C.[95], not in the 12th or 11th centuries, as Classical tradition would suggest by dating the foundation of Gades and of Lixus respectively in 1104/3[96] and *ca.* 1120 B.C.[97]

Solomon's "fleet of Tarshish", mentioned in I Kings 10, 22 and II Chron. 9, 21, is thus an anachronism which is explainable by the endeavour of biblical redactors working about the 5th century B.C. and eager to boost the image of king Solomon. They may have used some notices dating from the 8th-6th centuries B.C., even a "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (I Kings 11, 41). At any rate, several features of their account indicate that their source or they themselves were inspired by the reports of alleged circumnavigations of Africa, fashionable at the time of Necho II (610-595 B.C.) and in the early Persian period[98]. This refers not only to the expedition to Ophir, presented in I Kings 9, 26-28 and II Chron. 8, 17-18 as a single attempt at bringing gold from that country, but also to the journey to Tarshish, organized once in three years according to I Kings 10, 22 and II Chron. 9, 21. The latter passages do not indicate the harbour from which the ships were sailing, but the parallel account of Jehoshaphat's attempt at sending Tarshish-ships to Ophir, as reported in I Kings 22, 49 and II Chron. 20, 36-37, mentions Ezion-Geber and thus connects Tarshish with Ophir. These fragmentary accounts must go back to a story telling Solomon's naval enterprises, and their mention of *'ereṣ 'Edōm* may already refer to the province of Idumaea. The latter formed a separate administrative district in the later Persian and in Hellenistic periods and is presented as such by Diodorus in connection with the Diadochi[99]. The original account of Solomon's enterprises can be somewhat older and date from the 6th century B.C., while some topographical details were possibly added by a later redactor.

Pl. XXVIIIA; M. ALMAGRO GORBEA, *El Bronce Final y el periodo orientalizante en Estremadura*, Madrid 1977, p. 243-244.

[95] Notwithstanding the widespread opinion of Spanish scholars and, for instance, of M. ELAT, *Tarshish and the Problem of Phoenician Colonisation in the Western Mediterranean*, in *OLP* 13 (1982), p. 55-69, no "pre-colonial" period can be assumed between the first voyages and the establishment of archaeologically recognizable settlements. The homeward voyage could hardly be attempted in the same sailing season, that lasted only three months, from May the 27th to September the 14th according to VEGETIUS RENATUS, *Epitoma rei militaris* IV, 39 (cf. S. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society* I. *Economic Foundations*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, p. 316; L. CASSON, *op. cit.* [n. 61], p. 270-272), while the voyage from the Levant to Spain could last easily two months and a half (L. CASSON, *ibid.*, p. 272-273, 291). Thus, from their first voyage on, the sailors needed a settlement in Spain with a safe anchorage, and they could build it in a few months.

[96] VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, *Roman History* I, 2, 1.

[97] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* XIX, 63: "before Gades".

[98] See here above, p. 218-220.

[99] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIX, 98, 1.

3. The Name of Tarshish

The identification of Tarshish with Ταρτησσός nevertheless raises some phonological questions. Final -ησσός certainly represents a late East Greek adaptation of an Iberian place name ending in *-s* or *-š*, like **Tartis* or **Tartiš*[100]. It is by no means an original Anatolian termination[101], implying the immigration of Carians or of another East-Mediterranean population[102]. The *-is* ending is in fact appended to some toponyms recorded in the Iberian coin legends, like *Aŕatis*, *Bilbilis*, *Oŕośis*, *Otatiiś*, *Saetabi(s)*, and *Segobris* (*Śekobiŕikes*)[103]. A fricative articulation of *s* following *i* (> *š*) is a widespread phenomenon, while the opposition "t/š" may be explained by a different perception of the consonant following *r/ŕ*, possibly because of a dialectal palatalization of *-ti* > *-či*[104]. At any rate, the Punic ethnic noun or adjective **Taršīšī*, shortened by haplology to *Taršī*[105], is preserved by Polybius in Ταρσήιον and Θερσῖται[106]. In the case of Μαστία Ταρσήιον, it was used as an adjective qualifying the city name Μαστία: "Tarseian Mastia". Since the feminine ending *-t* was lost in spoken Late Punic, the gender of Μαστία did not influence the form of the Punic adjective, which was regarded by Polybius as a noun in apposition. In consequence, since ἄστυ, "town", is neuter, he affixed the neuter ending -ον to **Taršī*. There is no need to have recourse here to the far-fetched hypothesis of a

[100] The original place name ended in a single *s/ś*, as shown by W. Sieglin, *Die Namensform der Stadt Tartessos*, in *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 10 (1934), p. 266-275; cf. M. Koch, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 111-112. Iberian script distinguishes two sibilants, transcribed by *s* and *ś*, but their precise phonetic value is unknown.

[101] For such toponyms, which are probably Indo-European, see E. Laroche, *Notes de toponymie anatolienne*, in *ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ* II, Wien 1957, p. 1-7; D.A. Hester, *Pre-Greek Place Names in Greece and Asia Minor*, in *RHA* 15 (1957), p. 107-119. The Anatolian place names ending in -ησσός can be found in the reversed index of L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen*, Heidelberg 1984, p. 690.

[102] Thus A. Dietrich, *Phönizische Ortsnamen in Spanien* (AKM 21/2), Leipzig 1936, p. 32; G. García y Bellido, *Veinticinco estampas de la España antigua*, Madrid 1967, p. 35; K. Galling, *Der Weg der Phöniker nach Tarsis in literarischer und archäologischer Sicht*, in *ZDPV* 88 (1972), p. 1-18, 140-181 (see p. 6).

[103] J. Untermann, *Monumenta linguarum Hispanicarum* I. *Die Münzenlegenden*, Wiesbaden 1975, A.61, p. 278-279; A.73, p. 292-294; A.86, p. 311-312; A.100-13, p. 335; A.35, p. 235-237; A.89, p. 314-317.

[104] Already S. Bochart, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 193-194, noted that Tarshish and Tartessus may be variants of the same place name.

[105] Such haplology occurs frequently in Semitic languages: Lipiński, *Semitic*, §27.15.

[106] Polybius, *History* III, 24, 2.4 and 33, 9. This use of **Taršī-* means that the name finished by designating the whole area of Carthaginian influence in southern Spain; cf. Yu.B. Tsirkin, *Phoenician Culture in Spain* (in Russian), Moscow 1976, p. 10-11.



Su Nuraxi, near Barumini (Sardinia).
Settlement of the *nuraghe* period with the lower part of at least two towers.

genitive plural -ων in Greek[107] or *-um* in archaic Latin, misunderstood by Polybius[108]. As for Θερσῖται, the normal plural of Θερσῖτης, Polybius coined it from **Taršī* as a Greek ethnic name in -της.

While Polybius' indirect attestations of **Taršī* are quite convincing, there is no proof that *Tertis* should be read instead of *Certis* in Livy's *Roman History*[109]. This unique attestation of the name of a river should not be changed in order to boost a theory and to identify **Tertis* with the *Baetis*. A place name *Ceret* or *Cerit* is attested by monetary legends[110] and authors suggested that it denotes Jérez de la Frontera, assuming changes caused by Arabic phonology[111]. Some uncertain vestiges have

[107] O. Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager* I, Berlin 1897, p. 520.

[108] L. Wickert, *Zu den Karthagenverträgen*, in *Klio* 31 (1938), p. 349-364 (see p. 354-356); M. Koch, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 113. One should add that *-um* was also the Celtiberic ending of the genitive plural.

[109] Livy, *Roman History* XXVIII, 22, 2. This correction was proposed by A. Schulten, *Iberische Landeskunde* I/1, Strassburg 1955, p. 326-327, and is accepted by M. Koch, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 111-112.

[110] A. Heiss, *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, Paris 1870, Pl. LI; E. Hübner, *Monumenta linguae Ibericae*, Berlin 1893, No. 175.

[111] The ancient spelling of the place name was *Xeres*, which implies a pronunciation [ʃeres], since ancient Spanish *x* equated *š*. The change *š* < *k* is attested in South Semitic;

been found in the neighbourhood of this city[112], which has been variously identified[113]. It is built near the right bank of the river Guadalete and, if it is Ceret, Livy's river *Certis* might be the Guadalete.

Another questionable case is provided by the name *Tarsis*, assumed to indicate the native place of a deceased in a Latin funerary inscription from Milan[114]:

> *Lesbia, quam tulerat tellus, pulcherrima Tarsis —*
> *Indicio sit amor totius Hesperiae —,*
> *Quam ereptam terris pia numina subtraxerunt,*
> *Hanc sibi sola domum corporis constituit.*

Lesbia must be the feminine correspondent of the well-attested proper name Λέσβιος, and *Tarsis* seems to be here the surname of the deceased. However, the mention of Hesperia, which Anastasius Sinaita identifies in the 7th century with the Tarshish of I Kings 10, 22, points at the mythical Far West and might reflect an otherwise unattested tradition[115].

One should mention here the identification of Tarshish with Iberia in a fragment of the Byzantine *Chronography* of George Synkellos[116] and the probably correct attribution of this fragment to the *Chronicle* of Eusebius in the *Geographia Sacra* of S. Bochart: *unus veterum mihi videtur rem acute tetigisse, Eusebius scilicet, cuius haec verba:* Θαρσις, ἐξ ὧ Ἴβηρες, *Tarsis, ex quo Iberi seu Hispani*[117]. However, the same

cf. W. Fischer, *K > Š in den südlichen semitischen Sprachen,* in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 8 (1956), p. 25-38; Lipiński, *Semitic*, §15.5; §18.6; §36.19. As for the assibilation $t > s$, it may be older and independent from any Arabic influence, as shown e.g. by Tartessos/Tarshish, but "t" might have been [θ] and "s" originate from [ʃ].

[112] Cf. A. Tovar, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 51-52.

[113] There was even an attempt at localizing Tartessus in the area of Jérez de la Frontera: C. Pemán, *Xera, Cerit y Tartessos,* in *Investigación y Progreso* 9 (1935), p. 65-69; Id., *Nuevas contribuciones al problema de Tartessos,* in *AEArq* 14 (1941), p. 177-188; Id., *El estado actual de la cuestión tartésica,* in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Geografía* 77 (1941), p. 485-490; etc.

[114] *CIL* V, 6134 = F. Bücheler (ed.), *Anthologia Latina* II. *Carmina Latina epigraphica* 2, Leipzig 1897 (reprint, Stuttgart 1982), p. 612, No. 1309. This is assumed by S. Mariner Bigorra, *Hispanische Latinität und sprachliche Kontakte im römischen Hispanien,* in *ANRW* II, 29/2, Berlin 1983, p. 819-852 (see p. 843), but *pulcherrima Tarsis* seems to refer to the deceased girl or young woman, *Tarsis* being her proper name (see also here below, p. 259).

[115] Anastasius Sinaita, *In Hexaemeron* X, in *PG* 89, col. 1011-1012. Cf. G. Bunnens, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 338, 342.

[116] George Synkellos (end of the 8th - beginning of the 9th century), *Chronicle*, p. 49c, in L. Dindorf (ed.), *Georgius Syncellus et Nicephorius Cp.* (CSHB), Bonn 1829, p. 91. English translation by W. Adler - P. Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos*, Oxford 2002.

[117] S. Bochart, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 194.

explanation is found in St. Jerome's *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, but concerning *Thubal* instead of Tarshish: *Thubal Iberi qui et Hispani*[118]. His interpretation of Iberi as Hispani is missing in the parallel passages of Josephus Flavius[119] and of Procopius' Ἐκλογαί[120], where the Ἴβηρες named before the Καππαδόκαι are obviously the inhabitants of modern Georgia, south of the Caucasus, which was known to the Greeks as Iberia[121]. The reading ΘΑΡΣΙΣ most likely originated from ΘΑΒΕΛ[122], in which a somewhat obliterated ΒΕ has been misread as ΡΣ.

The alternative forms *Tartēs(sus)* and *Turdet(ani)*, used by Latin authors, reflect various perceptions and adaptations of the native Iberian pronunciation which, as a rule, distinguished *d* and *t* notwithstanding the fact that a single sign was used to express both phonemes in the Iberian script. As for the Neo-Assyrian spelling *Tar-si-si*, it perfectly corresponds to West-Semitic *Taršīš*, since signs in *s* express West-Semitic *š* in Neo-Assyrian texts[123].

In other words, it is quite superfluous to look for the Semitic etymology of Tarshish[124], although some attempts in this sense have been made in the past. W. Gesenius related the place name to the root *ršš*[125], which in Arabic means "to spurt", "to spray" a liquid. Since one of its derivatives designates a "light drizzle", *rašša*, J. Boehmer reached the conclusion that Tarshish was a country characterized by an insufficient fall of

[118] St. Jerome, *Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos*, ed. by P. de Lagarde, Leipzig 1868, p. 14, reedited in *CCSL* 72, Turnhout 1959, p. 11.

[119] Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* I, 6, 1, §124.

[120] *Cod. Monac. gr. 358*, fol. 84r, quoted by E. Klostermann (ed.), *Eusebius: Werke* III/1. *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS 11/1), Leipzig 1904, p. VIII.

[121] Plutarch, *Pompeius* 38; Lucian of Samosata, *How History Should be Written* 29; etc.

[122] The spelling ΘΑΒΕΛ instead of ΘΟΒΕΛ can be assumed, since the Hebrew word is spelt *tbl*. Similarly, Procopius reads Γαμερ for Jerome's *Gomer*. At any rate, the original form of the name was *Tābal*. Cf. E. Lipiński, *Les Japhétites selon Gen 10, 2-4 et 1 Chr 1, 5-7*, in *ZAH* 3 (1990), p. 40-53 (see p. 45-46).

[123] This was misunderstood by M. Pérez Rojas, *El nombre de Tartessos,* in *Tartessos y sus problemas. V Symposium internacional de prehistoria peninsular*, Barcelona 1969, p. 369-378 (see p. 375), who thought that there was a phonetic shift from the Neo-Assyrian to the Hebrew form.

[124] The place names Taršīš and Miğdal Taršīš in Lebanon, east of Beirut, seem to be recent appellations, based on the Bible, like the name of the Spanish town Tharsis, north of Huelva. They are not yet mentioned by Dussaud, *Topographie*, who would certainly refer to such names. There is also the possibility that *taršīš* in the Lebanese place names means "chrysolith", like in Syriac.

[125] G.(W.) Gesenius, *Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, 2nd ed., Vol. III, Leipzig 1853, p. 1315-1316, s.v. *ršš*.

rain[126]. Instead, inspired by P. Haupt's attempt at connecting this root with an industrial processing of raw material[127], W.F. Albright regarded *taršīš* as a word borrowed from Akkadian **taršīšu*, which he translated by "smelting plant", "refinery"[128], quite opposite to Arabic *raššāša* or *miraššа*, "watering can". Now, *taršīšu* does not exist in Akkadian[129] and C.H. Gordon thus proposed another etymology, considering *taršīš* a *qatlīl* formation of the denominative root *trš*, derived from *tirōš*, "wine", and meaning "wine-red" or "wine-dark". This would have been an appellation of the open sea and, by extension, a designation of far-off lands reached by ocean-going ships[130]. A quite different explanation, but always related to the sea, was proposed earlier by P. le Page Renouf who thought that *taršīš* referred to the breaking of the waves or signified a coast protected by breakwaters, like the Phoenician seashore[131]. Instead, V. Bérard tried to follow another path. Very cautiously he suggested to compare *taršīš* with a Berber noun reported in a dictionary published in 1844 by the Royal Typography in Paris, where *tarsets* is translated by "stone column"[132]. He even considered the possibility of *tarsets* being the indigenous name of the Pillar of Heracles on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar[133]. An attempt at explaining the name of Tarshish from Etruscan was made by G. Quispel, who also tried to localize Tarshish in Etruria[134].

[126] J. BOEHMER, *Vom präformierten* t *locale*, in *ZAW* 47 (1929), p. 79-80 (see p. 79).

[127] P. HAUPT, *Tarsis*, in *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses*, Leiden 1904, p. 232-234.

[128] W.F. ALBRIGHT, *New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization*, in *BASOR* 83 (1941), p. 14-22 (see p. 17-22); ID., *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, 3rd ed., Baltimore 1953, p. 133-134; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 51), p. 347 and 360, n. 96; ID., in *BASOR* 180 (1965), p. 42; ID., *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, London 1968, p. 190-191, n. 30.

[129] Not only Akkadian *taršīšu* does not exist, but the ancient name of Tharros, connected with it, is reported by PTOLEMY, *Geography* III, 3, 2 (p. 374) as Τάρραι, and by the *Cosmography of Ravenna* IV, 411 as *Tarri* (J. SCHNETZ, *Itineraria Romana* II, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1990, p. 102: 13; cf. p. 128: 9). Obviously, it is a non-Semitic place name that has no connection with Tarshish.

[130] C.H. GORDON, *The Wine-Dark Sea*, in *JNES* 37 (1978), p. 51-52.

[131] P. LE PAGE RENOUF, *Where was Tarshish?*, in *PSBA* 16 (1893-94), p. 104-108 and 138-141 (see p. 140-141). See also the answer by W.F. AINSWORTH, *Tarshish - Phoenicia or Tarsus?*, in *PSBA* 16 (1893-94), p. 300-306, and the reaction of P. LE PAGE RENOUF, *Remarks*, in *PSBA* 16 (1896-94), p. 307.

[132] *Dictionnaire berbère*, Paris 1844: "colonne de pierre".

[133] V. BÉRARD, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* I, Paris 1902, p. 290-291.

[134] G. QUISPEL, *De Etruriërs in het Oude Testament*, in *JEOL* 6 (1939), p. 170-176 (see p. 172-174). See also A. SCHULTEN, *Die Etrusker in Spanien*, in *Klio* 23 (1930), p. 365-432; ID., *Los Tirsenos en España*, in *Ampurias* 2 (1941), p. 33-53. Fortunately, such an idea did not influence R. BEEKES, *The Prehistory of the Lydians, the Origin of the Etruscans, Troy and Aeneas*, in *BiOr* 59 (2002), col. 205-241, especially col. 232-233.

4. Tarshish and Carthage

These various modern attempts at localizing Tarshish have no link with the identifications made in Antiquity, in the Graeco-Roman period. The oldest known attempt appears in the Greek Septuagint translation of the biblical Books of Isaiah and Ezekiel. This translation, made most likely in Alexandria, was completed around 200 B.C., certainly before the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C. Considering the western location of Tarshish, it is not so surprising therefore that Tarshish was rendered there by Καρχηδών or Καρχηδόνιοι, "Carthage" or "Carthaginians", at least in passages alluding to Phoenician trade with Tarshish (Is. 23; Ez. 27, 12.25) or mentioning "the traders of Tarshish" (Ez. 38, 13). This reinterpretation of Tarshish implies that around 200 B.C. Tarshish/Tartessus was no longer a meaningful economic or geographic entity. Already Herodotus, in the 5th century B.C., alludes to the downfall of Tartessus, when he refers to the voyage of the Samian Colaeus about 670-650 B.C.: τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον[135], "this trade centre was untouched at that time". The name of Tarshish continued nevertheless to be used, as shown by Jon. 1, 3; 4, 2; Is. 60, 9; II Chron. 20, 36, and it designated the region of south Spain where Phoenician-Punic influence was preponderant. The somewhat abbreviated ethnic form **Taršī(šī)* is even used in the treaty signed in 348 B.C. between Rome and Carthage, as reported by Polybius. It guaranteed to the Carthaginians the exclusive right of trading in the region south of Μαστία Ταρσήιον, which is often assumed to be the ancient name of Cartagena or *Carthago Nova*, founded by Hasdrubal about 227 B.C. as a base for the Carthaginian conquest of Spain[136]. This identification cannot be proved on basis of sole classical texts[137], but the location of Cartagena on a peninsula within one of the best natural harbours of the Mediterranean, close to valuable mines producing lead, silver-lead[138], zinc, iron, copper and sul-

[135] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 152. The meaning of ἀκήρατος is "intact, untouched", by no means "out of reach, inaccessible". This appears clearly by a comparison with κλῆρος ἀκήρατος (*Iliad* XV, 498), "intact heritage", κτήματα ἀκήρατα (*Odyssey* XVII, 532), "intact goods", ναῦς ἀκήρατος (AESCHYLUS, *Agamemnon* 661), "intact ship". Various hypotheses have been formulated in order to explain the downfall of Tartessus. Cf. P.A. BARCELÓ, *Karthago und die Iberische Halbinsel vor den Barkiden*, Bonn 1988, p. 63-96; Ju.B. TSIRKIN, *The Downfall of Tartessos and the Carthaginian Establishment in the Iberian Peninsula*, in *RSF* 24 (1996), p. 141-172; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 97-111 and 326-329 (footnotes).

[136] K. GEUS, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager* (Studia Phoenicia XIII; OLA 59), Leuven 1994, p. 134.

[137] P.A. BARCELÓ, *op. cit.* (n. 135), p. 134-135.

[138] These silver mines were famous in Roman times and STRABO, *Geography* III, 2, 10

phur, indicates that the city was built near the site of an older town that should be Mastia. Archaeological findings seem to reveal Phoenician-Punic activity in this area before the late 3rd century B.C., but not on the very site of Cartagena.

The oldest piece of evidence is a large anchor found in 1961 on the site called Roca del Faro, at Puerto Mazarrón, some 25 km west of Cartagena as the crow flies. The anchor, allegedly made of silver-lead[139], would have weighed 635 kg. It was sold to a dealer in old iron and is irrecoverably lost. Fortunately, the seller made a squeeze of three groups of signs imprinted on one of the anchor's extremities and J.M. Solá Solé attempted to read them from a photograph of the squeeze as Phoenician monograms[140]. He deciphered them from the right to the left: 1) *lnwn*, "(belonging) to Nūn" (name of the ship), 2) *byt dgn*, "from Beth-Dagon" (a Palestinian town), 3) *ks't*, "maker of anchors". The present writer is unable to distinguish a single letter in the first and third signs, but the photograph of the squeeze clearly shows *d, t, n*, and either *g*, or *p*, or *l* in the second sign. The *d* and the head of *n* might form an additional dextrograde *b* with a backward tick, like in some Old Byblian inscriptions.

(cf. 4, 6), following POLYBIUS (*History* III, 2, 10; X, 8, 2; 10, 1-5; XXXIV, 9, 8), reports that 40,000 workers were employed there and that the mines brought the Roman treasury a daily revenue of 25,000 drachmae (about 115 kg of silver).

[139] This description of the anchor, if correct, may have some relation to the Phoenician practice reported by DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* V, 35, 4: "Now the natives were ignorant of the use of the silver, and the Phoenicians, as they pursued their commercial enterprises and learned of what had taken place, purchased the silver in exchange for other wares of little of any worth. And this was the reason why the Phoenicians, as they transported the silver to Greece and Asia and to all other peoples, acquired great wealth. So far indeed did the merchants go in their greed that, in case their boats were fully laden and there still remained a great amount of silver, they would cut the lead-weights of the anchors and have silver-ingots perform the service of the lead-weights" (translation based on C.H. OLDFATHER, *Diodorus of Sicily* III, London 1930, p. 193). A similar story is reported by PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE, *On Marvellous Things Heard* 135: "It is said that the first Phoenicians who sailed to Tartessus took away so much silver as cargo, carrying there olive-oil and other petty wares, that no one could keep or receive the silver, but that on sailing away from the district they had to make all their other vessels of silver, and even all their anchors" (translation by W.S. HETT, *Aristotle: Minor Works*, London 1936, p. 307, 309).

[140] J.M. SOLÁ SOLÉ, *Monogramas fenicios en una ancla*, in *Sefarad* 27 (1967), p. 28-33 and Pls. II-III, with an account of the discovery and the sale of the anchor. The photographs are reproduced also in J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ, *op. cit.* (n. 39), Pl. II (cf. p. 27), and the copy of the signs is reproduced by M.J. FUENTES ESTAÑOL, *Corpus de las inscripciones fenicias, púnicas y neopúnicas de España*, Barcelona 1986, p. 66, No. 13.01. See also Yu.B. TSIRKIN, *op. cit.* (n. 106), p. 136. Solá Solé's description of the anchor should be compared with the results of the study by F. PALLARÉS, *Tipologia y cronologia preliminar de las anclas antiguas*, in *Actas del III Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Submarina, Barcelona 1971*, Bordighera 1971, p. 384-393.

Instead, it is hard to recognize any trace of *y*. Summing up, the most obvious reading would be *ldtn*, "(belonging) to *Ditān*", written in Phoenician letters from the late 9th or the 8th century B.C. *Ditān* was the Semitic name of a large fish[141] and this name could designate the ship[142], to which the anchor belonged. The site where it was found lies on the expected sailing route from the Balearic Islands to the Pillars of Heracles. Therefore, it does not imply any continuous Phoenician presence in the very area of Cartagena[143].

A similar situation results from the discovery of a wreck on the site "Bajo de la Campana I", near the Isla Grosa in front of the Manga del Mar Menor, thus some 25 km east of Cartagena as the crow flies. This wreck contained tusks of African elephants, some with Phoenician inscriptions[144], and amphorae of the types "Mañá" and "Mañá E"[145]. All the objects indicate a date in the 4th century B.C., at least one hundred years before the foundation of *Carthago Nova* by Hasdrubal in 227 B.C.

The city was already captured by Scipio Africanus in 209 B.C., and only a few archaeological vestiges confirm its Punic origins[146], but Polybius, who visited the Roman city in 133 B.C.[147], most likely heard there about the Θερσῖται and Μαστιανοί serving as auxiliary troops in Hannibal's army[148]. The ethnic qualification **Taršī(šī)* seems

[141] A. GOETZE, *The Vocabulary of the Princeton Theological Seminary*, in *JAOS* 65 (1945), p. 223-237, see p. 224: [n u n - u ḫ^{kua}] = *di-ta-nu*. Cf. *AHw*, p. 174a; *CAD*, D, p. 165a. The same word could also designate a kind of "aurochs", but the name of a large fish suits a see-going ship much better.

[142] Ancient ships had a proper name; cf. here above, p. 240, and L. CASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 348-360, 439-441. Quite often it was the name of a real or mythical animal (*ibid.*, p. 357).

[143] The inaccurate qualification "anchor of Cartagena", used by J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ, *Relaciones entre Hispania y los Semitas (Sirios, Fenicios, Chipriotas, Cartagineses y Judios) en la Antigüedad*, in R. STIEHL - H.E. STIER (eds.), *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift für Franz Altheim* I, Berlin 1969, p. 42-75 (see p. 43-44), and then repeated by some Spanish scholars, creates unnecessary confusion in the matter.

[144] These inscriptions have been published by J. SANMARTÍN ASCASO, *Inscripciones fenicio-púnicas del sureste hispánico (I)*, in *Aula Orientalis* 4 (1986), p. 89-103 (see p. 89-91, 93, 97-98). See also M.J. FUENTES ESTAÑOL, *op. cit.* (n. 140), p. 66-68, Nos. 13.02-05.

[145] J. MÁS, *El Puerto de Cartagena*, Cartagena 1979, p. 118. The typology of the Punic amphorae has been established by J.M. MAÑÁ DE ANGULO, *Sobre la tipologia de las ánforas púnicas*, in *Actas del VI Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español, Alcoy 1950*, Cartagena 1951, p. 203-210.

[146] A. RODERO RIAZA, *La ciudad de Cartagena en época púnica*, in *Aula Orientalis* 3 (1985), p. 217-225.

[147] POLYBIUS, *History* X, 10.

[148] POLYBIUS, *History* III, 33, 9.

thus to have been known in this region of south Spain until the 2nd century B.C.

Although few authors would induce today from Polybius' mention of Μαστία Ταρσήιον and of the Θερσῖται, Μαστιανοί, that the Tarshish of Scripture could possibly be located on the site of Cartagena, as H. Winckler had suggested more than a century ago[149], the question must be raised with regard to the Greek translators of the Books of Isaiah and Ezekiel. Their versions of the biblical texts date from the years when *Carthago Nova* was built with a magnificent palace[150], large shipyards and arsenals[151], and struck its own money with the remarkable silver coins representing the head of Melqart/Heracles, bearded, laureate, with club over shoulders, and the African elephant ridden by driver with *ankus*[152]. Even if their translation was to date from the early 2nd century B.C., one should not forget that *Carthago Nova* continued to flourish under the Romans and that some Greek writers were calling it simply Καρχηδών, e.g. Appian of Alexandria still in the 2nd century A.D.[153], although Strabo sometimes specifies: Καρχηδὼν (ἡ) Νέα[154]

The occasional spelling Χαλκηδών instead of Καρχηδών does not create a third alternative. The *Codex Alexandrinus* of the Septuagint thus translates *Taršīš* by Χαλκηδόνος in Ez. 38, 13, and the same confusion occurs in a few manuscripts and in a fragment of the Book of Isaiah in Is. 23[155]. This error is attested also in other works, for example in a treatise of the Neo-Platonic philosopher Proclus (A.D. 410 or 412-485), preserved in a Latin version: ... *quis utique Siciliam a Calcedonibus liberasset*[156]. The context does not leave the slightest doubt that the "Chalcedonians" of Proclus are in reality "Carthaginians", and this is confirmed by Proclus' source, viz. a dialogue of Plutarch, *De sera numinis uindicta* 552E, where we read indeed Καρχηδονίων[157].

[149] H. WINCKLER, *Altorientalische Forschungen* I, Leipzig 1893, p. 445. Cf. G. PÉREZ GARRIGÓS, *El país de la plata. ¿Cartagena fue Tartessos?*, Cartagena 1969.

[150] POLYBIUS, *History* X, 10, 9.

[151] POLYBIUS, *History* III, 95, 2; X, 8, 2.5; LIVY, *Roman History* XXVI, 51, 8; APPIAN, *Roman History* VI. *The Wars in Spain* 23.

[152] A. VIVES Y ESCUDERO, *La moneda hispánica*, Madrid 1926, Pl. VIII; B.V. HEAD, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London 1932, p. 65 and Pl. 37, Nos. 1-2.

[153] APPIAN, *Roman History* VI. *The Wars in Spain* 19.20.24.

[154] STRABO, *Geography* III, 2, 10; 4, 6.

[155] B.E. DONOVAN, *An Isaiah Fragment in the Library of Congress*, in *HTR* 61 (1968), p. 625-628 and 1 Pl.

[156] PROCLUS, *De decem dubitationibus circa Providentiam* LVI, 29-30, in H. BOESE (ed.), *Procli Diadochi tria opuscula*, Berlin 1960, p. 92.

[157] PLUTARCH, *Moralia*: *On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance* 552E.

It would be tempting to connect the Carthage of the Septuagint with *Carthago Nova* in the region of south Spain that corresponds approximately to Tarshish/Tartessus. However, the immediate context of the concerned passages shows beyond doubt that the great Carthage of Africa is meant, and this is confirmed by the later tradition which does not hesitate to identify Tarshish with Carthage in the Roman province of *Africa Proconsularis*.

The main text of the Septuagint is the poem of Is. 23, entitled "Vision of Tyre"[158]. The translator uses the Hebrew text quite freely and writes in a good Hellenistic *koinè* of the 3rd century B.C. For him, "the Tarshish ships" of the Hebrew original are no longer Phoenician vessels trading with the Far West, but Carthaginian ships coming to Tyre, the mother-city of Carthage. After the title "Vision of Tyre", he first addresses the Carthaginian sailors:

> "Howl, you ships of Carthage, for she is ruined
> and no longer they come from the land of Citium" (v. 1).

Then he exhorts the inhabitants of Tyre to leave their island or to addict themselves to agricultural work instead of pursuing their trade links with Carthage:

> "Make your way to Carthage,
> howl, you who dwell on this island ... (v. 6).
> Take to the tillage of your land,
> for ships no longer come from Carthage" (v. 10).

He closes the original section of the poem by repeating its initial words:

> "Howl, you ships of Carthage,
> for your shelter is ruined" (v. 14).

Tarshish/Tartessus was already meaningless for the translator of the Book of Isaiah, and one could wonder whether he alluded to the siege and capture of Tyre by Alexander the Great, in 332 B.C., or to the less spectacular siege of the city by Antigonus, that lasted nevertheless for fifteen months, in 314/3 B.C.[159] Since Is. 23 refers to the destruction of Tyre, the translator should have its capture by Alexander in mind: 8,000 of the citizens were then slaughtered, 2,000 later on executed, and

[158] P.A. FLINT, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah 23:1-14 and the Massoretic Text* (Abstract), in C.E. COX (ed.), *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Atlanta 1991, p. 61-62.

[159] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIX, 61, 6.

30,000 sold into slavery[160]. Such an allusion can be assumed easier if the translation of Is. 23 goes back to the 3rd century B.C. As for the mentions of the Καρχηδόνιοι ἔμποροι in Ez. 27, 12.25 and 38, 13, they certainly refer to "Carthaginian traders" from North Africa, not to the people of *Carthago Nova*. This identification of *Taršīš* implies that the African Metropolis was then continuing an unabated commercial activity. Referring to Ezekiel, also Eusebius of Caesarea and St. Jerome explicitly identify Tarshish with Carthage[161], at least in Ezekiel's texts.

Moreover, this identification is evident in the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, the hero of an anonymous novel, the oldest extant version of which is written in Latin and dates back to the 5th-6th centuries A.D.[162] Its marked resemblance to the *Antheia and Habrokomes* of Xenophon of Ephesus[163], as well as an analysis of concrete details like the name of Stranguillio, suggest however that there was a Greek original of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. The story relates that Antiochus, the ruler of the kingdom of Antioch, maintained incestuous relations with his daughter and kept off her suitors by asking them a riddle, which they must solve on pain of losing their heads. Apollonius of Tyre solved the riddle[164], returned to Tyre and, to escape the king's vengeance, set sail for Tharsis[165] in search of a place of refuge, like Jonah did in the biblical story (Jon. 1, 3). However, Tharsis is here Carthage, not Spain or Tarsus in Cilicia[166]. This is shown by the words of the steersman of the Tyrian

[160] ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 24; DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVII, 44-46; QUINTUS CURTIUS, *History* IV, 4, 10-21.

[161] E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 120), p. 100-103 and 118-119. St. JEROME, *Letter* 37, 1, reproaches to Reticius, bishop of Autun, to identify *Tharsis* with *Tarsus*, the city *in qua Paulus apostolus natus sit*.

[162] There are two main recensions of the Latin version: RA and RB. Recent text editions and studies reveal a renewed interest for this novel: D. TSITSIKILI, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Königstein 1981; cf. J.M. HUNT, *On Editing Apollonius*, in *Classical Philology* 78 (1983), p. 331-343; G.A.A. KORTEKAAS (ed.), *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Groningen 1984; G. SCHMELING (ed.), *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, Leipzig 1988.

[163] G. DALMEYDA (ed.), *Xénophon d'Éphèse*: *Les Éphésiaques ou Le Roman d'Habrocomès et d'Anthia* (Coll. Budé), Paris 1926.

[164] The theme of a Tyrian capable of solving riddles proposed by a foreign monarch, like Solomon, is exploited already by Dius and Menander of Ephesus, both quoted by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Against Apion* I, 17, §115; 18, §120, and *Jewish Antiquities* VIII, 5, 3, §144-146.149.

[165] The form *Tharsis*, occurring in RA X, 3, corresponds to the spelling of the *Vetus Latina*. Other spellings are *Tharsus, Tharsos, Tharsius* and *T(h)arsia*, exceptionally *Tarsus*. The form *Tarsis*, used by G. SCHMELING, *op. cit.* (n. 162), is not attested in the manuscripts.

[166] The identification of Tharsis with Tarsus is based on a complete misconception of the story, since Tarsus lies much closer to Antioch than Tyre. Nevertheless, this assumption serves even as a basis for a theory attempting at dating the novel: R. ZIEGLER, *Die*

royal ship: *Subiacet nobis litus Tarsiae* (RB VIII, 10-11), "The seashore of Tharsis is subject to us". This is a reference to Carthage, the daughter-city founded by Tyre, and to its littoral colonized by Tyrians according to a widespread tradition, while Tarsus never was a Tyrian dependence. Moreover, the name of Stranguillio, who proved false to Apollonius' trust in Tharsis, can be explained easily by the Greek word στραγγαλιῶν, "deceitful", "cunning"[167], and should probably be connected with the literary theme of the *fides Punica*[168]. Even Apollonius' journey to Cyrene points to a coasting of the African shore from Carthage to Cyrenaica. In fact, a storm surprised his ship in the Syrtis, as indicated by the mentions of the *Affrius* wind and of Triton (XI), believed to have appeared to the Argonauts at Lake Tritonis and given them the clod of earth that was the pledge of the future possession of Cyrene[169]. The name of Tharsia, Apollonius' daughter, was obviously chosen because of its connection with the name of Tharsis. It reminds us of the feminine surname of *Tharsissa*, attested in Byzacium, a province of Roman Africa[170], and of the name of the *pulcherrima Tarsis*, buried in Milan[171].

One could wonder why the author of the novel did not use the plain name of Carthage instead of Tharsis. There is no evident answer to this question, but one might suggest that a somewhat "esoteric" place name was preferred by the author at the time when "Carthage" could indicate the *Colonia Concordia Iulia Karthago*. The reconstruction of the thermal baths, city walls and towers of Tharsis, attributed to Apollonius in LI, 2-3, may nevertheless contain an allusion to Roman Carthage, whose monuments by the 2nd century A.D. had become second only to Rome in the western Mediterranean.

"Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri" und der Kaiserkult in Tarsos, in *Chiron* 14 (1984), p. 219-234; E. BADIAN, *Apollonius at Tarsus*, in *Studia in honorem I. Kajanto*, Helsinki 1985, p. 15-21.

[167] PLUTARCH, *Moralia*: *Table-Talk* 618F. However, P.A. CLEMENT, *Plutarch's Moralia* VIII, London 1969, p. 43, translates "contentious", while Fr. FUHRMANN, *Plutarque: Oeuvres morales* IX/1, Paris 1972, p. 28, proposes "étrangleur".

[168] On this theme, see M. DUBUISSON, *L'image du Carthaginois dans la littérature latine*, in *Studia Phoenicia I-II*, Leuven 1983, p. 159-167; I. PALADINO, *Marci e Atilii tra fides romana e fraus punica*, in *Atti del II Congresso internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1991, Vol. I, p. 179-185.

[169] Cf. G. MARGINESU, *Il passaggio in* Libye *nelle tradizioni intorno agli Argonauti*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 159-175.

[170] A. MERLIN - L. POINSSOT - L. CHATELAIN, *Inscriptions latines d'Afrique*, Paris 1923, No. 38: *Calpurnia Theoclia quae et Tatia Tharsissa*. Cf. I. KAJANTO, *Supernomina*, Helsinki 1966, p. 41. The writer owes these references to the kindness of J. Desanges.

[171] See here above, p. 250, n. 114. The masculine names Θαρσίας and Θάρσις are better attested: P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, Oxford 1987, p. 209. See also *Thersius* in North Africa: *ILAlg* I, 263 (Ġwalma), 2108 (Mdawrūš).

Aramaic Targums went a step further and replaced the name of Tarshish by "Africa" in I Kings 10, 22; 22, 49; Jer. 10, 9; II Chron. 9, 21[172]. The name *'Afrīqā* used by the Targums refers to the Roman province of *Africa Proconsularis*, which initially corresponded to the Carthaginian territory. This tradition was continued later by Arab geographers like Ibn Ḥawqal[173], in the 10th century, al-Bakrī[174], in the 11th century, and al-Idrīsī[175], in the 12th century, as well as by *Marāsid al-iṭṭilā'*, the epitome of Yāqūt's *Mu'ǧam al-buldān*[176]. These authors regard Tarshish as the ancient name of Tunis[177]. An extension of this tradition can be recognized in the Judaeo-African legend about Djerba, which links the foundation of the Jewish community on the island with king Solomon and identifies Tarshish with Zarziz, on the seacoast of south Tunisia[178].

A localization of Tarshish at Carthage can be found also in a Christian tradition. Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*ca.* A.D. 393-466) in his commentaries to the First Book of Kings, to Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jonah explicitly identifies Tarshish with Carthage, the capital of the Roman province of Africa, and rightly stresses that Jonah's embarking at Jaffa clearly points at a western direction[179]. A similar location is implied in the 6th century by the mention of a bishop *Iohannes* who bore the title of *episcopus Tharsensis* in a region of south Tunisia[180].

[172] A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic* II, Leiden 1959, p. 240 and 271; Vol. III, Leiden 1962, p. 160; Vol. IVA, Leiden 1968, p. 41. For another localization of the Golden Land, provided by the Targums, see below, p. 263.

[173] M.J. DE GOEJE (ed.), *Ibn Ḥawqal: Kitāb al-masālik w'al-mamālik* II, Leiden 1873, p. 49.

[174] AL-BAKRI, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, French translation by MCGUCKIN DE SLANE, 2nd ed., Alger 1911, p. 37 and 38 of the Arabic text. There is a new edition by H. VAN LEWEN - A. FERRÉ (eds.), *Al-Bakrī: Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*, 2 vols., Carthage 1992.

[175] R. DOZY - M.J. DE GOEJE (eds.), *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, Leiden 1866, p. 130.

[176] J.G.J. JUYNBOLL (ed.), *Lexicon geographicum*, Leiden 1852, p. 452.

[177] According to MCGUCKIN DE SLANE, in *Journal Asiatique* 1858, p. 505-506, Arab geographers would follow the localization of Tarshish proposed by Ka'ab al-Aḥbār, who died in Homs in 652/3 A.D. The latter was a Jew from Yemen, converted to Islam.

[178] G. OPPERT, *Tarschisch und Ophir*, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 35 (1903), p. 50-72, 212-265 (see p. 72).

[179] THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *In librum III Regnorum, interrogatio* XXXVI (*PG* 80, col. 700; N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS - J.R. BUSTO SAIZ [eds.], *Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena*, Madrid 1984); *In Esaiam* 23, 1; 60, 9; 66, 19 (J.-N. GUINOT [ed.], *Théodoret de Cyr: Commmentaire sur Isaïe* [SC 276, 295, 315], Paris 1980, 1982, 1984); *In divini Ezechielis prophetiam interpretatio* 27, 12 (*PG* 81, col. 1080); *Interpretatio Ionae prophetae* 1 (*PG* 81, col. 1724-1725). Cf. G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 337.

[180] A. BESCHAOUCH, *De l'Africa latino-chrétienne à l'Ifriqiya arabo-musulmane: questions de toponymie*, in *CRAI* 1986, p. 530-546 (see p. 545-546).

5. Tarshish in Cilicia, Ethiopia, and India

Completely different localizations of Tarshish are advocated by Josephus Flavius. In his paraphrase of Gen. 10, 4, where the Septuagint simply transcribes Θαρσις, he clearly identifies this place with Tarsus, specifying that this is the main city of Cilicia and adding that their inhabitants have changed the Θ of Θάρσος into the T of Τάρσος[181]. The Greek text used by Josephus obviously spelt the name Θαρσος like the *Codex Alexandrinus* in Ez. 27, 25, where there is a *lectio conflata* of Καρχηδόνιοι ἔμποροί σου and Θαρσος ἔμποροί σου, based on a Hebrew text in which the *y* of *tršyš* has been confounded with a *w* (***tršwš*).

In his interpretation of I Kings 10, 22, where the Septuagint has ναῦς Θαρσις, Josephus says instead that Solomon had many ships in "the so-called Tarsian Sea", ἡ Ταρσικὴ λεγομένη θάλαττα[182]. Since he does not mention Hiram, the king of Tyre, but writes that these ships were bringing silver and gold, also much ivory, Ethiopians and monkeys, he probably identified this sea with the Gulf of Elat and the Red Sea[183]. However, the identification with Tarsus in Cilicia reappears when Josephus deals with the story of Jonah (Jon. 1, 3), "who embarking on a ship sailed to Tarsus in Cilicia", πλοῖον εὑρὼν ἐκβὰς εἰς Ταρσὸν ἔπλει τῆς Κιλικίας[184].

It does not seem that this identification was made previously by Berossus (*fl. ca.* 290 B.C.), author of a history of Babylon in Greek. He wrote about Sennacherib and Tarsus in book II of his work. This passage is preserved only in an Armenian translation of Eusebius' *Chronica*, quoting Alexander Polyhistor, who no doubt abbreviated the account of Berossus[185]. According to this text, Sennacherib built the city of *Tarson*, in Cilicia, after the likeness of Babylon, and he called the city *Tharsin*. Berossus most likely used the accusative Ταρσον of the Greek place name, as well as the accusative Θαρσιν of the Greek transcription of the Assyrian and Aramaic city name *Tarzi/u*, apparently without any reference to Tarshish[186]. The Assyrian name *Tarzi/Tarzu* occurs in cuneiform

[181] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* I, 6, 1, §127.

[182] *Ibid.*, VIII, 7, 2, §181.

[183] Josephus here seems to use a text which was different from the Septuagint version of I Kings 10, 22, similar to II Chron. 9, 21, but not identical.

[184] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* IX, 10, 2, §208.

[185] EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Chronicorum libri duo*, in A. SCHOENE (ed.), Berlin 1866-75, Vol. I, col. 27; *FGH* III C, §680, Frg. 7.

[186] U. TÄCKHOLM, *Neue Studien zum Tarsis-Tartessosproblem*, in *Opuscula Romana* 10 (1974-75), p. 41-57 (see p. 43); G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 339-340.

inscriptions[187], while the Aramaic spelling *Trz* is known from the legends of the city coins, dating from the Persian period[188]. In Semitic, the difference between *Trz* and *Trš(y)š* or cuneiform *Tarzi/u* and *Tarsisi* is thus conspicuous. As for the alleged former name Τερσία of Tarsus, Eratosthenes has already explain it as a derivative of the theonym Ζεὺς Τερσίος, "Tarsian Zeus", a by-name of Sanda[189].

Josephus Flavius avoids localizing the Tarshish of I Kings 10, 22 by mentioning the "Tarsian Sea", but he reports that Solomon's ships sailing there were bringing Ethiopian slaves from their voyage. It is clear therefore that he had expeditions to Ethiopia in mind. This section belongs to Josephus' portrayal of Solomon, which fashions a portrait of a fabulously wealthy potentate, embellishing the biblical account by new details[190]. In the 3rd century, Origen mentions Josephus' point of view in his comments to Ps. 48, 8[191], but he takes various interpretations into account and when dealing with Ps. 72, where the Ethiopians are named in v. 9, he goes a step further: in his comments to v. 10 he considers that Saba was a city in India and concludes that Tarshish, mentioned in the same verse, should be located there as well[192]. The South-Arabian kingdom of Saba could not be placed in India in Origen's days, but Origen very likely knew the midrash on the Cushitic wife of Moses (Numb. 12, 1), native from Σαβα, the capital city of the Ethiopians, which was later called Meroë according to Josephus Flavius[193]. This somewhat mythical city was built far away, on the Nile which Strabo describes as the way used by Alexandrian merchants to ship their goods to India, obviously through Coptos and the ports of Myos Hormos and Leukos Limen, on

[187] PARPOLA, *Toponyms*, p. 349.

[188] E. BABELON, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Les Perses Achéménides,* Paris 1893, p. XXVI and 17-18; G.K. JENKINS, *Two New Tarsos Coins*, in *Revue Numismatique*, 6th ser., 15 (1973), p. 30-34 and Pl. I.

[189] *FGH* III A, §273, Frg. 135 (92).

[190] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* VIII, 7, 2-4, §181-186. Cf. here above, p. 266, and D.R. EDWARDS, *Religion & Power. Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East*, Oxford 1996, p. 40-41.

[191] ORIGEN, *In Ps. XLVII (XLVIII)*, 8 (*PG* 12, col. 1440).

[192] ORIGEN, *In Ps. LXXI (LXXII)*, 9 (*PG* 12, col. 1524). For Origen's interpretations of Tarshish, see G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 334-335.

[193] The midrash is reported by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* II, 10, 2, §252. A different midrash was used in the 2nd century B.C. by the Hellenistic Jewish poet EZEKIEL, *Exagoge* 60-65; cf. H. JACOBSON (ed.), *The* Exagoge *of Ezekiel*, Cambridge 1983, p. 52-54. In his version, the Cushitic woman whom Moses married was Zipporah, not the Ethiopian king's daughter who betrayed the capital city Saba to her lover. For the location of this Saba/Soba, cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 141-142, and here above, p. 227-228.

the Red Sea[194]. Cairns, still recognizable today, seem to mark the overland route from Coptos to Quseir al-Qadim[195], ancient Myos Hormos[196].

Origen (A.D. 185-254) was born at Alexandria, reputed to be the major market for the India trade[197], and he was living in the period when the Nile route to Coptos and Myos Hormos was the main axis of this eastern commerce[198]. Not being particularly interested by geographical questions[199], he connected Σαβα and Θαρσις with this route which brought luxury goods and richness, as suggested by Ps. 72 (71). This was consonant with a rabbinic and geographic view regarding India and Ethiopia as adjacent and contiguous countries[200]. True, other rabbis located India (*Hoddū*, later *Hīndyā*) and Ethiopia (*Kūš*) on opposite sides of the world, like in the Book of Esther, where the Empire of Ahasuerus is said to stretch from *Hoddū* to *Kūš* (Esther 1, 1; 8, 9), but extremes meet, and this happened also in the present case. Targum Jonathan to Zeph. 3, 10 even replaces Hebrew "rivers of *Kūš*" by Aramaic "rivers of *Hoddū*"[201], and Targum Yerushalmi I translates "the land of Hawila, where the gold is" (Gen. 2, 11) by "the Indian (*Hindiqī*) land, where the gold is"[202]. The Babylonian Talmud contains some tales linked to a certain Rabbi Judah, "the Indian", and to his son, whom Rashi calls "an Indian from the land of Ethiopia"[203]. Among ancient geographers, the idea that India and Ethiopia met at a point below the equator appears in the work of Marinus of Tyre, the founder of the math-

[194] STRABO, *Geography* II, 5, 12; XVI, 4, 24; XVII, 1, 13.

[195] S.E. SIDEBOTHAM, *Ports of the Red Sea and the Arabia-India Trade*, in T. FAHD (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, Leiden 1989, p. 195-223 (see p. 212-214); H. CUVIGNY (ed.), *La route de Myos Hormos*, Le Caire 2003.

[196] A. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN - H. CUVIGNY - J.-L. FOURNET, *The Identification of Myos Hormos: New Papyrological Evidence*, in *BIFAO* 94 (1994), p. 27-42.

[197] Cf. M.G. RASCHKE, *New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East,* in *ANRW* II/9, 2, Berlin 1978, p. 604-1631 (see p. 644-645).

[198] The commercial importance of this route came to an end with the destruction of Coptos by Diocletian in A.D. 297, as punishment for its support of a rebellion of Blemmyes in Upper Egypt; cf. *ibid.*, p. 852, n. 831 and 832.

[199] This is indicated by Origen's various interpretations of Tarshish: sea, Tarsus, Ethiopia, India, research of joy; cf. G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 334-335.

[200] For rabbinic influence on Origen, in general, and for his knowledge of Hebrew, see G. BARDY, *Les traditions juives dans l'œuvre d'Origène*, in *RB* 34 (1925), p. 217-252; H. BIETENHARD, *Caesarea, Origenes und die Juden*, Stuttgart 1974; G. SGHERRI, *A proposito di Origene e la lingua ebraica,* in *Augustinianum* 14 (1974), p. 223-257.

[201] A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic* III, Leiden 1962, p. 471.

[202] The same translation of Hawila occurs in Targum Yerushalmi I on Gen. 25, 18. For the location of Hawila, "son of Kūš" (Gen. 10, 7; I Chron. 1, 9), see E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 142-145.

[203] Babylonian Talmud, *Qiddūšīn* 22b; *Bābā Batrā* 74b.

ematical geography in the early 2nd century A.D.[204], and it is followed by Ptolemy[205], who acknowledges his obligations to Marinus. Polybius was already close to this conception when he wrote that Asia and Libya "converge to each other in Ethiopia", συνάπτουσιν ἀλλήλαις περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν[206].

Origen's location of Tarshish in India had thus a rabbinic and geographic background. It was accepted by Athanasius (*ca.* 295-373), bishop of Alexandria, who adopted this interpretation even for the Tarshish of the Book of Jonah[207], and Cyril of Alexandria (?-444) followed suit presenting this localization as a generally adopted view[208]. In fact, this seems to have been an *opinio communis* in Alexandria, the centre of the India trade. It is echoed by Eusebius[209], St. Jerome[210] and, still in the 6th century, by Hesychius of Jerusalem, who believes that Solomon imported various goods from India[211], also gold, as specified in

[204] H. BERGER, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1903, p. 608-609.

[205] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 9, 1; VII, 3, 6; 5, 2.5, according to C.F.A. NOBBE, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, Leipzig 1843-45 (reprint, Hildesheim 1966). Cf. H. BERGER, *op. cit.* (n. 204), p. 625; F. GISINGER, *Geographie*, in *PW, Suppl.* IV, Stuttgart 1924, col. 521-685 (see col. 661).

[206] POLYBIUS, *History*, III, 38, 1. He does not yet say that they "join", as understood by J.S. ROMM, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*, Princeton 1992, p. 82, n. 1; cf. K. ZIMMERMANN, *Libyen. Das Land südlich des Mittelmeers im Weltbild der Griechen* (Vestigia 51), München 1999, p. 50.

[207] ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* LXVI (*PG* 28, col. 633).

[208] CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Explanatio in Psalmos* 47 (48), 8; 71 (72), 10; *Commentarium in Isaiam prophetam* 60, 8-9; *Commentarium in Jonam prophetam* 3; cf. *PG* 69, col. 1061 and 1181; 70, col. 1332; 71, col. 605. Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *La géographie sacrée chez S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, in *RB* 31 (1922), p. 407-427 (see p. 426).

[209] EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Onomasticon*, in E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 120), p. 100: 23-24 and 102: 1-2.

[210] According to St. JEROME, *Letter* 37, 2, there is no doubt that Tarshish *et Indiae regio ita apelletur, et ipsum mare*; cf. J. LABOURT, *Saint Jérôme: Lettres* II (Coll. Budé), Paris 1951, p. 66; J.J. ARCE, *La Epistola 37 de S. Jerónimo y el problema de Tartessos igual a Tarshish bíblica*, in *Latomus* 33 (1974), p. 943-947; ID., *Tharsis-India-Aethiopia: a propósito de Hieronm. Ep. 37*, in *RSF* 5 (1977), p. 127-130. See also St. JEROME, *De situ et nominibus Hebraicorum locorum*, in E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 120), p. 101, 103; *In Esaiam* I, 2, 16 (M. ADRIAEN [ed.], *CCSL* 73, Turnhout 1963, p. 38); *In Esaiam* XVIII, 66, 18-19 (M. ADRIAEN [ed.], *CCSL* 73A, Turnhout 1963, p. 786); *In Hieremiam prophetam* II, 10, 6-7 (S. REITER [ed.], *CCSL* 74, Turnhout 1960, p. 104); *In Danielem* III, 10, 6 (Fr. GLORIE [ed.], *CCSL* 75A, Turnhout 1964, p. 892); *In Jonam* 1, 3; 4, 2-3 (M. ADRIAEN [ed.], *CCSL* 76, Turnhout 1969, p. 381-382, 411-412; Y.-M. DUVAL, *Jérôme: Commentaire sur Jonas* [SC 323], Paris 1985, p. 174-179, 208-209, 290-291). For the references to Tarshish in St. Jerome's writings, see G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 335-337.

[211] Y.-M. DUVAL, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine* I,

the Suda[212], a 10th-century lexicographic compilation: Θαρσεῖς, χώρα τῆς 'Ινδικῆς, ὅθεν ἤρχετο τῷ Σολομῶντι τὸ χρυσίον.

Because of II Chron. 20, 36-37, S. Bochart admitted the existence of a second Tarshish *in Oceano Indico*[213] and a few modern authors did not hesitate following suit, while regarding the "Tarshish ships" of the mid-first millennium B.C. as vessels sailing to India[214]. Some others identified Tarshish with Tarsus in Cilicia[215], despite the conspicuous difference in the Semitic spelling of the place names.

Paris 1973, p. 633. However, Hesychius follows the Septuagint when he identifies Tarshish with Carthage in the Book of Isaiah (*ibid.*, p. 667).

[212] *Suda*, s.v. Θαρσεῖς, in A. ADLER, *Lexicographi Graeci* I. *Suidas Lexicon*, Leipzig 1928-38, see *Part 2*, Leipzig 1931, p. 685.

[213] S. BOCHART, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 194.

[214] R.D. BARNETT, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum*, London 1957, p. 59-60, 168. The still occurring interpretation of "Tarshish ships" in the sense of ocean-going ships results from an uncritical attempt at explaining the apparently contradictory locations of Tarshish in the Bible.

[215] Some of these authors are listed by G. BUNNENS, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 339, n. 57. Their position is still weakened by the additional hypothesis that Tarshish was the country of Tarsus, "pays de Tarse", as proposed by A. LEMAIRE, *Tarshish*-Tarsisi: *Problème de topographie historique biblique et assyrienne*, in G. GALIL - M. WEINFELD (eds.), *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography, Presented to Zecharia Kallai* (VTS 81), Leiden 2000, p. 44-62.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SYRO-PHOENICIAN COAST ACCORDING TO PSEUDO-SCYLAX §104 AND RECENT RESEARCH

Towards the end of the 6th century B.C. Scylax of Caryanda has written a *Periplus* of the Mediterranean, which was quoted by Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century B.C.), as well as by later authors like Strabo, Marcianus of Heraclea, and Avienus[1]. The preserved information and fragments demonstrate that he cannot be the author of the *Periplus* that bears his name in the *Codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 443* from the 13th century. This work is a sailor's handbook of places and distances all round the coast of the Mediterranean and its branches, and then along the outer Libyan coast as far as the Carthaginians traded. Internal evidence shows that it must be a compilation redacted in the second half of the 4th century B.C., probably under the reign of Philip II of Macedonia (359-336 B.C.)[2], in the years following the collapse of Tennes' anti-Persian revolt *ca.* 346/5.

Although this *Periplus* was interpolated and abridged in the following centuries, it contains precious information which partly antedates the 4th century B.C. In particular §104, which deals with the Syro-Phoenician coast[3], enumerates a number of harbours and coastal cities which recent research and study can localize better and characterize in a more precise way than earlier publications. An important research principle in these

[1] On Scylax of Caryanda and his work, see M.L. ALLAIN, *The Periplous of Skylax of Karyanda*, Ph. D. Ohio State University 1977, p. 43-85; DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 87-90.

[2] See DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 90-93. This dating is accepted also by J. ELAYI, *Recherches sur les cités phéniciennes à l'époque perse*, Napoli 1987, p. 78, although some of the dates she gives within the Persian period are questionable. A. PERETTI, *Il periplo di Scilace*, Pisa 1979, rightly emphasizes that the *Periplus* is based on material from the 6th-4th centuries B.C. His opinion about the origin and composition of Pseudo-Scylax prompted the contributions of D. MARCOTTI, *Le Périple dit de Scylax*, in *Bollettino dei Classici*, 3rd ser., 7 (1986), p. 166-182, and F.J. GONZÁLEZ PONCE, *Revisión de la opinión de A. Peretti sobre el origen cartográfico del Periplo del Ps.-Escilax*, in *Habis* 22 (1991), p. 151-155.

[3] §104 according to the edition by C. MÜLLER, *Geographi Graeci Minores* I, Paris 1855, p. 15-96. It is §87 in the editon by B. FABRICIUS, *Anonymi, vulgo Scylacis Caryandensis, periplum maris interni* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), Leipzig 1878. See also A. PERETTI, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 505-538.

matters is to preserve, as much as possible, the text of the manuscript without arbitrarily emending the place names, allegedly corrupt. This practice, fashionable in the 19th century, was followed unfortunately by more recent authors[4] and the arbitrarily corrected text has been republished some fifteen years ago without even indicating the readings of the *Codex Parisinus*[5]. However, the continuous use of Greek breathings and accents is found only in mediaeval manuscripts from the 9th century onwards. Inaccurate or anachronistic accentuation, especially in foreign place names, may thus occur in the *Codex Parisinus* and we shall then deviate exceptionally from the manuscript, as in the case of Θαψακοῦ. Having said this, we read the text of the *Codex* as follows:

§104. ΣΥΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗ. Ἔστι μετὰ Κιλικίαν ἔθνος Σύροι. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ οἰκοῦσι τὰ παρὰ θάλατταν Φοίνικες ἔθνος, ἐπὶ στενὸν ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάττης, ἐνιαχῇ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ σταδίους ι' τὸ πλάτος. Ἀπὸ δὲ Θαψακοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ Τρίπολις Φοινίκων, Ἄραδος νῆσος καὶ λιμήν, βασίλεια Τύρου, ὅσον η' στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐν τῇ χερρονήσῳ ἑτέρα πόλις Τρίπολις· αὕτη ἐστὶν Ἀράδου καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδῶνος· ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τρεῖς πόλεις καὶ περίβολον ἑκάστη τοῦ τείχους ἴδιον ἔχει· καὶ ὄρος Θεοῦ πρόσωπον, Τήρος [πόλις] καὶ λιμήν, Βηρυτὸς πόλις καὶ λιμὴν βορινός, Πορφυρέων πόλις, Σιδὼν πόλις καὶ λιμὴν κλειστός, Ὀρνίθων πόλις. Σιδωνίων ἀπὸ Λεόντων πόλεως μέχρι Ὀρνίθων πόλεως, Τυρίων πόλις Σάραπτα, ἄλλη πόλις Τύρος λιμένα ἔχουσα ἐντὸς τείχους· αὕτη δὲ ἡ νῆσος βασίλεια Τυρίων, καὶ ἀπέχει στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης γ'· Παλαίτυρος πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς [ὅς] διὰ μέσης ῥεῖ, καὶ πόλις τῶν [Ἐκδίππων] καὶ ποταμὸς καὶ Ἄκη πόλις, Ἔξωπη πόλις Τυ[ρίων· Κάρμηλος] ὄρος ἱερὸν Διός· Ἄραδος πόλις Σιδονίων, [Μάγδωλος πόλις] καὶ ποταμὸς Τυρίων· Δῶρος πόλις Σιδονίων· [Ἰόππη πόλις· ἐκτε]θῆναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν τῷ κήτει· Ἀσκά]λων πόλις Τυρίων καὶ βασίλεια. Ἐνταῦθα ὅρος ἐστὶ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας. Παράπλους Κοίλης Συρίας ἀπὸ Θαψακοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι Ἀσκάλωνος στάδια αψ'.

[4] For example, K. GALLING, *Die syrisch-palästinische Küste nach der Beschreibung bei Pseudo-Skylax*, in *ZDPV* 61 (1938), p. 66-96, reprinted in K. GALLING, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1964, p. 185-210. Galling's arbitrary change of Τρίπολις into πρώτη πόλις (*ibid.*, p. 204) is still accepted by A.F. RAINEY, *Herodotus' Description of the East Mediterranean Coast*, in *BASOR* 321 (2001), p. 57-63 (see p. 58).

[5] F. MAZZA - S. RIBICHINI - P. XELLA, *Fonti classiche per la civiltà fenicia e punica* I, Roma 1988, p. 134-136.

§104. "SYRIA AND PHOENICIA. After Cilicia there is the Syrian nation. In Syria, the Phoenician nation inhabits the region of the seacoast and lives in a narrow tract of land, which extends less than forty stadia from the sea, although in some places the breadth is not even ten stadia. Beyond the river of Tapsaḥ lies Tripoli of the Phoenicians, the island and harbour of Arwad with a royal residence of Tyre, distant about eight stadia from the mainland, and on the peninsula there is another city Tripoli, which belongs to Arwad, Tyre, and Sidon; there are three cities at this location and each has its own circuit of walls. Next are the mountain known as God's Face, the city and harbour of (B)teros, [the city] and the northern harbour of Beirut, the city of Porphyreon, the city and the enclosed harbour of Sidon, and Ornithopolis. To the Sidonians belongs (the area) from the city of Leontos to Ornithopolis. To the Tyrians belongs the city of Sarepta, another city known as Tyre, which has a harbour within the walls; this island is the royal residence of the Tyrians and it lies three stadia from the sea[coast]. Next are Palaetyros, a city and a river, which flows through its middle, and the city of Achzib and a river; then the city of Akko; Achshaph, a city of the Ty[rians; Carmel], the holy mountain of Zeus; Arados, a city of the Sidonians; [Magdolos, a city] and a river of the Tyrians; Dor, a city of the Sidonians; [Jaffa, a city] where Andromeda is said to have been exposed [to the sea-monster; Asca]lon, a city of the Tyrians and a royal residence. Here is the border of Coele-Syria. The coasting of Coele-Syria from the river of Tapsaḥ to Ascalon, 1,700 stadia".

Having dealt with the Cilician coast and with Cyprus (§102-103), Pseudo-Scylax describes the long extent of the coast-line between the Nahr al-Ḥuseyn and Ascalon, without indicating the length of Phoenicia along the Mediterranean shore, although he specifies that its width varies from forty stadia (7.4 km) to less than ten stadia (1.85 km). He must thus regard the first ridge of hills behind the coast-line as the eastern boundary of Phoenicia. The term Phoenicia was often applied with a good deal of vagueness, but it is surprising that no harbour is mentioned between the Θαψακὸς ποταμός, apparently the Lower Orontes, and "the Arwadian coast-tract", ἡ τῶν Ἀραδίων παραλία[6], where Pseudo-Scylax locates his first Τρίπολις. Also the use of Θαψακός by Pseudo-Scylax is remarkable, since this appears to be an adjectival derivative in *-ko-*[7]

[6] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 12.

[7] A. MEILLET - J. VENDRYES, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, 3rd ed., Paris 1960, p. 384, § 576. One can compare Ἀρμενιακός from Ἄρμενια, Βαβυλωνιακός from Βαβυλωνία, Συριακός from Συρία.

The area of Al-Mina according to *Eastern Turkey in Asia* 28, 2nd ed., London 1915, used also by J. Elayi in Studia Phoenicia V (OLA 22, p. 253). The map reflects the topography of the area before World War I.

from the place name Θαψά. Pseudo-Scylax gives this name to a harbour town of the Algerian coast (§111) and Θαψά is Origen's transcription of Hebrew *tpsḥ* in I Kings 5, 4. This noun, which means "ford", derives from the root *psḥ*, "to go through", "to walk through"[8]. The Greek rendering Θαψά provides the correct vocalization and, by omission, suggests the final pharyngeal of the name, in contrast to the unexpected Θαψακός found in writings of Classical authors[9] who use, as a matter of fact, a substantivized adjective.

The "river of Tapsaḥ" is mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax because he considers it as the frontier between Cilicia and Coele-Syria. This river cannot but be the Orontes, although Tapsaḥ is no attested name for the river. Pseudo-Scylax, interested as he was in the coast only, did not bother to mention the real name of the Orontes, but simply indicated the harbour located at its mouth, thus informing the Greek mariners about this safe anchorage, which should correspond to Al-Mina, the ancient name of which has not been established as yet. Tapsaḥ, "ford", became the proper name of different places near fordable crossings on the Euphrates and it must designate a similar place at the mouth of the Orontes in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax[10]. No ford is attested so far in this area, where the river is rather broad, but the winding stream could probably be crossed at some point in a vehicle or by wading during the dry season and, at any rate, ferry-boats crossing a river were known at that time. They are already represented in Assyria on the bronze bands of the Balāwāt Gates, in the 9th century B.C.[11], and could even transport chariots and horses[12]. Tapsaḥ should thus be regarded as the ancient Semitic name of Al-Mina in the period from the 8th through the 4th century B.C. Its mention by Pseudo-Scylax in the mid-4th century B.C. refers to the harbour town of Level II, dated to *ca.* 375-301 B.C.[13]

[8] Hence Arabic *fasaḫa*, "to dislocate", "to disjoint".

[9] M. GAWLIKOWSKI, *Thapsacus and Zeugma: The Crossing of the Euphrates in Antiquity*, in *Iraq* 58 (1996), p. 123-133 (see p. 123).

[10] E. HONIGMANN, *Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum*, in *ZDPV* 46 (1923), p. 149-193; 47 (1924), p. 1-64, see p. 45, No. 456 ("eine Furt des Orontes"), cf. p. 24, No. 345: *Ad Orontem.*

[11] M.-Chr. DE GRAEVE, *The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c. 2000-500 B.C.)* (OLA 7), Leuven 1981, p. 43-44 and Pl. XV, Nos. 41-42.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 40 and Pls. XII-XIII, Nos. 37-38; p. 49 and Pl. XXI, No. 53; p. 57 and Pl. XXXII, No. 67; cf. p. 111-112.

[13] Beside the summary presentation of the results obtained from the excavations by L. WOOLLEY, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, Harmondsworth 1953, p. 173-188, see J. ELAYI, *Al-Mina sur l'Oronte à l'époque perse*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987,

Alternative explanations of the use of Θαψακός by Pseudo-Scylax are not convincing. It is hard to believe, in fact, that the mouth of the Orontes was called Thapsacus, because there began the road to the crossing at Thapsacus on the Middle Euphrates[14], or because the river was unnavigable on account of the ford existing near its mouth[15]. Quite opposite, the site of Al-Mina at the mouth of the Orontes was an important trade centre in the 4th century B.C. and its harbour was located precisely on the river's right bank, which provided shelter for small mercantile crafts.

The second question concerns the lack of any reference to a harbour between the mouth of the Orontes and the continental region near Arwad. This tract was obviously not considered as Phoenicia proper and has been left aside, possibly by an abridger.

1. Tripoli on the Arwadian Coast-Tract

The first Phoenician city mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax is the "Triple city" of the Arwadian coast-line. Τρίπολις was a joint Greek name for three settlements, probably Carnus, which Strabo calls the naval warehouse (ἐπίνειον) of Arwad[16], Enhydra, identified by E. Renan with Tell Ġamqe[17], and Marathus, modern 'Amrīt. Antaradus or Ṭarṭūs is of a date subsequent to the time of the *Periplus*, when it was the site of the Arwadian necropolis[18].

Carnus was identified already by E. Renan with Tell Qarnūn[19], on the coast, 4 km north of Ṭarṭūs and 4.5 km northeast of the small island of

p. 249-266; J. Boardman, *Al Mina and History*, in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9 (1990), p. 169-186; Id., *The Excavated History of Al Mina*, in G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks: West and East*, Leiden 1999, p. 135-161. However, J.N. Coldstream, *The First Exchanges between Euboeans and Phoenicians: Who Took the Initiative?*, in S. Gitin - A. Mazar - E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E. In Honor of Prof. Trude Dothan*, Jerusalem 1998, p. 353-360, calls Boardman's characterization of Al-Mina as a Greek emporium of the 8th century B.C. "... a modern myth, created by one interpretation of Sir L. Woolley's finds at Al Mina in the 1930s. ..." (quotation from p. 354).

[14] M. Gawlikowski, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 130.

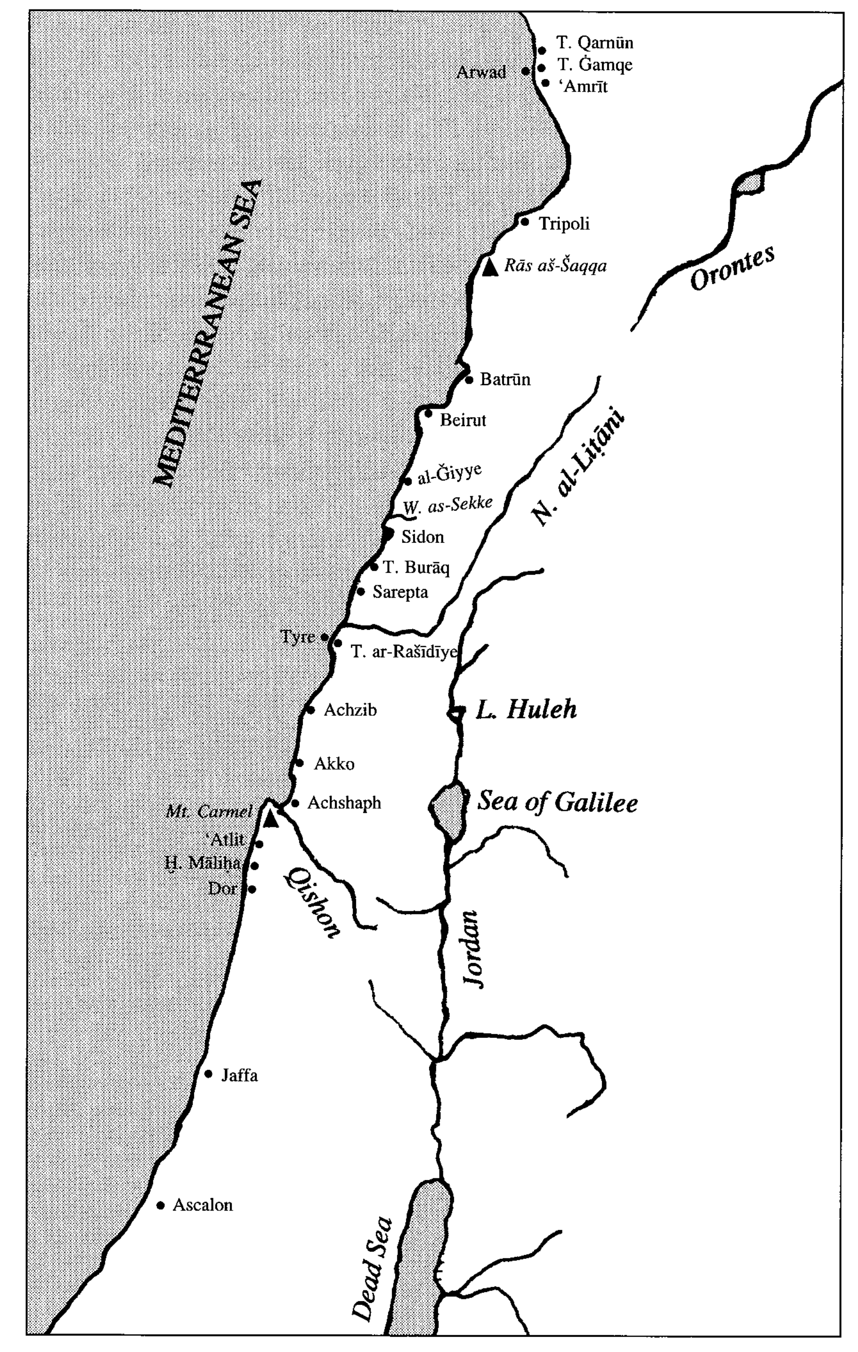
[15] K. Galling, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 189.

[16] Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2, 13.

[17] E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris 1864, p. 19 and 46.

[18] This is why it yielded a large quantity of Phoenician material. Cf. J. Elayi - M.R. Haykal, *Nouvelles découvertes sur les usages funéraires des Phéniciens d'Arwad*, Paris 1996, p. 12 and 39-47, with former literature. For the anthropoid sarcophagi in particular, see B. Lembke, *Die phönizischen anthropoiden Sarkophage aus den Nekropolen der Insel Arados*, in *DaM* 10 (1998), p. 97-130; Ead., *Phönizische anthropoide Sarkophage* (Damaszener Forschungen 10), Mainz a/R 2001, p. 136-144 and *passim*.

[19] E. Renan, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 97.



Pseudo-Scylax §104.

Arwad[20]. Its Phoenician name *Qrn*, "Horn", refers to the foreland protecting the tiny bay of al-Mina[21], which affords a safe anchorage for small vessels, not to the name of a Phoenician called Karnos, as stated by Stephen of Byzantium[22]. Its Phoenician name *Qrn* appears on its coinage, dating to the Hellenistic period, while the corresponding Greek monetary legend reads *KAP*(νη)[23]. Strabo mentions its "small harbour" (λιμένιον)[24] and the *Stadiasmus maris magni* refers to its "anchorage" (σάλος) and to its "cothons" (κοιτῶνας) for small vessels, specifying that the access from the high sea is easy[25]. The dating of the coins by the Arwad era and the discovery of an anthropoid sarcophagus of the Arwadian type at the nearby site of al-Qayṣūna[26] confirm the dependance of Carnus from Arwad.

Enhydra is mentioned by Strabo immediately after Carnus[27], without alluding to Ṭarṭūs. This shows that Strabo's information was anterior to the development of a town at the site of Arwad's necropolis[28]. Tell

[20] The unusual spelling *Qarnūm* and the faulty distance of 2.6 km are given by J. ELAYI, *Les sites phéniciens de Syrie au Fer III/Perse. Bilan et perspectives de recherche*, in G. BUNNENS (ed.), *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Suppl. 7), Louvain 2000, p. 327-348 (see p. 329, Fig. 1, and p. 334, 343). The 2.6 km are the distance from the island to the closest point on the continent.

[21] The Semitic word *qrn* is not attested with the connotation "bay" like the Greek noun κέρας, used in such a way from the time of HESIOD (*Theogony* 789: 'Ωκεανοῖο κέρας) through the Byzantine period, when the deep and narrow inlet of Constantinople was called "Golden Horn"; cf. S. SEGERT, *Phoenician Background of Hanno's Periplus*, in *MUSJ* 45 (1969), p. 501-518 (see p. 517). Somewhat misguiding are the conclusions of the article by J. DESANGES, *Le sens du terme "Corne" dans le vocabulaire géographique des Grecs et des Romains: à propos du "Périple d'Hannon"*, in *BAC*, n.s. 20-21 (1984-85 [1989]), p. 29-34, reprinted in J. DESANGES, *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta minora*, Paris 1999, p. 33-38.

[22] STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, ed. A. MEINEKE, *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, Berlin 1849, s.v. Κάρνη.

[23] G.F. HILL, *Phoenicia. A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London 1910, p. XXXVIII-XL and 111-112. The erroneous transliteration *KRN* is given by J. ELAYI, *loc. cit.* (n. 20).

[24] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 12.

[25] *Stadiasmus maris magni* §128, in *GGM* I, p. 472. The *Stadiasmus maris magni* is based probably on a text dating from the 1st century A.D.: G. UGGERI, *Stadiasmus Maris Magni: un contributo per la datazione,* in *L'Africa Romana* XI, Ozieri 1996, p. 277-285. It is preserved in only one manuscript, the *Matritensis Graecus 121*. Beside the publication in *GGM* I, p. 427-514, generally used, there is a more recent edition by O. CUNTZ, *Der Stadiasmus maris magni,* in A. BAUER, *Die Chronik des Hippolytos im Matritensis Graecus 121* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 29 = n.s. 14/1), Leipzig 1905, p. 243-276, with comments and corrections to *GGM* I.

[26] J. ELAYI - M.R. HAYKAL, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 82-83; K. LEMBKE, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 142, No. 80.

[27] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 12.

[28] The earliest mentions of Ṭarṭūs/Antaradus occur in PTOLEMY's *Geography* V, 14, 12

Ġamqe is situated just in front of ar-Ruwād, the Arwad island. It is uncertain whether *Q-m-q* in an inscription of Ramesses III corresponds to Ġamqe[29], because it does not appear that this pharaoh ever reached northern Syria. As for the site's Graeco-Phoenician name Enhydra, "Source (Phoenician) of water (Greek)", it alludes to the nearby nice spring. The name of Tell Ġamqe and of the Nahr Ġamqe also refers to these waters, since it derives from Arabic *ġamiqa*, "to be damp". The element *'ēn* of Enhydra may indicate that the Phoenician name of the site was *'Ēn-'Arwad*, "Source of Arwad", reshaped later into Antarados, the ancient name of Ṭarṭūs, that lies 2 km north of Tell Ġamqe. A Phoenician funerary inscription, datable to the 3rd century B.C., was found near the mound in 1896[30], probably in the area of Ḥay al-Ḥamrat, where also an anthropoid sarcophagus of the Arwadian type was discovered in a tomb[31]. The necropolis from the Roman period, found at 'Azar, may have depended from Enhydra as well[32], unless the latter was already absorbed by Antaradus.

The third city belonging to the Arwadian Τρίπολις is called *Mrt* in the Phoenician legend of its coinage[33] and Μάραθος in Greek texts. It occupies the site of 'Amrīt, about 5 km south of Ṭarṭūs, thus to the southeast of the island ar-Ruwād. It enjoyed a good water supply from the Nahr 'Amrīt, a strong running brook, from the Nahr al-Qibla, which joins the Nahr 'Amrīt near its mouth, and from the 'Ayn al-Ḥayyāt. The 1992 discovery of the harbour from the Persian and Hellenistic periods, about 300 metres to the northwest of the 'Ayn al-Ḥayyāt, "the Source of the Snakes"[34], reveals the importance of the site for the navigation and

(p. 974; the references to PTOLEMY's *Geography* are based on C. MÜLLER, *Claudii Ptolemaei geographia* I/2, Paris 1901), in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* XII, 1, and in the Bordeaux Itinerary, written in 333 A.D.: *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, p. 12 (582: 10). The original of the Peutinger Table, probably dating to the 3rd-4th century A.D. and mentioning Antaradus, is based on a somewhat older information: K. MILLER, *Die Peutingersche Tafel* (Ravensbrug 1888), reprint, Stuttgart 1962. See above, p. 200-201.

[29] List XXVII, 113 in J. SIMONS, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia*, Leiden 1937. The identification is suggested by ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 3.

[30] It reads: "Hermaios, (this is) what he erected for Dēmada, daughter of his own", as suggested by the hypocoristic name Δημάδης, and despite the unconvincing analysis of J. TEIXIDOR, *Inscription phénicienne de Tartous (RÉS 56)*, in *Syria* 56 (1979), p. 145-151.

[31] J. ELAYI - M.R. HAYKAL, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 81-82; K. LEMBKE, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 142, No. 79.

[32] N. SALIBY, *Hypogée de la nécropole de 'Azar*, in *MUSJ* 46 (1970-71), p. 271-283.

[33] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. XL-XLV and 119-125.

[34] M.R. HAYKAL, *Amrit et l'occupation humaine dans la plaine du Akkar*, Damas 1996, p. 74-103 (in Arabic), with concise information in M. AL-MAQDISSI, *Chronique des*

the trade. An extensive wharf, warehouses, and dwelling-places unveil the social-economic basis of a city which was known so far for its ancient necropolis and the remains of its temples.

The artificial mound of ‘Amrīt, located northeast of the harbour, only measures 110 by 140 metres, but it yielded material going back to *ca.* 2000 B.C. Eight large tombs were dug on the tell in the Middle or Late Bronze Age, thus in the period when *K-r-t M-r-t,* possibly ‘Amrīt, appears in a topographical list of Tuthmosis III[35]. Thereafter, there is little archaeological evidence before the Persian period, except for the stele of Shadrapha, if it was found at ‘Amrīt [36]. On the tell, only a public building from the late Persian period was found, but many monuments were discovered in other parts of the site[37], and could certainly be seen from the harbour.

To the south, near the ‘Ayn al-Ḥayyāt, there were too small Egyptian-like temples and, a few hundred metres to the east, the monuments of the necropolis which yielded anthropomorphic sarcophagi in marble, stone, and terracotta[38]. Among the funerary monuments erected on a great plateau of rock, two are known as the *Maġāzil,* "spindles" in Arabic[39]. Their cylindrical towers attract the eye from a long distance. They are superimposed upon subterranean chambers reached by a flight of steps cut in the rock, the entrance to which is at a distance of a few paces from the monuments. One of the *Maġāzil* is erected on a rectangular pedestal, while the other has a circular basement. Its dome is a 5.5 metres high

activités archéologiques en Syrie (I), in *Syria* 70 (1993), p. 443-560 (see p. 448-449); J. Elayi - M.R. Haykal, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 22-23; N. Saliby, *‘Amrit*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. I, p. 111-113.

[35] List I, 222, in J. Simons, *op. cit.* (n. 29). Identification made by Abel, *Géographie* II, p. 3.

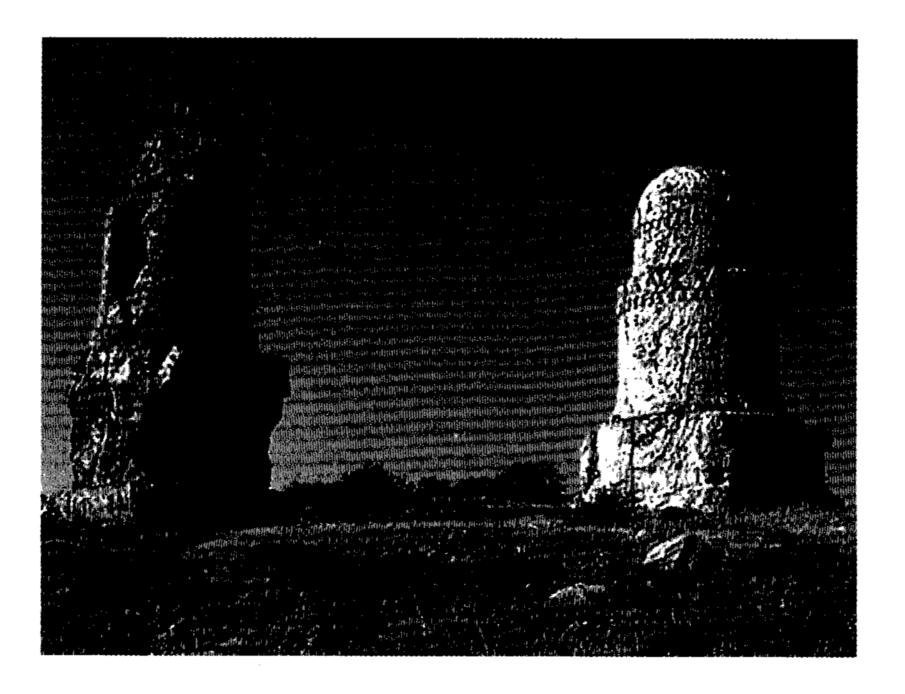
[36] P. Welten, *Götterbild, männliches,* in K. Galling (ed.), *Biblisches Reallexikon,* 2nd ed., Tübingen 1977, p. 99-111, in particular p. 105-107; J. Teixidor, *Stèle votive,* in *Au pays de Baal et d'Astarté,* Paris 1983, p. 222-223, No. 255. For the deity thus called, see E. Lipiński, *Shadday, Shadrapha et le dieu Satrape,* in *ZAH* 8 (1995), p. 247-274. Two unpublished archival letters mention the discovery of the stele near the right bank of the Nahr al-Abraš, close to a great mound, which should be Tell Kāzil, 28 km south of Ṭarṭūs; cf. E. Gubel, in *Syria* 67 (1990), p. 520b.

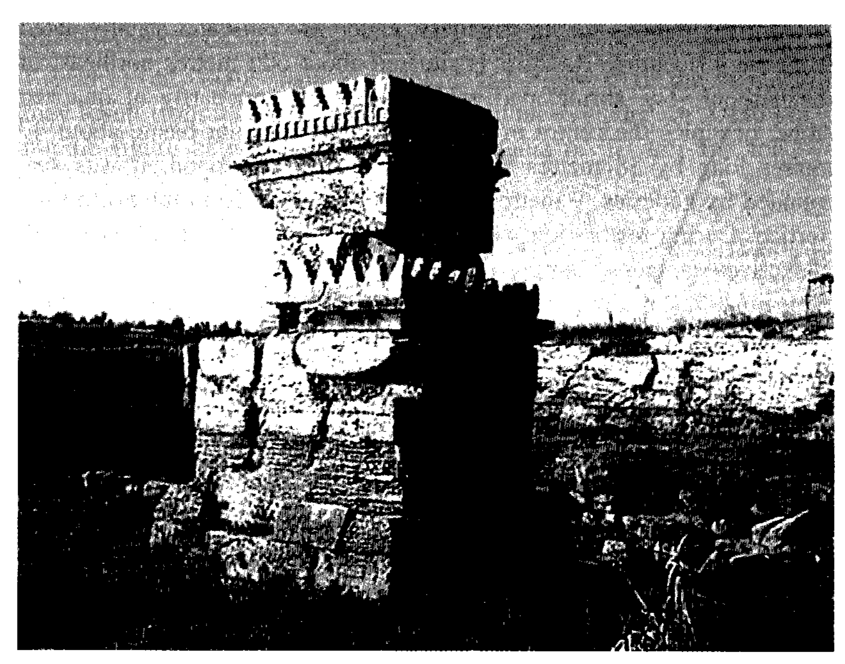
[37] See J. Elayi - M.R. Haykal, *op. cit.* (n. 18), with former literature.

[38] E. Kukahn, *Anthropoide Sarkophage in Beyrouth und die Geschichte dieser sidonischen Sarkophagenkunst,* Berlin 1955, passim; E. Gubel, in *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen,* Bruxelles 1986, p. 93-94, Nos. 9-11; K. Lembke, *art. cit.* and *op. cit.* (n. 18), passim.

[39] E. Renan, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 71-73; W. Ball, *Rome in the East,* London 2000, p. 368, Pl. 128. On the funerary towers in Syria, see E. Will, *La tour funéraire de la Syrie et les monuments apparentés,* in *Syria* 25 (1949), p. 258-312.

[40] N. Saliby, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 113.





‘Amrīt: the *Maġāzil* (above) and the shrine of the *Ma‘ābid* (below). (Photos: E. Gubel).

cylinder, flanked by four half-length figures of lions, showing their heads, shoulders, and fore paws. Research and restoration work executed in 1976, especially in its large hypogeum, rectified the previous Renan's description[40]. The hypogeum contained material dating to the 4th-3rd century B.C., presently kept in the Museums of Ṭarṭūs and of Damascus. Another sepulchral monument, in the vicinity of the *Maġāzil*, is known as the Burǧ al-Bazzāqa, "Snail tower"[41]. It is a cubic edifice, built of large blocks of stone and rising to a height of 5 metres above the plain. It stands upon a base consisting of two steps and is crowned by a strong cornice. Above the cornice is another cubic monolith, originally surmounted by an obelisk or a pyramidal roof. At a distance of about ten metres from the base of the monument is the roofed entrance to a flight of eighteen steps leading to the underground sepulchral chambers, the inner one of which is excavated directly under the main structure[42]. The monument probably belongs to the late Persian period. Further north, a structure about 30 metres wide, regarded as a dwelling-house[43], was cut in the rock so as to have standing two parallel walls, 6 metres high and 0.80 metre wide, and thus shapes three rooms. The northern wall was built of masonry from the very foundation, while the native rock of the southern wall was carried up by several courses of free-stones.

'Amrīt is famous for its sanctuary, called *Ma'ābid* and usually dated from the 4th century B.C.[44] It is situated about 600 metres northeast of the harbour. The shrine, partly of native rock and partly of quarried stone, occupies the centre of an excavated rectangular basin, about 47 metres long by 38 metres wide, and 3 metres profound. It was surrounded by galleries, 9 metres wide and accessible from the north by a portico. During restoration works of this monument a large favissa full of votive statuettes, lamps, and pottery was discovered[45]. Also two Phoenician inscriptions came to the light, indicating, as it seems, that the sanctuary was dedicated to Eshmun[46]. There are ruins of other sanctuar-

[41] E. RENAN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 80; W. BALL, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 368, Pl. 129.

[42] G. PERROT - C. CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'Antiquité* III. *Phénicie et Cypre*, Paris 1885, p. 154.

[43] E. RENAN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 92 and *Planches*, Pl. 12.

[44] E. RENAN, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 62-68; W. BALL, *op. cit.* (n. 39), p. 334, Pl. 116.

[45] M. DUNAND - N. SALIBY, *Le temple d'Amrith*, Paris 1985. The material found in the favissa, which measured about 70 x 60 metres, can be dated from the 6th through the 4th century B.C. It is presently kept in the Museum of Damascus.

[46] P. BORDREUIL, *Le dieu Eshmoun dans la région d'Amrit*, in *Studia Phoenicia* III, Leuven 1985, p. 221-230; É. PUECH, *Les inscriptions phéniciennes d'Amrit et les dieux guérisseurs du sanctuaire*, in *Syria* 63 (1986), p. 237-242.

ies on the right bank of the Nahr 'Amrīt and, somewhat further, remains of a large stadium, 230 metres long by 30 metres wide, probably dating to the 3rd century B.C.[47]

At the time of Pseudo-Scylax, Marathus was certainly an Arwadian dependency. This was also the case in 333/2 B.C., when Alexander entered Phoenicia. Straton, the son of Gerashtart, king of Arwad, who was serving on board the Phoenician contingent to the Persian fleet, surrendered into Alexander's hands the four cities of Arwad, Marathus, Sigon, and Mariamme[48]. Then Alexander encamped his army at Marathus[49], that was obviously Arwad's subject. The coinage of Marathus is dated according to the era of Arwad[50], which confirms its dependence from the island.

The three cities built on the sea-coast, on a barely ten kilometres long stretch of land from the al-Mina bay in the north to the area of 'Amrīt in the south, could certainly appear from the sea as one city. Hence their name Tripoli[51], used by Pseudo-Scylax who rightly connects this continental settlement with the island and the harbour of Arwad.

2. Arwad

Arwad is situated on a small island off the Syrian coast, distant about 2.6 km. Pseudo-Scylax estimates the distance from the mainland to Arwad at only eight stadia or 1.5 km, but figure η' of the manuscript may result from a scribal error for ιη', "eighteen stadia" or 3.330 km, a middle figure between Strabo's twenty stadia or 3.7 km and the two

[47] N. SALIBY, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 113.

[48] ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 13, 7. Cf. H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographisher Grundlage* II, München 1926, p. 111, No. 225, and p. 365, No. 727. The hypothetical identification of Sigon with Qal'at Ṣahyūn, and of Mariamme with Mariamīn, as well as the historical conclusions drawn from this apparent inland extension of the kingdom of Arwad, lack any serious basis but seem to be favoured by J. ELAYI, *art. cit.* (n. 20), p. 333 and 336. Sigon rather corresponds to Siǧno, 16 km northeast of Ṭarṭūs (DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, Map. VII, B3), and Mariamme contains, as second element, the Phoenician word **yamm*, "sea", while **mār* might mean "going by", "crossing", like in Arabic (cf. Tell Mōr). The place should then lie at the sea, as expected. N. KOKKINOS, *The City of 'Mariamme': an Unknown Herodian Connection?*, in *Mediterraneo Antico* 5 (2002 [2003]), p. 715-746, assumes that Arrian's mention of Mariamme is anachronistic. One should rather accept its historicity and distinguish the coastal Mariamme from Mariamīn.

[49] QUINTUS CURTIUS, *History* IV, 1, 5-6.

[50] G.F. HILL, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. XL-XLV and 119-125.

[51] The Isis Papyrus from the 1st century B.C. still mentions another Τρίπολις between Raphia and Gaza: B.F. GRENFELL - A.S. HUNT, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XI, London 1915, No. 1380, col. V, 98.

Roman miles or about 3 km of the Bordeaux Itinerary[52]. These figures are very likely based on the real sailing distance from the mainland to the island. Also Pliny's corresponding information should be restored as *[MM]CC passibus a continente distans*[53], which gives 3.25 km.

The island is small, being only about 800 metres in length by 500 metres in breadth. Its axis is from northwest to southeast. The island was a bare rock, low and flat, without springs or sources, but the art and industry of the inhabitants provided it with beautiful cisterns for rain water. On the eastern side, which faces the mainland and is turned away from the prevailing winds, there were two natural bays which served as save anchorages of a fair size. The line of the ancient rampart may still be traced approximately along the three outer sides of the island and an impressive section of the massive stone wall from Roman times is still rising on the western side to the height of nine to twelve metres. The rampart and the underwater archaeological remains have been examined by H. Frost forty years ago[54], and in 1968 N. Saliby conducted a salvage excavation of ancient structures unveiled by violent storms on the south-eastern side of the island[55]. Anciently, the houses were built very close together, and had several stores[56]. Nowadays, the surface of the island is almost entirely built up as well, a situation which leaves no possibility for serious scientific excavations.

Small objects found on the island do not enter easily in a chronological pattern[57], since the island was continuously inhabited at least from the third millennium B.C. onwards. Arwad is already mentioned in the royal archives of Ebla[58], then at Alalakh[59] and in the Amarna correspon-

[52] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 13; Bordeaux Itinerary in *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 12 (582: 10-11). The *Stadiasmus maris magni* §128 gives 24 stadia (4.5 km) as the distance between Carnus and Arwad.

[53] PLINY, *Historia Naturalis* V, 78. However, he estimates the distance from Marathus to Arwad at 7 stadia or 1.3 km.

[54] H. FROST, *Rouad, ses récifs et mouillages. Prospection sous-marine,* in *AAS* 14 (1964), p. 67-74; EAD., *The Arwad Plans 1964. A Photogrammetric Survey of Marine Installations,* in *AAS* 16 (1966), p. 13-28; EAD., *Ports et mouillages protohistoriques de la Méditerranée orientale,* in *Archéologie subaquatique, une discipline naissante*, Paris 1973, p. 100-105.

[55] Cf. J.-P. REY-COQUAIS, *IGLS* VII. *Arados et régions voisines*, Paris 1970, p. 21 and 45-47.

[56] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 13.

[57] A survey of past excavations and discoveries on the island in the 19th and 20th centuries is given by J. ELAYI - M.R. HAYKAL, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 15-47. Cf. also L. BADRE, *Arwad*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. I, p. 218-219.

[58] The place name *'À-ra-wa-ad*ki appears in geographical lists: G. PETTINATO, *Testi lessicali monoligui della Biblioteca L. 2679* (MEE 3), Napoli 1981, p. 236, No. 197. See also A. ARCHI - A. PIACENTINI - F. POMPONIO, *I nomi di luogo dei testi di Ebla* (ARES II), Roma 1993, p. 133: *'À-ra-ma-du*ki.

dence[60], in the 15th-14th centuries B.C. From Tiglath-pileser I's (1114-1076 B.C.) campaign in Syria and Phoenician on, Neo-Assyrian sources allude to Arwad's continental dependencies[61]. On the mainland, Arwad certainly possessed the area of the "Three Cities" mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax, but it is possible that a larger tract of land was subject to the insular city. Arwad needed these continental possessions to bury its dead and depended upon them for water, food, and timber. The barren rock could grow nothing, and was moreover covered with dwellings, warehouses, and harbour facilities. Such rain-water as fell on the island was carefully collected and stored in reservoirs, but the ordinary supply of water for daily consumption was derived in time of peace from the mainland, probably from 'Amrīt. Protecting these continental dependencies against the enemy was one of the main tasks of the royal administration and the reason why Arwad, without temporising, paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.)[62]. Besides, Arwad certainly disposed of a large number of experienced sailors, but it had a tiny army. In 853 B.C., king Mattanbaal I sent only two hundred soldiers to join the anti-Assyrian alliance which opposed Shalmaneser III at Qarqar[63]. This is not surprising if we reckon with a population of 2,000-3,000 persons living at ar-Ruwād at the end of the 19th century with most men being sailors or spongers. The annexation of Syrian territories to Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 B.C.) probably affected Arwad's status negatively and may have deprived it of some of its continental territories, attached to the Assyrian province of Ṣumur, present-day Tell Kāzil. At any rate, Mattanbaal II paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III[64] and, in 701, Abdile'ti acted in the same way towards Sennacherib[65]. His successor Mattanbaal III is summoned in 673 to furnish materials for the building of Esarhad-

[59] D.J. WISEMAN, *The Alalakh Tablets*, London 1953, Nos. 146, 22; 174, 3; 181, 12; 298, 43.

[60] W.L. MORAN, *Les lettres d'El-Amarna*, Paris 1987, and *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore 1992, Nos. 98, 14; 101, 13.16; 104, 42; 105, 12.16.18.87; 149, 59.

[61] *RIMA* II , text A.0.87.3, p. 37, lines 21-23. See also *ANET*, p. 275a; *TPOA*, p. 71.

[62] *RIMA* II, text A.0.101.1, p. 219, lines 86-87; text A.0.101.2, p. 226, lines 29-30. See also *ANET*, p. 276b.

[63] *RIMA* III, text A.0.102.2, p. 23, line 93. See also *ANET*, p. 279a; *TPOA*, p. 86.

[64] *Tigl. III*, p. 170, line 10'. See also *ANET*, p. 282a; *TPOA*, p. 104.

[65] D.D. LUCKENBILL, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (OIP 2), Chicago 1924, p. 30, line 52. Cf. E. FRAHM - S. PARPOLA, *Abdi-Li'ti*, in *PNA* I/1, p. 6. The king's name means "Servant of the Mighty One (fem.)", not "Servant of the (divine) Cow" (!). See also *ANET*, p. 287b; *TPOA*, p. 119.

don's (680-669 B.C.) palace at Nineveh[66], but Yakinlu, the next king of Arwad, seems to have acted in a quite independent way. He is even accused of disrupting the traffic in the Assyrian harbour, most likely on the island itself, where the Assyrians had obviously obtained a concession adjoining a section of the port. In the same letter, sent to Esarhaddon, Yakinlu is also accused of having an informant from Ṣumur, who freely travelled between Assyria and Arwad. Nevertheless, the duty of producing his men in the field was imposed upon him on Ashurbanipal's first campaign against Egypt[67]. At Yakinlu's death, his eldest son Azzibaal was appointed by Ashurbanipal (668-630 B.C.) to the vacant kingdom, while his nine brothers were presented by the king of Assyria with "costly clothing and rings"[68].

A king of Arwad, whose name is not specified, is mentioned in the 6th century among the courtiers of Nebuchadnezzar II in Babylon, where carpenters from Arwad and Byblos were employed[69]. This certainly testifies to their recognized expertise in carpentry and ship-building. In the Persian period, the Arwadian navy was serving the interests of the Achaemenids during the "Persian Wars". Maharbaal, son of Azzibaal, who was one of the commanders of the Persian fleet under Xerxes I (485-465 B.C.), was most likely a king of Arwad[70]. The last but one in the list of known kings of Arwad was Gerashtart, who was serving in 333/2 B.C. on board the Phoenician contingent to the Persian fleet, when his son Straton went out to meet Alexander the Great and pay him homage[71]. Gerashtart followed suit without temporising and paid homage to Alexander at Sidon[72], where he was most likely confirmed in power. We do not know how long he ruled and when he was succeeded by his son, to whom Quintus Curtius attributes the royal title[73]. His Phoenician name **'Abd-'Aštart* is abbreviated in *m''* (*mlk 'rwd 'bd'štrt*)

[66] R. BORGER, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (AfO, Beih. 9), Graz 1956, p. 60, line 60. See also *ANET*, p. 291; *TPOA*, p. 128.

[67] For the relations between Yakinlu and the Assyrian kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, see J.S. TENNEY, *Iakīn-Lû (Ikkilû)*, in *PNA* II/1, p. 488-489. Cf. also *SAA* IV, 89 and *SAA* XVI, 127.

[68] K. RADNER, *Azi-Ba'al*, in *PNA* I/1, p. 239, with references. See also *ANET*, p. 294a, 296a, 297b.

[69] E.F. WEIDNER, *Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten*, in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Mr René Dussaud*, Paris 1939, Vol. II, p. 923-935 and Pls. I-V (see p. 929). Cf. also *ANET*, p. 308.

[70] HERODOTUS, *History* VII, 98.

[71] ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 13, 7-8. Cf. above, p. 279.

[72] ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 20, 1.

[73] QUINTUS CURTIUS, *History* IV, 1, 6.

on monetary issues closely related to his father's, recognizable in turn thanks to the abbreviation *m'g* (*mlk 'rwd Gr'štrt*)[74].

His reign marks the end of the period to which Pseudo-Scylax is referring. He adds an information which puzzles the commentators and is often regarded as an error[75], viz. the βασίλεια Τύρου. Yet, it seems that there were two palaces on the island. Its highest ground is occupied nowadays by the remains of a large castle, built on rock, where most likely stood the residence of the kings of Arwad. The second castle dominates the harbour, standing at the head of its central pier formed of massive sandstone blocks: it is characterized by massive angular towers and is used at present as museum. Since the βασίλεια Τύρου is mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax next to the harbour, this second castle probably occupied the site of a Tyrian royal factory adjoining a section of the harbour, like in Assyrian times. Such an interpretation is inspired by the practice revealed in I Kings 20, 34, that refers to trading quarters established by a foreign king in Damascus and in Samaria. There is also the mention of Arwadian oarsmen and soldiers serving in the Tyrian fleet and on the walls of Tyre in Ez. 27, 8.11, as if Arwad was in a dependent position[76] and had the duty of seeking Tyre's interests. Besides, the bilingual Greek-Phoenician inscription from Arwad is dedicated to Melqart[77], the main god of Tyre, and thus seems to be a vestige of an earlier Tyrian supremacy, even if the bearded and laureate head appearing constantly on the Arwadian coins of the Persian period is not Melqart's[78]. Finally, it is striking that the Phoenician commanders of the fleets of Arwad, Byblos, and Sidon so readily placed their respective squadrons at Alexander's disposal in order to wrest the supremacy at sea from the Tyrians[79]. This seems to indicate that the Tyrian power was not supported willingly by the other Phoenician city-states.

[74] The correct interpretation of *m'* as *mlk 'rwd*, "king of Arwad", was proposed by E. BABELON, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* II/2, Paris 1910, col. 506. The abbreviation *m'g* was related to Gerashtart by J.W. BETLYON, *The Coinage and Mints of Phoenicia: The Pre-Alexandrine Period*, Chico 1982, p. 91-92. The abbreviations *m''* and *m'g* have been connected chronologically, but in the inverse order, by J. and A.G. ELAYI, *A Treasure of Coins from Arwad*, in *JANES* 18 (1986), p. 3-24 (see p. 17).

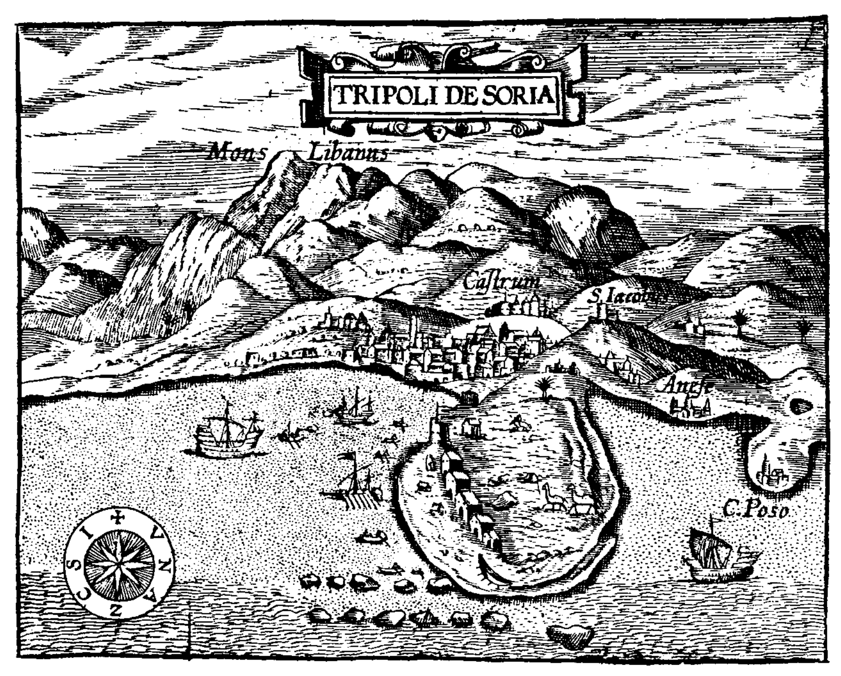
[75] K. GALLING, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 190-191.

[76] This is the opinion, among others, of W. ZIMMERLI, *Ezechiel* II, Neukirchen 1969, p. 641-642. For the hegemony exercised by Tyre, see now also Ju.B. TSIRKIN, *The Tyrian Power and Her Disintegration*, in *RSF* 26 (1998), p. 175-190, in particular p. 185-187.

[77] *IGLS* VII, 4001.

[78] As example one can see H.G. HILL (ed.), *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London 1932, p. 36, No. 59. The hypothetical character of this interpretation was stressed by P. NASTER, *Numismatique. Monnaies phéniciennes et puniques*, in E. GUBEL (ed.), *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen*, Bruxelles 1986, p. 271-278 (see p. 274).

[79] ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 20, 3; QUINTUS CURTIUS, *History* IV, 3, 11.



Woodcut of Tripoli in J. Cotovicus,
Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum, Antwerp, H. Verdussius, 1619.

3. Tripoli in Lebanon

Arwad is followed immediately by a second Τρίπολις, undoubtedly Ṭrāblus aš-Šām. The ancient city occupied the site of the present-day harbour of Al-Mina, built on a promontory which runs out towards the northwest for the distance of 2 km, and is about 1 km wide. The site is "well adapted for a haven, as a chain of seven small islands, running out to the northwest, affords shelter in the direction from which the most violent winds blow"[80]. The peninsula is backed by a small plain limited by the Nahr Abū 'Ali in the north, the Nahr al-Baḥṣās in the south, and the first Lebanon slopes, called al-Baal, in the east, next to the modern city of Tripoli. Pseudo-Scylax thus characterizes the situation of the town in a correct way, but does not mention any of the harbours located on the coast-line between the Arwadian Tripoli and this second "triple town". The reason may be simple, since the distance from the island of ar-Ruwād

[80] J. KENRICK, *History and Antiquities of Phoenicia*, London 1855, p. 9.

to the harbour of Al-Mina amounts to 40 km, as the crow flies. Now, this distance corresponds to a one-day coasting of Phoenician and Carthaginian vessels[81], probably of the Hellenistic ones as well. There is no indication, therefore, that a part of the original *Periplus* was omitted in this section.

We are told by Pseudo-Scylax that the settlers from Arwad, Tyre, and Sidon who founded Tripoli did not intermix, but had their separate quarters of the town assigned to them, each surrounded by its own wall. Diodorus of Sicily adds that the three city quarters lie at the distance of a stadium (185 metres) one from the other[82]. Such an arrangement seems indicative of distrust, but no traces of the walls in question have been found so far. If there really was a space of about two hundred metres between the three parts of the city, one or two of them must have been built on the small off-shore islands, some of which were inhabited in the past. We can assume that one of them was the island called Ǧazīrat al-'Umud (Isle of Columns) by al-Idrīsī[83]. It must correspond to the Ǧazīrat al-Baqar (Cattle Isle) of more recent maps[84]. It is distant precisely by 250 metres from the Borǧ aš-Šayḫ 'Affān, close to the ancient lighthouse[85]. The latter was probably the site of another city quarter. The third one might tentatively be located about 250 metres to the east, on the promontory where a stockade of the harbour is indicated on 19th-century maps[86]. The Maqṣəbī island (Place of Reeds), west of al-Baqar, does not seem to be appropriate for harbour facilities, while the other islets are too small or located further away. In any case, any attempt at localizing the original "triple town" must distinguish the Arwadian, Tyrian, and Sidonian settlements, obviously each with its own anchorage, from the later city. This stood likewise on the Al-Mina peninsula, but the Seleucids and Romans have extended it and embellished.

[81] P. CINTAS, *Fouilles puniques à Tipasa*, Alger 1949, p. 8-13 = *Revue Africaine* 92 (1948), p. 270-275. See also below, p. 350, n. 48.

[82] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVI, 41, 1. No additional information is provided by STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 15, and STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Τρίπολις.

[83] AL-IDRĪSĪ, *Nuzhat al-muštāq fī iḫtirāq al-āfāq. Opus Geographicum,* Napoli-Roma 1974, p. 372-373, §97. See also Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli et de sa région à l'époque des croisades. Problèmes d'histoire, d'architecture et de céramique* (BAH 106), Paris 1980, p. 47-48.

[84] The island is called *Al-Baqar* on the map of Ḥ. SALAMÉ-SARKIS, *op. cit.* (n. 83), Carte No. 8. It is the nearest to the harbour according to J.L. BURCKHARDT, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London 1822, p. 165-166, who also names several smaller rocks (*'Armayla, Lawqas, Ṭawīla, Talrās,* etc.), but none of them is called *Narǧis.*

[85] K. BAEDEKER, *Palestine et Syrie*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1912, map next to p. 331 ("Phare") and p. 332.

[86] K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 85), map next to p. 331 ("Estacade" and "Télégraphe").

Tripoli struck its own money in the Hellenistic period[87], Demetrius I Soter landed there in 161 B.C.[88], and the city took an active part in the struggle between Antiochus IX and Antiochus VIII. It sided with Antiochus IX who granted freedom to the city after his victory, in 104, and the city coinage bore thus, until 95 B.C., the legend "holy and autonomous city". Tripoli fell then under the tyrant Dionysius, who was executed by Pompey in 64/3 B.C.[89]; its autonomy was then restored. The city was very prosperous in Roman times, especially under the reign of the Severi (A.D. 193-235), when it was embellished with prestigious temples devoted to the imperial cult, to Astarte, and the Holy Zeus, as witnessed by the city's coinage[90].

The Moslems took possession of the city in A.D. 638. In 1109 it surrendered to Raymond of St. Gilles, after a five-year siege, and remained an important Frankish centre until Sultan Qalā'ūn of Egypt took the town in 1289[91]. It was then destroyed and a new city arose on the present site, about 3 km inland from Al-Mina. Sites beyond the ancient perimeter of Al-Mina, like the hill of Qal'at Ṣanǧīl or Abū Samra[92] and the area excavated by Ḥ. Salamē-Sarkis in 1970-1972[93], do not enter therefore into account for locating the components of the ancient "triple town". The sole serious candidates are the major islands and the areas of the lighthouse and of the stockade, where antiques were offered in the 19th century on sale to travellers.

The date of the foundation of Tripoli and the native Phoenician name of each city quarter at the time of Pseudo-Scylax are unknown, unless **Dl-hym*, "Sea Gate", and **Yšḥ-ym*, "Salvation-on-Sea", named by Esarhaddon's scribes[94], were still in use during the Persian and Hellenistic periods. It was assumed that *Waḫliya* was an ancient name of Tripoli at the time of the Amarna correspondence[95]. The etymology of this city

[87] G.F. Hill, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. CXVI-CXXIII and 200-226; F. de Callataÿ, *Les tétradrachmes hellénistiques de Tripolis*, in *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 22 (1993), p. 111-126, Pls. I-III.

[88] II Macc. 14, 1; I Macc. 7, 1.

[89] Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* XIV, 3, 2, §39.

[90] G.F. Hill, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. CXVI-CXXIII and 200-226.

[91] J. Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)* (BAH 39), Paris 1945; Ḥ. Salamé-Sarkis, *op. cit.* (n. 83).

[92] For the insignificant vestiges of the Persian period, cf. Ḥ. Salamé-Sarkis, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 5.

[93] Ḥ. Salamé-Sarkis, *Tripoli: textes et fouilles*, in *Berytus* 31 (1983), p. 129-142, and *op. cit.* (n. 83).

[94] See here above, p. 32-34.

[95] See above, p. 33, n. 113. Cf. Ḥ. Salamé-Sarkis, *Waḫlia-Maḥallata-Tripoli?*, in *MUSJ* 49 (1975-76), p. 551-563.

name, derived from the same root as Arabic *waḥl*, "morass", suggests however that Waḫliya was located at Abū Samra, not at Al-Mina. This strategically situated hill controls the crossing of the marshy valley of Nahr Abū 'Ali and it has shown traces of occupation in the Late Bronze Age[96]. It was no harbour town. This is why a passage in the Amarna letter *EA* 114 referring to Waḫliya should be translated as follows: "It was the men whom I sent to Ṣumur that he has seized in Waḫliya. (Concerning) the ships of the rulers of Tyre, Beirut and Sidon, everyone in the land of Amurru is at peace with them"[97]. As for Maḫallata, first identified with ancient Tripoli by Fr. Delitzsch[98], it was most likely a town of the Byblos area, just like Maiza and Kaiza[99]. At any rate, Tripoli as "triple city" did not have any particular Semitic name, since Greek Τρίπολις was used in Ezra 4,8 to form the Aramaic ethnic designation *Ṭarpəlāyē'*, "Tripolitans"[100], and it is probably abbreviated into *'tr(pl)*, with a prosthetic vowel, in the Phoenician legend of a local coin from the Hellenistic period[101]. This seems to indicate that the agglomeration with a common council was created only in the Persian period and that this local institution may have facilitated occasional pan-Phoenician contacts without awaking suspicion among the Achaemenian authorities[102].

Pseudo-Scylax mentions the mountain Θεοῦ πρόσωπον immediately after Tripoli. This is the Greek name of the present-day Rās aš-Šaq'a/Šaqqa, which the road from Tripoli to Batrūn crosses by a pass. This is the earliest attestation of the mountain, followed by Polybius[103] and by Strabo[104], who records a fortified point there.

[96] Ḥ. Salamé-Sarkis, *op. cit.* (n. 83), p. 5; Id., *art. cit.* (n. 95).

[97] For this problem, see W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore 1992, p. 189, n. 2. Moran's translation represents the alternative interpretation: "It was the men whom I sent to Ṣumur that he has seized. In Waḫliya are the ships of the rulers of Tyre, Beirut, and Sidon; everyone in the land of Amurru is at peace with them".

[98] Fr. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, p. 282-283.

[99] See here above, p. 28.

[100] K. Galling, *Kronzeugen des Artaxerxes?*, in *ZAW* 63 (1951), p. 55-74 (see p. 71-72); Id., *Zur Deutung des Namens* ṭrpl = *Tripolis in Syrien*, in *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954), p. 418-422.

[101] G.F. Hill, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. CXX and Pl. XLIII, 9; J. and A.G. Elayi, *La première monnaie de 'TR/Tripolis (Tripoli, Liban)?*, in *Transeuphratène* 5 (1992), p. 143-151.

[102] This would have been the background of the meeting that led to the revolt against Persia under Tennes or Tabnit II, about 350 B.C., as reported by Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVI, 41, 1-2.

[103] Polybius, *History* V, 68, 7-8.

[104] Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2, 15.16.18.

4. Tēros

Theouprosopon is followed in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax by the city and harbour of Τῆρος. This toponym is often emended into Trieres[105], despite the fact that such a correction does too much violence to the text and lacks any factual basis. In reality, Τῆρος seems to transcribe the noun *ṭīr*, attested in post-biblical Hebrew[106] and related to biblical Hebrew *ṭīrā* and Syriac *ṭyārā*, "enclosure". Since no such harbour is attested on the Phoenician coast by other sources, this may be an abridged form, eventually supported by popular etymology, of the name of Batrūn, pronounced *Btēro-* or the like, with an initial *Btē/ī-* reduced to *tē/ī-*[107]. Such a pronunciation is probably based on a form similar to *B(i)tirū(me)*, attested in the 7th century B.C. by Esarhaddon's inscriptions[108]. In this hypothesis, Τῆρος is no scribal error of a copist, but the written expression of a phonetic phenomenon that can affect consonantal clusters.

The identification of (Β)τῆρος with Batrūn is confirmed by nautical considerations. The travel from Al-Mina to Beirut, mentioned immediately after Τῆρος, corresponds to two days of coastal sailing if the ship does not follow the lesser indentations of the coast-line. The distance from Al-Mina to Batrūn amounts then to about 35 km, and there are some 45 km from Batrūn to Beirut. No other harbour on this 80-km track, except Batrūn, bears a name that can be related to Τῆρος, and it is situated approximately in the middle of the route in question[109].

5. Beirut

Pseudo-Scylax mentions Beirut with the special indication that its harbour is "open to the north", βορινός. This was an important information for sailors, for it implied that the port was protected against the prevalent winds blowing from the west. It also indicates the site of the ancient city, which was not located on the promontory of Rās Bayrūt, but around the harbour, as confirmed by the recent excavations. The city

[105] K. Galling, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 192-193, following the general trend.
[106] Jastrow, p. 534a.
[107] The initial cluster *bt-* often occurs in Lebanese toponyms; cf. Wild, *Ortsnamen*, p. 355. It is widely attested in Syriac, e.g. *btultā*, "vergin". For similar reductions in Indo-European languages, see e.g. "scri*b*e", "scri*p*ture", and "écri*t*ure", or in Vulgar Latin: *scultor* for *sculptor*, *scultum* for *sculptum*, *emita* for *empta*. The change *bt* > *pt* > *t* is a general rule in Slavic languages.
[108] See here above, p. 18.
[109] For Batrūn, see here above, p. 27-28.

played a significant role in the Late Bronze period, but was not of any great importance during the Iron Age. It appears as a Sidonian town in Esarhaddon's list[110] and Pseudo-Scylax does not allude to any royal residence in the Persian period. Vestiges of Achaemenian times have nevertheless been uncovered in the recent excavations of the old city[111], and Beirut regained a certain importance in the Hellenistic period, when it was called Laodicea of Phoenicia. It issued an autonomous coinage from 187 B.C. on and its merchants were active in the Aegean, especially at Delos[112]. According to Strabo[113], the city was taken and destroyed by Tryphon in his struggle with Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129 B.C.) for the Seleucid throne, but it grew to greatness under the Romans. Strabo says with some exaggeration that it was rebuilt by the Romans[114], but its harbour was then certainly much improved, and the town greatly expanded. Stephen of Byzantium rightly calls it "a city of Phoenicia, grown great from small", πόλιν Φοινίκης ἐκ μικρᾶς μεγάλην[115].

6. Porphyreon

After Beirut, Pseudo-Scylax mentions Porphyreon. Nothing justifies the rewriting of the text in order to insert Leontopolis between Beirut and Porphyreon[116], which is commonly located at al-Ǧiyye and at the nearby Nabe Yūnəs[117]. Pseudo-Scylax does not mention its harbour, but Polybius reports that the Egyptian fleet had anchored at Porphyreon in 218 B.C.[118] Besides, the distance from Beirut to al-Ǧiyye in coastal sailing may be estimated at about 35 km, which implies that a stop at Porphyreon would correspond to the nautical practice of that time.

[110] See here above, p. 18 and 22-24.
[111] J. Elayi - H. Sayegh, *Un quartier du port phénicien de Beyrouth au Fer III/Perse. Les objets* (Transeuphratène. Suppl. 6), Paris 1998; Ead. - Id., *Un quartier du port phénicien de Beyrouth au Fer III/Perse. Archéologie et histoire* (Transeuphratène. Suppl. 7), Paris 2000; Ead. - Id., *Rapport préliminaire sur le port de Beyrouth au Fer III/Perse (Bey 039)*, in *Transeuphratène* 19 (2000), p. 65-74 and Pl. III-IV. Cf. also I.A. Khalifeh, *Beirut*, in *OEANE*, Oxford- New York 1997, Vol. II, p. 292-295. The warf of the harbour was uncovered with three levels, the oldest one dating from the Persian period.
[112] P. Bruneau, *Les cultes de l'établissement des Poseidoniastes de Bérytos à Délos*, in *Hommages à M.J. Vermaseren* (ÉPRO 68), Leiden 1978, Vol. I, p. 160-190. See also here above, p. 168.
[113] Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2, 19.
[114] Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2, 19.
[115] Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, s.v. Βήρυτος.
[116] This is done by K. Galling, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 193.
[117] Cf. here above, p. 20-21.
[118] Polybius, *History* V, 68.

7. Sidon

Sidon is mentioned after Porphyreon and its harbour is qualified as "enclosed", κλειστός. This is certainly a reference to the port which lay north of the ancient town. It was protected from the winds, on the west by a rocky island, which closes the harbour for a length of 240 metres, and on the north by a long range of islets and reefs, extending in a north-easterly direction for a distance of about 600 metres. The most easterly of the islets, where the mediaeval castle of Qal'at al-Baḥr stands, is connected to the mainland by a bridge closing the harbour on the east. However, here was the ancient entrance to the harbour, close to the mainland, not west of the islet, as often assumed. The natural barrier of reefs and islets was strengthened by a continuous wall of huge blocks, portions of which could still be seen some years ago. In this way, a sheltering breakwater was formed, more or less parallel to the coast, leaving an opening at one end. Under the shelter of this breakwater and of the western island inner port works have been constructed.

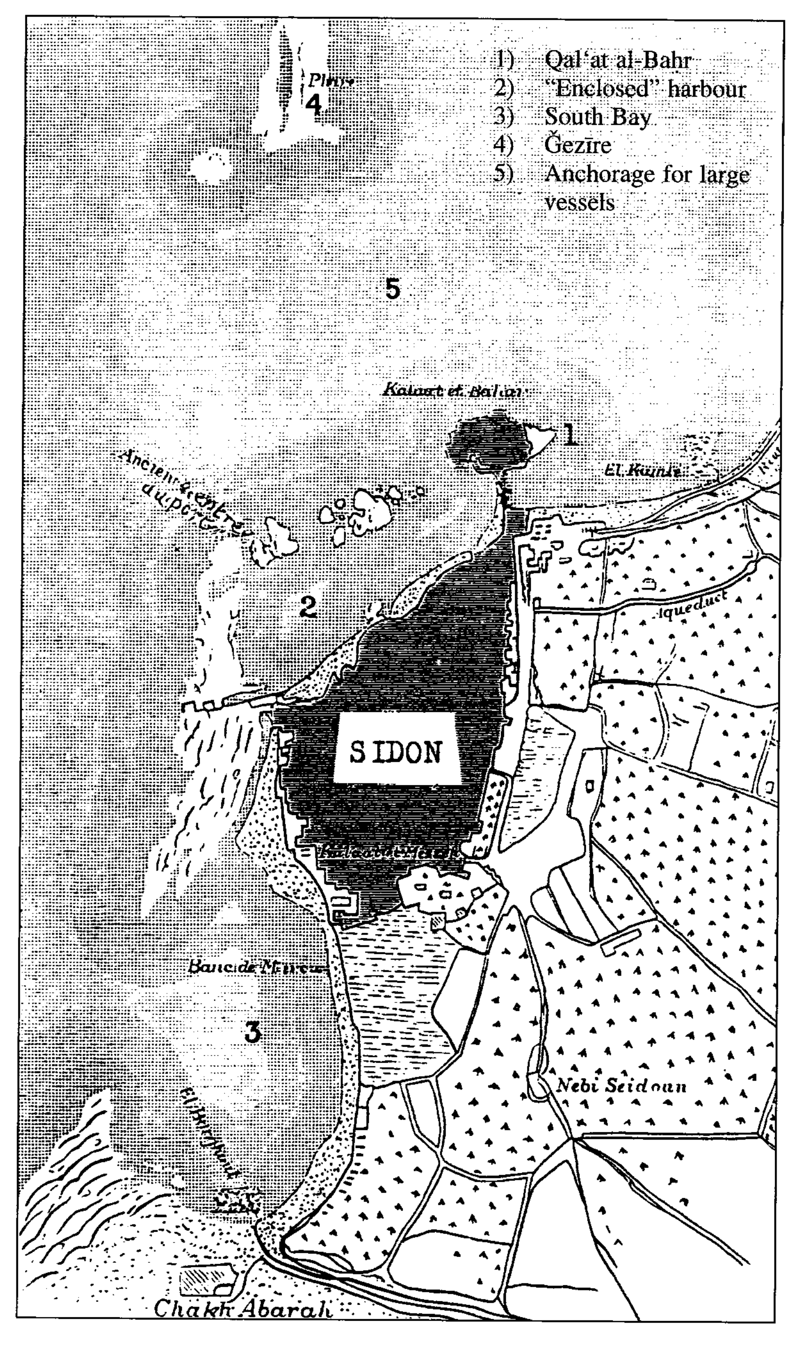
In course of time, the maritime commerce of Sidon outgrew the resources of this excellent harbour, 570 metres long by 200 broad, and it became necessary to provide enlarged accommodation nearby and in deeper water. The only site available for such an outer port was the offshore island of Ğezīre or Zīre, about 500 metres north of the "enclosed" harbour[119]. Under its shelter wharves and other port works have been constructed which were further sheltered by subsidiary moles projected more or less at right angles to the shore. These naval structures, such as discovered in course of underwater archaeological surveys[120], date from Roman times, but their foundations go certainly back to an earlier period, for Alexander the Great could not have assembled a fleet of some 225 vessels in the inner harbour of Sidon in preparation for his attack against Tyre in 332/1 B.C.[121]. Moreover, construction of piers or breakwaters on foundations in water depths is attested already in the 9[th] century B.C. at Ṭabbat al-Ḥammām, south of Ṭarṭūs[122]. Such structures

[119] This was noticed already by R. POCOCKE, *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries* II/1, London 1745, p. 86. See also R. PIETSCHMANN, *Geschichte der Phönizier*, Berlin 1889, p. 57-58.

[120] A. POIDEBARD - J. LAUFFRAY, *Sidon. Aménagements antiques du port de Saïda*, Beyrouth 1951; H. FROST, *The Offshore Island Harbour at Sidon and Other Phoenician Sites in the Light of New Dating Evidence*, in *IJNA* 2 (1973), p. 75-94; M. BEN-DOV, *The Sea Fort and the Land Fort at Sidon*, in *Qadmoniot* 19 (1986), p. 113-119 (in Hebrew).

[121] ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 20, 1-3. Cf. H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* I, München 1926, p. 161-162.

[122] R.J. BRAIDWOOD, *Report on Two Sondages on the Coast of Syria, South of Tartous*,



Sidon in the 19[th] century.

could have existed also at Sidon in Iron Age II and in the Persian period.

The double harbour of Sidon, in particular the connection of the inner port with the outer one, is described by Achilles Tatius in the 2nd century A.D.[123]:

> "There is a double harbour in the bay, wide within but with a narrow entrance so as to land-lock the sea by a gentle curve: where the bay makes an inward turn towards the right (south), a second inlet has been channelled out, for the water to run in, and thus there is formed a further harbour behind the first, so that in winter the ships can lie safely in the inner basin, while in summer they need not proceed further than the outer port".

Neither Pseudo-Scylax nor Achilles Tatius mention still another harbour of Sidon, the so-called "Egyptian port". The hypothesis of a southern Sidonian refuge for ships was formulated by Heinrich Barth after his 1847 visit to Sidon and was made public by Karl Ritter in 1855[124]. The bay in question, lying south of the old city, is an oval basin, 600 metres long from north to south and nearly 400 broad from east to west, surrounded by land on three sides, the north, the east, and the south, but open for a space of about 250 metres towards the west. The bay is thus unprotected from the north-western winds, that were commonly prevalent in the navigation season[125], and the lack of a natural barrier is not compensated by a breakwater built across the bay. These unsafe conditions make Barth's hypothesis highly unlike, the more so because no traces of port installations have ever been found in the bay. It may have been used by fishermen and divers collecting molluscs for the purple industry, because it has a long stretch of sandy shore free from buildings on which small boats could be drawn up, but it could not serve as harbour for larger see-going vessels.

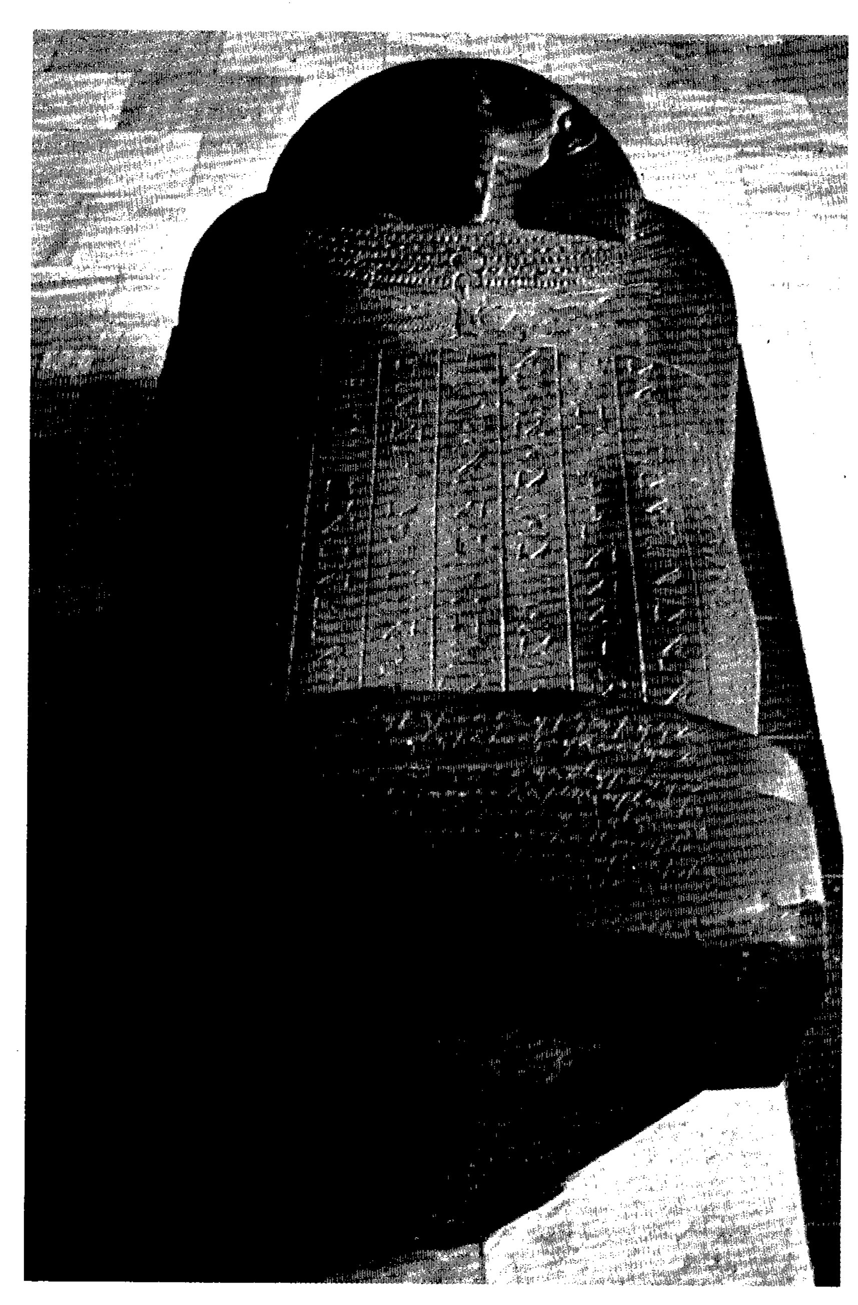
Pseudo-Scylax does not mention any "royal residence" in Sidon, while he does it in other occasions. It has been assumed therefore that he avoided mentioning the βασιλεία, because he was writing shortly after

in *Syria* 21 (1940), p. 183-226 and Pls. XX-XXVIII (see p. 203-208 and Pl. XXV); cf. H. Frost, *Port*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 357.

[123] Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon* I, 1, translation by S. Gaselee, *Achilles Tatius*, London 1917.

[124] K. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen*, 2nd ed., Vol. XVII, Berlin 1855, p. 413-414.

[125] For this problem, see for instance: J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain*, Paris 1966, p. 31-39; L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, p. 270-280.



Sarcophagus of Tabnit I, king of Sidon, 5th century B.C. (İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Inv. No. 800).

the revolt of Tennes or Tabnit II, repressed *ca.* 346/5 B.C.[126] Another reason may have been the location of the royal residence at the outskirts of the city, about 2.5 km southeast of the inner harbour, on the site where palatial column fragments with a capital in pure Achaemenian style were found during building activities[127]. This area may have been the suburban city quarter that the inscriptions of Bodashtart call *Ṣdn Mšl*[128], "Sidon-Basileia", while the harbour district bears the name *Ṣdn 'rṣ ym* or *Ṣdn ym*[129], "Sidon-(Land-)by-the-Sea". The southern necropolis of Maġārat Ablūn, which yielded the sarcophagi of Tabnit I and Eshmunazor II, is possibly a site close to barracks or a parade ground, the *'rṣ Ršpm*[130], "Land of the Reshephs". Further on, inscriptions mention the plain with orchards, *Ṣdn šd*[131], "Sidon-Countryside", the hill of al-Helālīya with the royal necropolis of Ayya'a, *Šmm rmm* or *Šmm 'drm*[132], "High/Lofty-Heavens", and the sanctuary of Bostān aš-Šayḫ, *'n Ydl*[133], "the Yidal-Spring".

In the Persian period, Sidon seems to have been the main and the most prosperous of the Phoenician cities[134], but it may have suffered from the aftermaths of the Tennes revolt. However, a few years later, the capture of Tyre by Alexander the Great opened new opportunities to Sidon, which again assumed a leading role among the Phoenician cities.

8. Ornithopolis

After Sidon, Pseudo-Scylax names Ornithopolis, a dependency of Sidon which has to be identified with Bēt-Ṣupūri of Esarhaddon's list and localized at Tell Burāq, only 8 km south of Sidon[135]. Pseudo-Scylax

[126] K. GALLING, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 194. For a summary presentation of the ancient history of Sidon, see LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 124-128. Cf. also I.A. KHALIFEH, *Sidon*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. V, p. 38-41.

[127] Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Le paradeisos royal achéménide de Sidon*, in *RB* 30 (1921), p. 106-109; G. CONTENAU, *Deuxième mission archéologique à Sidon (1920)* I, in *Syria* 4 (1923), p. 261-281 (see p. 276-277 and Pls. XLIII-XLIV); R. SAIDAH, *Archaeology in the Lebanon, 1968-1969*, in *Berytus* 18 (1969), p. 122-124. Cf. also *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 340, Fig. 266.

[128] *KAI* 15. Several copies of this inscription have been found.

[129] *KAI* 14 = *TSSI* III, 28, 16.18, and *KAI* 15.

[130] *KAI* 15. The Reshephs are warlike deities. Cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 179-188; ID., *Reshef*, in *Encyclopedia of Religions*, 2nd ed., New York 2004.

[131] *KAI* 15.

[132] *KAI* 14 = *TSSI* III, 28, 16-17; *KAI* 15.

[133] *KAI* 14 = *TSSI* III, 28, 17; 29; *BMB* 26 (1973), Pl. XIII, after p. 24.

[134] This period was studied especially by J. ELAYI, *Sidon, cité autonome de l'Empire perse*, Paris 1989, but the chronology is not always satisfactory.

[135] See here above, p. 18.

does not state that Ornithopolis had a harbour and his mention of this town, followed by a specific delimitation of coastal possessions of Sidon and Tyre, must have some toll implications. Each of the Phoenician city-states formed an economic unit and dues were certainly charged for the privilege of shipping or landing goods imported from another state. This may be the reason why Pseudo-Scylax not only mentions Orinithopolis but also records that Sidon merely helds the coast from Leontopolis to Ornithopolis, while it had lost Sarepta to Tyre.

Leontopolis was not mentioned before Sidon, probably because it had no save harbour. If we located it on Wādī as-Sekke[136], 6.5 km north of the Nahr al-Awwāli and about 10 km from the inner harbour of Sidon, we are apparently in no vicinity of a port capable of sheltering larger see-going vessels, though Ptolemy records the mouth of the Leon River, north of Sidon[137].

9. Sarepta

According to Pseudo-Scylax, Sarepta belonged in his time to the Tyrians. He thus attributes a very small territory to the Sidonians, some 22 km from the north to the south. This fits the circumstances following the defeat of Tennes or Tabnit II *ca.* 346/5, the collapse of the anti-Persian revolt, and the execution of the Sidonian ruler, ordered by Artaxerxes III Ochus (358-338 B.C.)[138]. The city, situated 13 km south of Sidon, was a Sidonian dependency according to the Annals of Sennacherib[139], the account of I Kings 17, 9 and, later, Luke 4,26. In 676 B.C., the town was given by Esarhaddon to Baal I of Tyre[140], but it certainly belonged again to Sidon in the Persian period. Pseudo-Scylax stresses the fact that the city was dependent from the Tyrians in his days, emphasizing Τυρίων as if this situation resulted from a recent event. It may have lasted only from 346/5 to 332, the year of the siege of Tyre by Alexander the Great. *Ṣrpt* appears in this period on a Phoenician city seal, dated in year 12 of the Tyrian king Azzimilk I[141], i.e. in 336 B.C. Pseudo-Scylax fails indi-

[136] See here above, p. 20.

[137] PTOLEMY, *Geography* V, 14, 3 (p. 962).

[138] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Tabnit 2*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 435.

[139] D.D. LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 29, line 42. See also *ANET*, p. 287b; *TPOA*, p. 119.

[140] Cf. here above, p. 34.

[141] J.C. GREENFIELD, *A Group of Phoenician City Seals*, in *IEJ* 35 (1985), p. 129-134, seal A. The seal was found at Sarepta during the excavations directed by J.B. Pritchard. See also J.B. PRITCHARD, *Sarepta* IV. *The Objects from Area II, X*, Beyrouth 1988, p. 10-11, No. 6. — Sarepta still depended from Tyre in the 2nd century A.D., as shown by ACHILLES TATIUS, *Leucippe and Clitophon* II, 17.

cating that Sarepta had a harbour or, at least, anchorages in the three small bays which are still used nowadays by fishermen from Ṣarafand.

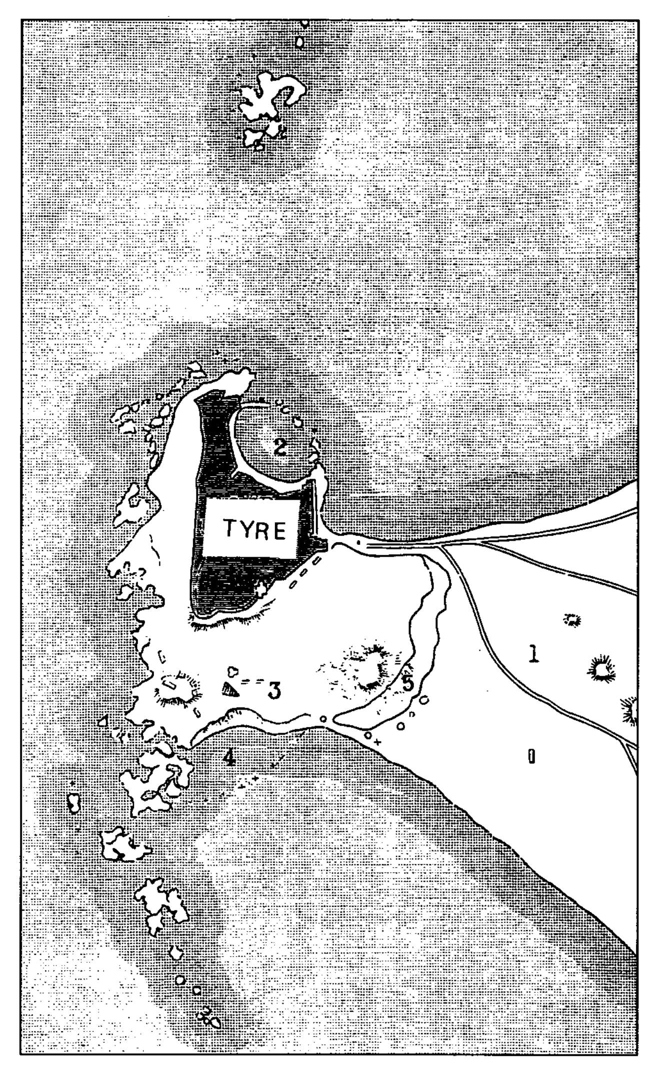
The excavations conducted in 1969-1974 on the promontory of Rās al-Qanṭara have shown that Sarepta was quite an important centre in the Persian period[142] and its sanctuary of a healing deity, probably Eshmun, was known beyond the borders of Phoenicia, since a digraphic inscription in syllabic and alphabetic Greek was dedicated there to Asclepius in the 4th century B.C. by a devotee from Cyprus[143]. "The holy god of Sarepta", known from four inscriptions dating to the Roman period[144], was worshipped then not only in Sarepta, where two Greek inscriptions were found, but also in the Italian harbour-town of Puteoli, where one Greek and one Greek-Latin bilingual dedicated to this god came to light. Their discovery in Puteoli implies maritime links with Sarepta and thus the existence of a port in Sarepta itself.

10. Tyre

Sarepta is followed by the mention of "another city (of the Tyrians), known as Tyre, which has a harbour within the walls". Pseudo-Scylax adds: "This island is the royal residence of the Tyrians and it lies three stadia from the sea[coast]". The scribe of the *Codex Parisinus* made a mistake here writing ἀπὸ θαλάττης, "from the sea", instead of ἀπὸ τοῦ παρὰ θάλατταν, "from the seacoast", or simply ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, "from the mainland", like in the similar phrase referring to Arwad. The distance indicated from the shore to the "rock", *ṣūr*, on which Tyre was built, is correct and reveals an adequate knowledge of the site. The three stadia or 555 metres correspond to the width of the straits, which is estimated between 500 and 700 metres. They were filled up over the centuries by sand accumulating on both sides of the mole built in 332 B.C. by Alexander across the straits in order to capture the city.

Of the two ports which Tyre formerly possessed, the northern, which was called the "Sidonian", because it looked towards Sidon, still survives; the southern or "Egyptian" has disappeared. Pseudo-Scylax only mentions one harbour, certainly the northern one, and specifies that it was situated within the city walls. Aerial and nautical search conducted in 1934-1936 by A. Poidebard and complemented by underwater sur-

[142] For the publications of the excavations at Sarepta, see here above, p. 35, n. 129.
[143] O. Masson, *Pèlerins chypriotes en Phénicie (Sarepta, Sidon)*, in *Semitica* 32 (1982), p. 45-49; J.B. Pritchard, *op. cit.* (n. 141), p. 25-26.
[144] *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris 1901-27, Nos. 419 and 420.



Tyre in the 19th century.

1) Isthmus created by sand accumulation on both sides of the mole built by Alexander the Great
2) "Sidonian" harbour
3) Archaeological remains
4) "Egyptian" harbour
5) Remains of wall

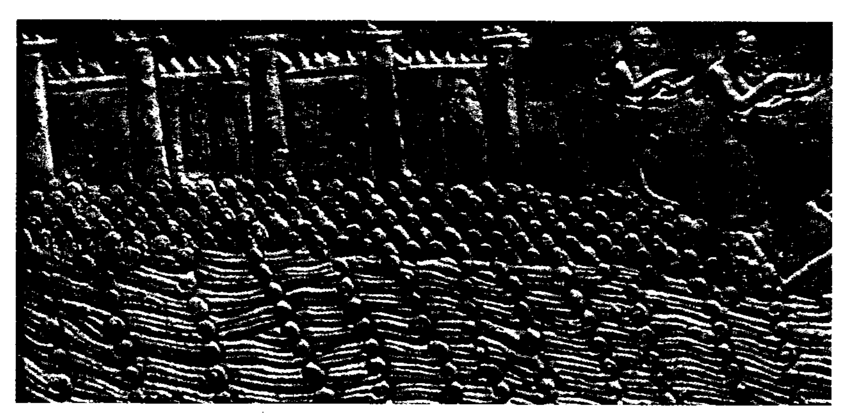
veys by H. Frost have provided precious information about both harbours of Tyre[145].

The northern harbour was situated on the north-eastern side of the island. On the west and south the land swept round it in a natural curve, effectually guarding two sides, which must have been fortified, thus giving the impression that the port was situated within the city walls. On the north and the east the harbour was protected by an almost continuous course of reefs which emerged in the past and acted as a sort of breakwater. No trace of an artificial fitting of the reefs has been detected. Between the reefs was a space of about 40-50 metres, which was used as entrance to the harbour, but could certainly be closed, if necessary, by a boom or chain. The dimensions of this northern harbour are estimated at about 330 metres from north to south, and at about 200 metres from east to west.

The southern harbour was delimitated by a course of reefs, now submerged, which constituted a natural breakwater extending for a distance of 1,200 metres or more from the south-western tip of the island to the northeast. No artificial fitting of the reefs has been detected by H. Frost and no submarine wall was thus reinforcing this natural barrier, contrary to the opinion previously advocated by A. Poidebard. The piers, wharfs, docks and mouths of the harbour date from the Roman period. Their foundations are probably older, but hardly anterior to Hellenistic times, since no reference to a second Tyrian port occurs in the text of Pseudo-Scylax. Instead, he mentions "the royal residence of the Tyrians", which must have been one of the most remarkable Tyrian buildings, visible from the harbour. Its exact location is unknown despite the limited excavations and surveys undertaken first by E. Renan in 1860[146], then by Denyse le Lasseur in 1920-1922 who tried to retrace the course of the ancient defence wall and examined the embankment and the harbours[147]. Larger excavations were undertaken from 1947 on by M. Chéhab, who uncovered important remains from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods[148], but older levels of the insular city were rarely reached, mainly in a P.M. Bikai's sounding carried out in 1973-1974[149].

Tyre described by Pseudo-Scylax is the island city from the time before its siege by Alexander the Great. The construction of the embank-

[145] A. Poidebard, *Un grand port disparu, Tyr*, Paris 1939; H. Frost, *Recent Observations on the Submerged Harbour Works at Tyre*, in *BMB* 24 (1971), p. 103-111.
[146] E. Renan, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 527-694.
[147] D. le Lasseur, *Mission archéologique à Tyr*, in *Syria* 3 (1922), p. 1-26, 116-133.
[148] M. Chéhab, *Tyr*, Beyrouth 1968; Id., *Fouilles de Tyr = BMB* 33-36 (1983-86).
[149] P.M. Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster 1978.



City walls of Tyre on the Balāwāt Gates of Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.). (British Museum).

ment, carried out from the mainland across the channel to the very walls of the city, joined the island to the shore. The width of the embankment was fixed by Alexander at two plethra[150] or about sixty metres, but its further enlargement was slowly effected by accumulating sand, thus creating the isthmus that nowadays firmly connects the island with the mainland[151].

11. Palaetyros

Tyre depended for its fresh water supply from the copious spring of Rās al-'Ayn, about 600 metres south of Tell ar-Rašīdīye which corresponds to a town grown up on the mainland, southeast of the isle. It was regarded as constituting a different city: authors generally assume that it was called Usu in cuneiform texts and Palaetyros in Greek sources. In fact, Strabo confirms the identification of Palaetyros with Tell ar-Rašīdīye by locating it 30 stadia (5.4 km) south of Tyre[152], while Pseudo-Scylax mentions it after the island of Tyre, thus pointing in the same direction. However, other locations have been considered as well for the main coastal town.

[150] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XVII, 40, 5.
[151] For the history of Tyre, see the summary presentation in Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 219-224. Cf. also W.A. Ward, *Tyre*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. V, p. 247-250.
[152] Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2, 24.

About 2.5 km east of Tell ar-Rašīdīye, there is the small Ḫirbet al-Ḥawš[153], the name of which seemingly preserves the toponym *Ḥosāh* of Josh. 19, 29[154]. It presents a striking similarity with *Ú-sú* in the Amarna correspondence[155], *Ú-šu-u/ú* in Neo-Assyrian annals[156], *'Ūšā'* in post-biblical Hebrew texts[157], *'Iw3ṯi* in Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th-18th century B.C.[158], and *'Iṯ(w)* in later Egyptian topographical lists of Sethos I and Ramesses II[159], and in Papyrus Anastasi I, 21, 1[160]. True, the word *ḥawš* means "enclosure" in Arabic and *per se* does not need to go back to an ancient Semitic place name[161], but *ḥawš* may also be an Arabization of an old toponym. At any rate, this small natural hill cannot be the site of Usu/Palaetyros, the more so because Ḥawš was sometimes given in the 19th century as an alternative name of Tell ar-Rašīdīye itself[162].

Some 2.5 km due east of Tyre, there is the large Tell al-Ma'šūq, which has been regarded by M. Noth as the site of Usu/Palaetyros[163]. There is no doubt that the place was closely related to Tyre, and the ancient aqueduct conveying the water of Rās al-'Ayn to the heart of the city crosses the slopes of Tell al-Ma'šūq in a channel cut in the native rock. Its still remaining part reaches the area of the Roman hippodrome and of the monumental arch of the Decumanus, both built on the isthmus created by Alexander's embankment. Although many ancient vestiges appear on Tell al-Ma'šūq, like fragments of sarcophagi and of oil-

[153] This location was proposed by DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 11-12.

[154] This equation is rightly rejected by M. NOTH, *Das Buch Josua* (Handbuch zum Alten Testament I/7), Tübingen 1953, p. 119. Cf. also E. LIPIŃSKI, *The Territory of Tyre and the Tribe of Asher*, in *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 153-166 (see p. 164).

[155] W.L. MORAN, *op. cit.* (n. 60), Nos. 148, 11.30; 149, 49; 150, 18.

[156] D.D. LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 29, line 43; p. 69, line 20; M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige* (VAB 7), Leipzig 1916, p. 80-81, col. IX, 115-121; R. BORGER, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Wiesbaden 1996, p. 69, A IX 115-121. See also *ANET*, p. 287b and 300b; *TPOA*, p. 119.

[157] G. REEG, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur* (BTAVO B/51), Wiesbaden 1989, p. 35-36.

[158] K. SETHE, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mitteleren Reiches*, Berlin 1926, *f* 3.

[159] Lists XIII, 58; XIV, 60 (63), both of Sethos I; XVa, 22; XX, 15; XXI, 7, both of Ramesses II, in J. SIMONS, *op. cit.* (n. 29). Cf. S. AḤITUV, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, Jerusalem 1984, p. 195.

[160] S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 195; see also *ANET*, p. 477.

[161] For the use of *ḥawš* in place names, see WILD, *Ortsnamen*, p. 295-296.

[162] K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 85), map next to p. 267, based on the map drawn by Dr. Gaillardot for E. Renan (1864).

[163] M. NOTH, *Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palästina und Syrien*, in *ZDPV* 60 (1937), p. 183-239 (see p. 219).

presses, this site does not correspond to the location of Palaetyros according to the information provided by Strabo and Pseudo-Scylax, which decidedly points at Tell ar-Rašīdīye. The excavations of its necropolis have yielded Phoenician pottery from the second half of the 8th century B.C.[164], and the nearby Rās al-'Ayn may have been called "the Spring of the Tower 'Usu'ā and of the Tyrians" in Josh. 19, 29, as possibly read in the Hebrew archetype of the *Codex Vaticanus* of the Septuagint: πηγῆς Μασφασσατ καὶ τῶν Τυρίων. Assuming that the second and third *A* of Μασφασσατ stand for *'aleph* and that the final *T* was misread for *hē*, we may tentatively reconstruct the Hebrew phrase as follows: *'yn mṣp 's'h wṣr* instead of the current text *'yr mbṣr-ṣr*, "the city (of) the fortress of Tyre"[165].

The reconstruction **'s'h* takes the Egyptian and the cuneiform spellings into account and thus avoids identifying *Ḥosah* of Josh. 19, 29 with Usu/Palaetyros. This identification must in fact be discarded, since the Egyptian language and writing clearly distinguish *ḥeth* and *'aleph*, thus providing no basis for such an equation. Besides, the Masoretic *ḥsh* is problematic, for the *Codex Vaticanus* here reads Ιασιφ, which is a clear reference to Kafr Yāsīf, about 10 km northeast of Akko[166], while the *Codex Alexandrinus* has Σουσα. As for the Talmudic toponym *'Ūšā* (*'wšh*), it does not provide the same name as Usu, since it is spelt with a *šīn*. Besides, authors locate it in Lower Galilee, at the small ruin of Ḫirbet Hōša[167], east of Haifa.

[164] C. DOUMET, *Les tombes IV et V de Rachidiyeh*, in *Annales d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* (Beirut) 1 (1982), p. 89-135; C. DOUMET - I. KAWKABANI, *Les tombes de Rachidieh: remarques sur les contacts internationaux et le commerce phénicien au VIIIe siècle av. J.-C.*, in *Actes du IIIe Congrès international des Études phéniciennes et puniques*, Tunis 1995, Vol. I, p. 379-395. More Red-on-Black pottery from tomb IV was examined and presented by C. DOUMET SERHAL, *Tell Rachidiyeh, le Black on Red local,* at the *V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici,* Marsala-Palermo, 2-8 October 2000. A global presentation of this kind of pottery is given by F. DE CRÉE, *The Black-on-Red or Cypro-Phoenician Ware*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 95-102. For Tell Rašīdīyeh, see also P. BORDREUIL, *Deux épigraphes phéniciennes de Tell Rachidiyeh,* in *Annales d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* 1 (1982), p. 137-140.

[165] A previous reconstruction "the Spring of the Water-Tower and Tyre" (E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* [n. 154], p. 164) was based on the assumption that ΣΣΑΤ was a transcription of the infinitive *ṣē't* of *yṣ'*, "to go out", used also when speaking about the flow of water (Gen. 2, 10; Ez. 47, 8). However, *mṣph ṣ't* just means "tower of going out" and the name lacks a word meaning "water".

[166] Grid ref. 1658/2623. Cf. J. BRASLAVI (BRASLAVSKI), *Kefar Yasif*, in *EJ*, Jerusalem 1971, Vol. 10, col. 895-896, with literature. See also G. REEG, *op. cit.* (n. 157), p. 292, s.v. *Ywsp*.

[167] Grid ref. 163/244. Cf. M. AVI-YONAH, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (Qedem 5), Jerusalem 1976, p. 103 and 106, Map 1; G. REEG, *op. cit.* (n. 157), p. 35-36.

The mention of Palaetyros by Pseudo-Scylax implies the existence of a harbour or anchorage close to the springs of Rās al-'Ayn, probably at the mouth of the Wādī Uqāb, that crosses the plain between Rās al-'Ayn and Tell ar-Rašīdīye. This anchorage is already referred to in Papyrus Anastasi I, 21, 1 recording that water was taken to Tyre by the boats[168]. The aqueduc conveying the water northwards may date only from the Roman period, but the chief octogonal reservoir around the source and the three small basins north of it probably go back to earlier times. The wall enclosing the main reservoir, now 7.5 metres in height, may have been called **maṣpa* in Josh. 19, 29 according to the Hebrew archetype of the *Codex Vaticanus*. As for the ποταμός of Palaetyros, recorded by Pseudo-Scylax, it should be the Wādī Uqāb, that was certainly receiving a part of the water supplied in great abundance by the copious springs of Rās al-'Ayn.

The name Palaetyros, first attested by the *Periplus* and later by Strabo, raises the question of its origin, the more so because the old name of the place was not forgotten in Graeco-Roman times. In fact, the legendary Οὔσωος of Philon of Byblos (A.D. 64-141) is certainly called after the Tyrian continental settlement of Usu[169]. At any rate, Palaetyros does obviously not refer to some abandoned ruins, but to a city supposed to occupy the original site of Tyre. An echo of this conception is still reflected in Philon's account of Οὔσωος, believed to have been "the first one who durst embarking on the sea", thus prefigurating the characteristic activity of the population of the island Tyre.

12. Achzib

Palaetyros was no doubt followed by Ecdippa, which is the scriptural Achzib. The old name, in the shortened form of az-Zīb, still clings to the place in Arabic[170]. It is the only site at the sea, between Tyre and Akko, where sea-going ships could be properly accommodated. Although it was made a town of the Asher tribe in Josh. 19, 29 and Judg. 1, 31, it was certainly a Phoenician town, as shown by the archaeological excavations of its cemeteries[171].

[168] Cf. above, p. 300, n. 160.

[169] EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Praeparatio evangelica* I, 10,10.

[170] M. AVI-YONAH, *op. cit.* (n. 167), p. 53 and 106, Map 1.

[171] Grid ref. 1598/272. Cf. M.D. HERRERA, *Akzib*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 13-14; M.W. PRAUSNITZ - E. MAZAR, *Achzib*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol I, p. 32-36; E. MAZAR, *Phoenician Ashlar-Built Iron Age Tomb at Achzib*, in *Qadmoniot* 27 (1994), p. 29-33 (in Hebrew); M.W. PRAUSNITZ, *Achziv*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. I, p. 13-14. For the survey of the area, see now R. FRANKEL - N. GETZOV, *Maps of Akhziv and Ḥanita*, Jerusalem 1997.

The mention of [uru]*Ak-zi-bi* between Usu and Akko in Sennacherib's annals for 701 B.C.[172] signifies that Achzib then was a place of some consequence. It controlled the passage from the Plain of Akko to Tyre through the "Ladder of Tyre", at Rās an-Nāqūra, and it was an important road station. North of the Arab village, that was occupying the site until 1948, there is a tell which was excavated in 1941-1944 and 1959-1964. Fortifications and occupational levels were discovered at Achzib from the Middle Bronze Age II through the Roman period, as well as from the early Middle Ages, when Arab geographers were referring to the place as az-Zīb, and from the Crusader period, when the site was known as Casal Imbert or Castellum Ziph. The harbour was probably situated north of the town, near the former mouth of the perennial Wādī al-Qarn/Qurein or Wādī Herdawīl (Naḥal Kəzīv), and it was somewhat protected towards the south by an off-shore islet. The river was about 20 metres wide when it debouched from the hills upon the plain[173], but it is uncertain whether Pseudo-Scylax refers to it when he writes καὶ ποταμός after mentioning Achzib. He may allude to the even larger Nahr Mafšūḫ (Naḥal Ga'tōn), that flows into the Mediterranean some 5 km south of Achzib[174].

Achzib's most prosperous period must have lasted from the 10th through the 6th century B.C., judging from the excavated public buildings and from the material found in the Phoenician tombs of both investigated cemeteries, the eastern one (*ar-Rās*) and the southern one (*al-Buqbaq*). The finds witness the extensive commercial relations of Achzib in Iron Age II, while the four inscribed tombstones from the 7th century B.C. confirm the Phoenician background of the town population[175]. Despite an apparent decline in the Persian period, the city is mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax and a Phoenician inscription from the 5th-4th century on the shoulder of a jar[176] asserts the continuation of the Phoenician settlement. The natural advantages of its situation caused Achzib to regain a certain importance in the Hellenistic period, possibly starting a few decades earlier, at the time of Pseudo-Scylax.

[172] D.D. LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 29, line 43. See also *ANET*, p. 287; *TPOA*, p. 119.

[173] ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 75, 158; Th.L. THOMPSON - F.J. GONÇALVES - J.M. VAN CANGH, *Toponymie palestinienne. Plaine de St Jean d'Acre et Corridor de Jérusalem*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988, p. 16.

[174] ABEL, *Géographie* I, p. 158; Th.L. THOMPSON et al., *op. cit.* (n. 173), p. 17.

[175] B. DELAVAULT - A. LEMAIRE, *Les inscriptions phéniciennes de Palestine*, in *RSF* 7 (1979), p. 1-39 and Pls. I-XIV (see p. 3-5 and Pls. I-III).

[176] *Ibid.*, p. 5 and Pl. III.

13. Akko

Further to the south, 14 km from Achzib and about 23 km north of Haifa by road, lay Akko, at the northern extremity of a wide bay, which terminates towards the south in the promontory of Mount Carmel. This is the best natural roadstead on the southern Phoenician coast, and this advantage, combined with its vicinity to the Valley of Jezreel, has given Akko a high importance at various periods of history. The city (*'ky*) is already mentioned with its prince Tūra-'Ammu (*T3'mw*) in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 18th century B.C.[177] Texts from the Late Bronze Age frequently refer to Akko which appears among the cities conquered by Tuthmosis III and in the topographical lists of Sethos I and Ramesses II[178], also in the Amarna correspondence[179] and on tablets from Ugarit[180]. It was allotted to the tribe of Asher (Josh. 19, 30) which, in fact, could never subdue it (Judg. 1, 31), and it remained a Phoenician city, referred to in the Assyrian annals of Sennacherib and of Ashurbanipal[181]. Under Achaemenian rule Akko served as a naval base, from which the Persians could keep watch on Egypt[182].

Although Pseudo-Scylax does not mention its harbour explicitly, Akko had an important port to the southeast of the promontory on which the Frankish and Ottoman city stands. However, the earlier anchorage was supposedly situated at the mouth of the Nahr Na'mein (Na'aman River), that nowadays flows 800 metres south of Tell al-Fuḫḫār (Tel 'Akkō), but was reaching, once upon a time, this natural *kurkar* hill before turning westwards. The area seawards of its mouth could thus offer an excellent anchorage to the original settlement which was built on Tell al-Fuḫḫār and the name of which meant "mooring pole"[183].

[177] G. POSENER, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire*, Bruxelles 1940, *E* 49. Cf. S.L. COHEN, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections: The Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant III), Winona Lake 2002, p. 70.

[178] S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 48.

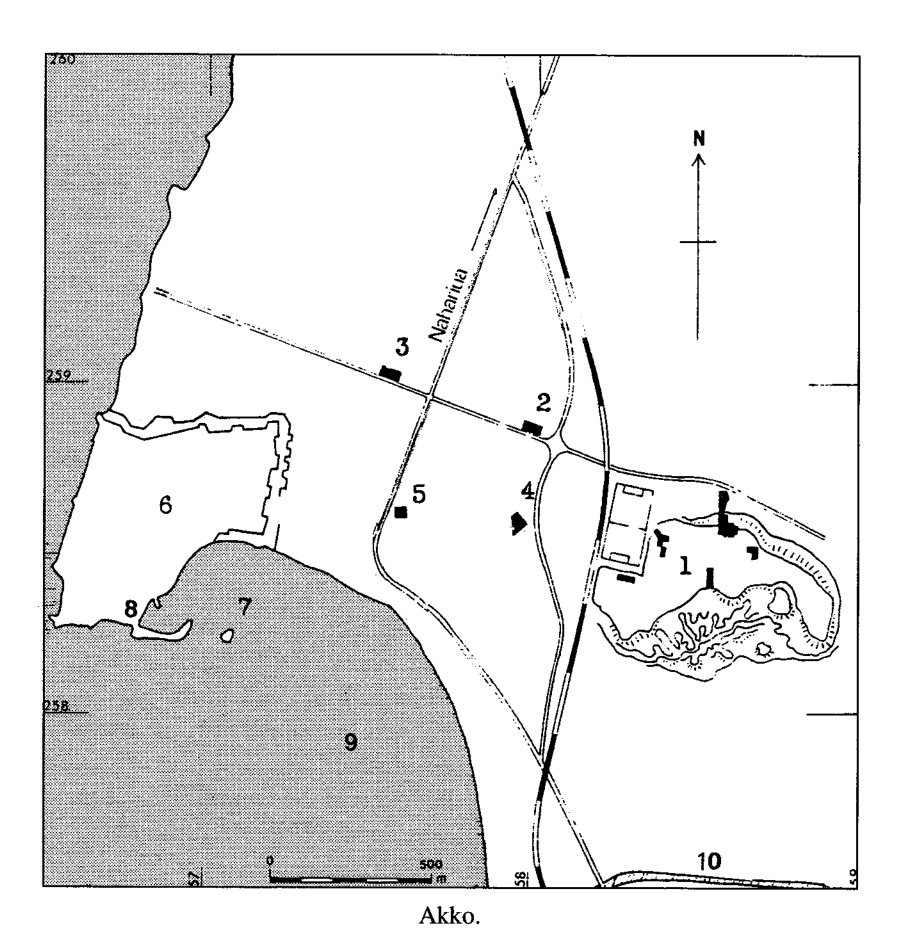
[179] *EA* 8, 19; 88, 46; 111, 22; 232, 4; 233, 5; 234,3.28; 236, 2; 366,22.

[180] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Aḫat-milki, reine d'Ugarit, et la guerre de Mukiš*, in *OLP* 12 (1981), p. 79-115 (see p. 110-111). See also P. BORDREUIL (ed.), *Ras Shamra - Ougarit* VII. *Une bibliothèque au sud de la ville*, Paris 1991, No. 5, 15 (RS. 34.147).

[181] D.D. LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 29, line 43; M. STRECK, *op. cit.* (n. 156), p. 80-83, col. IX, 122-128; R. BORGER, *op. cit.* (n. 156), p. 69, A IX 122-128. See also *ANET*, p. 287b, 300b; *TPOA*, p. 119.

[182] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 25; DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XV, 41, 3.

[183] E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 180), p. 111, with further references.



Akko.

1) T. al-Fuḫḫār
2) Hellenistic shrine from the 3rd-2nd century B.C.
3) Foundations of a tower from the Persian period
4) Hellenistic tower
5) Site with artefacts from the Persian period
6) Old city
7) Tower of Flies (site of a lighthouse)
8) Ḫān al-'Umdan
9) Bay of Akko
10) Nahr Na'mein

However, the magnometer survey of this area did not provide any clue[184]. Yet, Tell al-Fuḫḫār, located near the source of 'Ayn as-Sitt, was occupied since the beginning of the II millennium B.C., as was shown by the excavations conducted from 1973 on by M. Dothan and others[185]. Iron Age II was not represented very well, but a clear destruction level can probably be dated to the 7th century B.C.[186] From the early Persian period on the city started expanding westwards and a harbour with its facilities may have been built in that period at the south-eastern side of the promontory. The survey undertaken in 1964-1966 at the site of the present-day fishermen harbour of Akko even detected the traces of a Phoenician *cothon*, which still existed up to 1799 and is now the site of Ḫān al-'Umdan[187]. Pottery recovered from the lowest strata of the nearby western sea wall included a unique sherd inscribed with two Phoenician letters. Besides, in 1983, when the port was being deepened, remains of a cargo from the 4th-3rd century B.C. were discovered on the site[188]. It is reasonable to assume therefore that the inner harbour or *cothon* was operating in the Persian period in conjunction with a sheltered anchorage.

The discovery of an offering table of Achoris (392-380 B.C.) at Akko does neither indicate that the Persians had then lost control over Egypt, nor that Egypt extended its power to the coastal area of Palestine. In fact, the grey-granite fragment was found in a path of the Turkish arsenal, in no archaeological context. It appears to be the upper part of a granite altar, presently housed in the Louvre Museum and matching a second altar with the Horus-name of Achoris, found in the temple of Eshmun at Sidon[189]. These pharaoh's gifts witness good relations with the king of Sidon, possibly Baalshillem II. As for the fragment found in the Turkish arsenal, it has probably reached Akko as a ballast stone of a vessel.

184 A. FLINDER - E. LINDER - E.T. HALL, *Survey of the Ancient Harbour of Akko, 1964-1966,* in M. HELTZER - A. SEGAL - D. KAUFMAN (eds.), *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Ancient Israel in Honour of Moshe Dothan*, Haifa 1993, p. 199*-225* (see p. 211*).

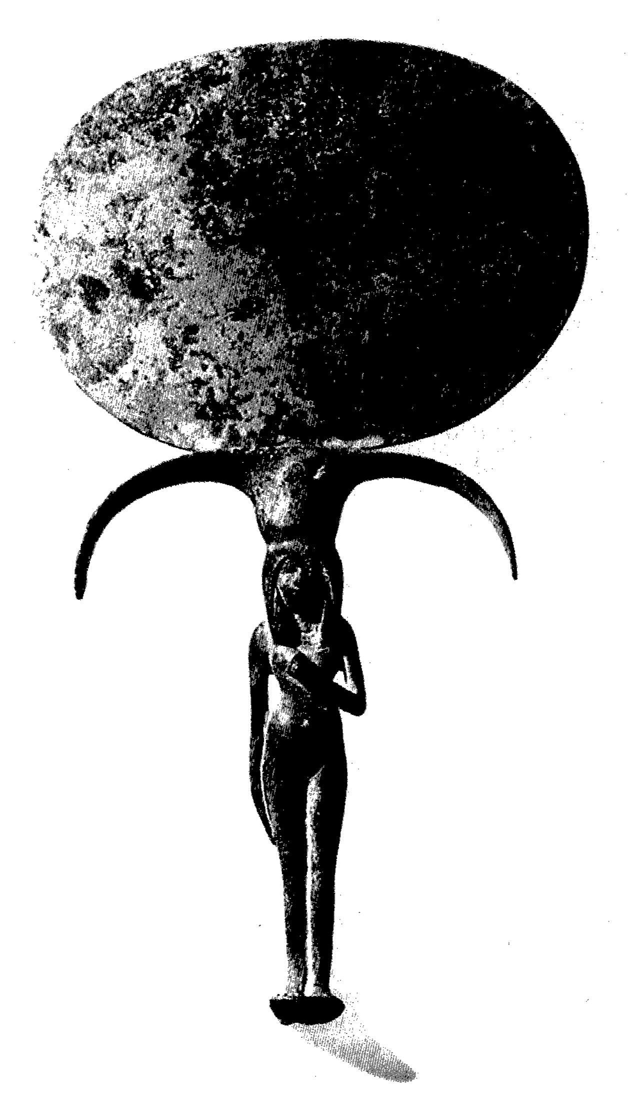
185 Grid ref. 1585/2585. Cf. M. DOTHAN - Z. GOLDMANN - S. BEN-ARIEH - A. RABAN, *Acco*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. I, p. 16-31. Cf. also W.G. DEVER, *Akko*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. I, p. 54-55, as well as *'Akko (Acre): Excavation Reports and Historical Studies* ('Atiqot 31), Jerusalem 1997.

186 It was related to the destruction of the city by Ashurbanipal: *ANET*, p. 300b, and above, n. 181.

187 A. FLINDER et al., *art. cit.* (n. 183), p. 215* and 224*.

188 A. RABAN, in *art. cit.* (n. 185), p. 29b.

189 B. PORTER - R.L. MOSS, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings* VII. *Nubia, The Desert and outside Egypt*, Oxford 1952, p. 382, 383 (bottom), 384; cf. J. YOYOTTE, rev. in *BiOr* 14 (1957), p. 29b.



Bronze mirror from Akko dating to Late Bronze II
(Courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museum).

Although the peace treaty of Antalcides, in 386 B.C., had given Persia a free hand to attack Egypt, a major Persian campaign against Egypt was undertaken only in 373 B.C.[190] The situation was fluctuating in the next following years[191], but at the time of Pseudo-Scylax Akko was firmly in Persian hands.

Greek merchants were established in the city[192], favouring commercial transactions with Greece, especially with Athens. Tell al-Fuḫḫār continued to be inhabited, also by Greeks, as shown by East-Greek and Attic decorated pottery from the 5th-4th centuries B.C., discovered on the mound[193]. Phoenician presence is attested in the same period by a larger building with a courtyard, in which a pit with pottery from Persian times was found, including a Phoenician ostracon that certifies the existence of a Phoenician sanctuary at Akko[194]. Also Aramaic ostraca were discovered on the mound, as well as a fragment of a Phoenician monumental inscription, unearthed in 1982[195]. A "Sign of Tannit", stamped on a sherd of a large pottery vessel from the 3rd century B.C., and an inscribed Phoenician seal have also been found at Akko[196].

[190] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XV, 29, 4.

[191] E. BRESCIANI, *The Persian Occupation of Egypt*, in I. GERSHEVITCH (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* II. *The Median and Achaemenid Periods,* Cambridge 1985, p. 502-528 (see p. 524-525).

[192] DEMOSTHENES, *Callippes* 20; ISAEUS, *Oratio* IV, 7.

[193] M. DOTHAN, *An Attic Red-Figured Belt Krater from Tel 'Akko,* in *IEJ* 29 (1979), p. 148-151, Pl. 18; A. RABAN, *A Group of Imported 'East Greek' Pottery from Locus 46 at Area F on Tel Akko,* in M. HELTZER - A. SEGAL - D. KAUFMAN (eds.), *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Ancient Israel in Honour of Moshe Dothan,* Haifa 1993, p. 73*-98*.

[194] M. DOTHAN, *A Phoenician Inscripiton from 'Akko,* in *IEJ* 35 (1985), p. 81-94, Pls. 13A-B, published in a slightly different form in *ErIs* 18 (1985), p. 116-123, Pl. 23 (in Hebrew). A good photograph can be found also in A. RABAN - R.R. STIEGLITZ (eds.), *Phoenicians on the Northern Coast of Israel in the Biblical Period,* Haifa 1993, p. 23*. While M. DOTHAN correctly translates *'šrt* by "shrine" in the publication of the inscription, the erroneous translation "the temple of Asherath" occurs in the *art. cit.* (n. 185), p. 22a. The title *'š 'l 'šrt* (line 2) certainly means "the overseer of the shrine"; cf. J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik,* 3rd ed., Roma 1999, p. 203, §284a; Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Studia Phoenicia XV; OLA 90), Leuven 2000, p. 79.

[195] M. DOTHAN - D. CONRAD, *'Akko, 1982,* in *IEJ* 33 (1983), p. 113-114.

[196] M. DOTHAN, *A Sign of Tanit from Tel 'Akko,* in *IEJ* 24 (1974), p. 44-49, Pl. 9A; R. GIVEON - A. LEMAIRE, *Sceau phénicien inscrit d'Akko avec scène religieuse,* in *Semitica* 35 (1985), p. 27-32.

14. Achshaph

The next item in Pseudo-Scylax's list is Ἔξωπη πόλις Τυ[ρίων], which has not been recognized by authors dealing with the *Periplus*[197]. This led to speculative rewritings of the notice, with no factual basis[198]. The place name is undoubtedly *'Akšāp*, correctly transcribed Ἔξωπη in Greek, which reflects well-known Phoenician phonetic rules, namely the change of short *a* into *e* and of accented *ā́* into *ō*, exactly as in -εζωρ < -*'azā́r*.

The earliest mention of Achshaph occurs in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the Brussels figurines, datable to the 18th century B.C., towards the end of the Twelfth Dynasty (1937-1759 B.C.) or in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (1759-1605 B.C.)[199]. One of these inscriptions names the ruler of *'I-k-s-p-ỉ*[200], commonly identified with Achshaph. This dating of the concerned group of texts corresponds, in archaeological terms, to Middle Bronze IIA, what can actually be helpful in trying to identify Achshaph with an excavated site. The second mention of Achshaph (*'I-k-s-p*) in Egyptian texts occurs as No. 40 in the topographical list of Tuthmosis III from the Amon temple at Karnak[201]. A papyrus listing rations of grain and beer issued to *maryannū* from various cities in Canaan, also from Achshaph, dates approximately from the same period[202]. Two letters belonging to the Amarna correspondence name ^{uru}*Ak-ša-pa*[203], one of them suggesting that the city is not too distant from Akko[204]. Finally, Papyrus Anastasi I, 21, 4-5 from the reign of

[197] The first interpretation of ἔξωπη in the manuscript as the name of Achshaph occurs in E. LIPIŃSKI, *Note de topographie historique: Ba'li-Ra'ši et Ra'šu Qudšu,* in *RB* 78 (1971), p. 84-92 (see p. 86).

[198] Thus K. GALLING, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 196-197.

[199] W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5), 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971, p. 44-45. The dates are based on the "low" chronology, as presented by K.A. KITCHEN, *The Basics of Egyptian Chronology in Relation to the Bronze Age,* in P. ÅSTRÖM (ed.), *High, Middle or Low. Acts of an International Colloquium in Absolute Chronology. Part I,* Göteborg 1987, p. 37-55.

[200] G. POSENER, *op. cit.* (n. 177), *E* 11, p. 70-71. The Egyptian mentions of Akshaph are collected by S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 48-49.

[201] List I, 40 in J. SIMONS, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p. 116. See also Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography,* London 1967, p. 148.

[202] W. GOLÉNISCHEFF, *Les papyrus hiératiques n° 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage impérial à St Pétersbourg,* St Pétersbourg 1913, Pl. XVII, line 70, and Pl. XXII, line 187 with the mention of Achshaph.

[203] *EA* 366, 23 and 367, 1.

[204] The author of letter 366, 22-23 mentions the rulers of Akko and Achshaph together.

Ramesses II clearly indicates that Achshaph lay alongside an important road south of Akko[205]. The three biblical mentions of Achshaph in Josh. 11,1; 12,20; 19,25 are of uncertain date and only allow a general location of the town, likewise the Phoenician city seal of Achshaph, dating back to the 4th century B.C.[206] Instead, the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax shows that Achshaph is one of the Phoenician coastal cities, located between Akko and Mount Carmel.

Considering these elements, Achshaph — or at least its harbour — should be identified with Tell Abū Ḥawām[207]. This site is situated at the foot of Mount Carmel, now almost 2 km inland, on the silted estuary of the Qishon River and the Wādī Salmān. Instead, in most phases of Antiquity, it formed a small island between the lower courses of the two streams[208] and thus was the original harbour of the Haifa Bay[209]. It provided a natural shelter for seafarers, protected as it was from the prevalent west and northwest winds by Mount Carmel, and it would appear that it served as a port of entry for Aegean and East Mediterranean trade.

The site has been excavated several times, mainly by R.W. Hamilton in 1932-1933[210], and by J. Balensi and M.-D. Herrera in 1983-1986[211].

[205] S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 117-118; *ANET*, p. 477b. The toponym is spelt with initial *'ayn*.

[206] J.C. GREENFIELD, *art. cit.* (n. 141), seal B.

[207] Grid ref. 15215/24520. For a general presentation of the excavations conducted on this site, see J. BALENSI - M.D. HERRERA - M. ARTZY, *Abu Hawam, Tell*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. I, p. 7-14. Cf. also W.G. DEVER, *Abu Hawam, Tell*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. I , p. 9.

[208] A. RABAN - I. GALANTI, *Tell Abu Hawam, 1985*, in *IEJ* 37 (1987), p. 179-181.

[209] L.-H. VINCENT, *Tell Abu Hawam - Origines de Haïfa*, in *RB* 44 (1935), p. 416-437 and Pls. XVII-XXII.

[210] R.W. HAMILTON's published reports provide only 20% of the uncovered archaeological material: *Tell Abu Hawam. Interim Report*, in *QDAP* 3 (1934), p. 74-80, and *Excavations at Tell Abu Hawam*, in *QDAP* 4 (1935), p. 1-69. All the preserved material of Hamilton's Strata IV and V, presently in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, has been reexamined and analyzed by J. BALENSI, *Les fouilles de R.W. Hamilton à Tell Abu Hawam, niveaux IV & V (? 1600-950 env. av. J.-C.)*, Ph.D. dissert. Strasbourg 1980, unpublished, but summarized by EAD., *Revising Tell Abu Hawam*, in *BASOR* 257 (1985), p. 65-74.

[211] J. BALENSI - M.-D. HERRERA, *Tell Abou Hawam 1983-1984, rapport préliminaire*, in *RB* 92 (1985), p. 82-128 and Pls. V-VI; EAD. - EAD., *More about the Aegean Imports from Tell Abu Hawam*, in *Levant* 18 (1986), p. 167-171; J. BALENSI, *Tell Abū Hawām: un cas exceptionnel?*, in M. HELTZER - E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1500-1000 B.C.)* (OLA 23), Leuven 1988, p. 305-311; G. FINKIELSZTEJN, *Tell Abu Hawam*, in *RB* 96 (1989), p. 224-234; J. BALENSI - I. DUNAUX - G. FINKIELSZTEJN, *Le niveau perse à Tell Abu Hawam*, in *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), p. 127-136; D. HERRERA, *Abu Hawam, Tell*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 4, and the article in *NEAEHL*, quoted above in n. 207.

The few stray finds from Middle Bronze IIB-C[212] cannot be regarded as traces of an actual occupation of the site, since no structures go back to that period. The earliest structural remains date from Late Bronze I, when Canaan was in the shadow of Egyptian domination. In consequence, Tell Abū Ḥawām cannot be connected with the first mention of Achshaph in the Egyptian Execration Texts. The somewhat uncertain date of the Brussels figurines and the very partial excavation of the mound, two-thirds of which had been removed before the archaeological campaigns, are not of the kind to suggest minimizing the significance of the lapse of time that separates the Execration Texts, dated *ca.* 1750 B.C., and the earliest structures of the tell, going back to *ca.* 1500-1400 B.C., when the small town was provided with a sea rampart.

The site was certainly occupied under the Egyptian Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties[213], thus in the period when Achshaph is mentioned in written documents from Egypt, dated to the New Kingdom. The Amarna correspondence suggests that it was a relatively important centre, which can hardly be identified with a mound the superficies of which amounts to 1 hectare or slightly more. Therefore, one must conclude that Achshaph did not occupy, in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, the same site as Achshaph known from Bronze Age texts. The nearest mound of some importance is Tell an-Naḥl[214], situated 4.5 km east of Tell Abū Ḥawām. This mound, which is 16 metres high, has never been excavated, but the surface findings reveal an apparent occupation in the Bronze Age, the Iron Age and, later, in the Roman and Early Arab periods[215]. There seems to be a gap in the occupation of the site at least from the late Iron Age to the 1st century B.C. In the 12th century B.C., on the other hand, there is a gap in occupation at Tell Abū Ḥawām, but it is followed by a new settlement, due to the arrival of a population coming probably from northern Syria, around 1100 B.C. Iron Age II is represented then by substantial remains of a Phoenician town, lasting until the late 8th century B.C. The city was then burnt, probably by the Assyrians, and there was a new gap in its occupation until the Persian period, which is well represented, also by a hoard of Tyrian coins from the 4th century

[212] J. BALENSI, *art. cit.* (n. 210), p. 66-67; J. BALENSI - M.-D. HERRERA, *art. cit.* (n. 211), *RB* 92 (1985), p. 113.

[213] A. KLONER - Y. OLAMI, *The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Periods*, in A. SAFFER - B. KIPNIS (eds.), *Atlas of Haifa and Mount Carmel*, Haifa 1980, p. 36-37; H.-P. KUHNEN, *Studien zur Chronologie und Siedlungsarchäologie des Karmel (Israel) zwischen Hellenismus und Spätantike* (BTAVO B/72), Wiesbaden 1989, p. 341, No. 22.

[214] Grid ref. 15690/24498.

[215] See also here below, p. 314.

B.C.[216] This is the time of Pseudo-Scylax's *Periplus*. A continuous occupation of the site in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. is ascertained as well, but the progressive formation of sand-banks favoured the shifting of port operations to the new harbour of Sycaminum.

This period running from the late 6th through the 2nd century B.C. corresponds to the apparent gap in occupation at Tell-an-Naḥl. The logical conclusion would be that the name of the abandoned inland town was given around 500 B.C. to its harbour, on the site of Tell Abū Ḥawām. Its earlier name would of course be different and *Q-š-n*, No. 37 in the great list of Tuthmosis III, would appear as its most appropriate earlier appellation, preserved by the Qishon River in biblical times. In any case, the harbour town of the Persian period could not be called Libnat, since Achshaph and Libnat are attested then as two distinct towns. In fact, both *'kšp* and *Lbt* appear on Phoenician city seals, dated by the reign years of the king of Tyre[217]. Now, the form *Lbt* obviously reflects the assimilation of *Libintu* to *Libittu* and *Libit*.

The association of this place name with Shihor in Josh. 19, 26, where the territory of Asher is said to "touch Carmel on the sea side and the Shihor of Libnat", indicates that Shihor does not designate the outlet of the Qishon[218], but rather the swamps existing still in the Ottoman period north of 'Ayn al-Fawwāra and along the al-Fawwāra brook, an easterly tributary of the Qishon[219]. These swamps, parallel to the coastal sand dunes, extended west of the ancient road connecting Tell an-Naḥl[220] with Tell aṣ-Ṣubāt or al-'Iḍ'am[221], a rather important mound, Tell al-Ḫiyār (Tel Ṣawāṭ)[222] and, further north, Ḫirbet Ǧidru[223] and Ḫirbet az-Zibda[224]. Libnat, the name of which means "brickwork", might correspond to one of these mounds, possibly to Tell al-'Iḍ'am, unless the latter is 'Am'ād

[216] C. LAMBERT, *A Hoard of Phoenician Coins*, in *QDAP* 1 (1931), p. 6-20 and Pls. II-XIX; cf. G. FINKIELSZTEJN, *art. cit.* (n. 211), p. 233.
[217] J. C. GREENFIELD, *art. cit.* (n. 141), p. 130-132 and Pl. 13D.
[218] This was suggested by B. MAZAR, in S. YEIVIN, *Asher*, in *EM* I, Jerusalem 1950, col. 777-786 (see col. 779-780); M. BROSHI, *Libnat Shihor*, in *EM* IV, Jerusalem 1962, col. 430. Another suggestion, made by A. ALT, *Eine galiläische Orteliste in Jos 19*, in *ZAW* 45 (1927), p. 59-81 (see p. 69, n. 4), identifies Shihor Libnat with the swamps of Nahr ad-Difle and Nahr az-Zerqa, south of Dor. This suggestion does not take the general context of Josh. 19, 24-31 into account.
[219] See the German Military Map from 1917, p. 34/5 and 42/3, reprinted in H.-P. KUHNEN, *op. cit.* (n. 213), Beilage 5.
[220] Grid ref. 1569/2449.
[221] Grid ref. 1577/2458.
[222] Grid ref. 1584/2466.
[223] Grid ref. 1589/2475.
[224] Grid ref. 1592/2481.

in Josh. 19, 26 or *'I-t-m-m*, No. 36 in the list of Tuthmosis III. Libnat is perhaps mentioned also in a list of Ramesses III with Beth-Dagon[225], that appears next to it in Josh. 19, 27.

The identification of Tell Abū Ḥawām with *Calamon/Ṣalmōnā*[226] cannot be accepted either. The Bordeaux Itinerary locates a *mutatio Calamon* three miles before Sycaminum, which is certainly to be identified with Tell as-Samak, 1.3 km southwest of the Carmel Cape[227]. The *mutatio Calamon* corresponds therefore to the site of the old town of Haifa and probably refers to a place at the feet of Burǧ as-Salām or near the old harbour[228]. Its name is Greek, Κάλαμον, like the name of the town Qalamūn, in Lebanon, with an -ον ending instead of feminine -η, in accordance with popular Greek. It means "reed" or "halm", καλάμη in the classical language. *Ṣalmōnā* is an Aramaic reshaping of the toponym, to which the name of Wādī Salmān is most likely related.

The information provided by Papyrus Anastasi I and by the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax precludes former identifications of Achshaph with various sites in the region northeast, east, and southeast of Akko. Thus C. Conder had suggested to identify Achshaph with Kafr Yāsīf/Yūsef[229], a large village situated about 10 km northeast of Akko[230]. J. Garstang thought that Tell Keisān, 8 km southeast of Akko, was the most likely location for this city[231], while at-Tell, 12 km north of Akko, was proposed by A. Saarisalo[232], because the mound is situated at the Nahr Mafšūḥ, the name of which was decomposed in *mē-aḥšuf*, with a metathesis. Very suggestive from a phonetic point of view was Ḫirbet

[225] S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 132.
[226] M. AVI-YONAH, *op. cit.* (n. 167), p. 45; G. REEG, *op. cit.* (n. 157), p. 544-545; H.-P. KUHNEN, *op. cit.* (n. 213), p. 289.
[227] Grid ref. 1462/2478. Cf. J. ELGAVISH, *Shiqmona*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. IV, p. 1373-1378; ID., *Shiqmona*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. V, p. 36-37.
[228] See K. BAEDEKER, *op. cit.* (n. 85), Map next to p. 225, C.
[229] C.R. CONDER - H.H. KITCHENER, *Survey of Western Palestine*, London 1881-83, followed by Th.L. THOMPSON et al., *op. cit.* (n. 173), p. 40.
[230] For this village, see J. BRASLAVI (BRASLAVSKI), *art. cit.* (n. 166), with former literature.
[231] J. GARSTANG, *Joshua- Judges. The Foundations of Bible History*, London 1931, p. 354. He was followed cautiously by J. BRIEND, *Akshaph et sa localisation à Tell Keisan*, in *RB* 79 (1972), p. 239-246; ID. - J.P. HUMBERT, *Tell Keisan (1971-1976), une cité phénicienne en Galilée*, Paris 1980, p. 5-11; S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 48-49; A. LEMAIRE, *Asher et le royaume de Tyr*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 135-152 (see p. 141 with n. 33).
[232] A. SAARISALO, *Sites and Roads in Asher and Western Judah* (Studia Orientalia 28), Helsinki 1962, p. 16.

'Iksāf (al-Ksāf), 30 km east of Tyre, first proposed by V. Guérin[233]. B. Mazar has suggested equating Achshaph with Ḫirbet al-Harbaǧ[234], 12 km southeast of Haifa, near the confluence of the Wādī al-Malik with the Qishon, which becomes a perennial river from this point on and reaches a width of twenty metres[235] before running into the sea 10 km downwards. However, also this large site is too distant from the sea to be Achshaph.

In conclusion, since Tell Abū Ḥawām cannot correspond to the royal city of Achshaph from the period of the Execration Texts, it must have been the harbour of this city, which can best be located at the site of the important Tell an-Naḥl. This unexcavated mound, situated 4.5 km east of Tell Abū Ḥawām, was easily accessible from the harbour island by small boats or fords. When the inland town was abandoned, its name passed over to its harbour and Pseudo-Scylax knew the port of Tell Abū Ḥawām under the name of the town it had deserved in the Bronze and Iron Ages. However, the harbour had a name of its own. The most suitable name would have been *Q-ś-n*, No. 37 in the list of Tuthmosis III.

It is worth recording nevertheless that B. Mazar had proposed to identify Tell an-Naḥl with Mishal (Josh. 19, 26)[236], which immediately precedes Achshaph in Tuthmosis III's list (No. 39: *M-š-ỉ-r*) and is encountered also in the Execration Texts of the Brussels figurines (*E* 13: *M-š-ỉ-3-ỉ*). It must be a city of the same region, but it would be hazardous to identify it on the sole ground of the name with Ḫirbet Abū Msilsil, 2 km northeast of Kafr 'Itta[237].

[233] V. GUÉRIN, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine, 3e partie: Galilée* II, Paris 1880, p. 269-270, followed by DUSSAUD, *Topographie*, p. 6; M. NOTH, *op. cit.* (n. 154), p. 72; P. BORDREUIL, *De 'Arqa à Akshaph, notes de toponymie phénicienne*, in *La toponymie antique*, Leiden 1977, p. 177-184 (see p. 181-184).

[234] B. MAISLER (MAZAR), *Tell Kurdâne (Aphek?) in the Plain of Acre* (in Hebrew), in *Yediot* 6 (1939), p. 151-158 (see p. 158) = E. STERN (ed.), *Bulletin of the Exploration Society Reader* II, Jerusalem 1965, p. 36-43 (see p. 43); B. MAISLER (MAZAR), *Palestine at the Time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt*, in *Revue de l'histoire juive en Égypte* 1 (1947), p. 33-68 (see p. 48); S. YEIVIN, *The Third District in Tuthmosis III's List of Palestino-Syrian Towns*, in *JEA* 36 (1950), p. 51-62 (see p. 57); Y. AHARONI, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1957, p. 93; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 201), p. 21; A.F. RAINEY, *Gath-Padalla*, in *IEJ* 18 (1968), p. 1-14 (see p. 6, n. 27).

[235] W.F. LYNCH, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, London 1849, p. 64, found it 18 yards (16.38 metres) wide in April 1848.

[236] B. MAISLER (MAZAR), *art. cit.* (n. 234), in *Revue de l'histoire juive en Égypte* 1 (1947), p. 49 and n. 3; ID., *Canaan and Israel* (in Hebrew), 2nd ed., Jerusalem 1976, p. 27, 116, 161, n. 3a. Its identification with Tell Bīr al-Ġarbi (Tell Berwē), proposed by G. SCHMITT, *Gaba, Getta und Gintikirmil*, in *ZDPV* 103 (1987), p. 22-48 (see p. 47), lacks any concrete basis.

[237] Grid ref. 1599/2450.

15. Mount Carmel

Achshaph is followed immediately by the "Carmel, the holy mountain of Zeus", the Greek name of Baal. Qualified "mountain of the Tyrians" by Josephus Flavius[238], Carmel is the great southern headland of Phoenicia. Its western extremity, where it overhangs the Mediterranean, was an outstanding bench-mark for the sailors. It was probably named *Šr.t-tp-gḥs*, "Gazelle-Nose", by Egyptian sailors at the time of Pepi I (*ca.* 2330-2280 B.C.) because of its characteristic profile[239]. The identification may be argued from the context which is the account of a campaign to Palestine involving the transport of troops by ship to a place located "at the rear of the heights of the mountain range on the north of the land of the Sand-Dwellers". The mountain is called *W-s-r* in Papyrus Anastasi I, while *R-(ỉ-)š q-d-š* and *Ba-'-li-ra-'-si* are rather names of Rās an-Nāqūra[240].

The mention of "the holy mountain of Zeus" by Pseudo-Scylax offers a significant chronological link between the biblical account of I Kings 18, 17-40, where the Baal of the Carmel is unlikely to be the Tyrian city-god Melqart[241], and the attestations of the Roman period, when the god

[238] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* III, 3, 1, §36.

[239] K. SETHE, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs* (Urkunden I), 2nd ed., Leipzig 1931, p. 104, line 13. R. GUNDLACH, *Die Zwangumsiedlung auswärtiger Bevölkerung als Mittel ägyptischer Politik bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Forshungen zur antiken Sklaverei 26), Stuttgart 1994, p. 120-122, identifies the Antelope Nose with the Carmel. See also *ANET*, p. 228, and S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 151. However, A. ROCCATI, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (LAPO 11), Paris 1982, p. 195, §184, prefers translating *šr.t* by "narrow pass" ("défilé"). He does not suggest any geographical location. The most recent translation of Weni's inscription recording this campaign is provided by Chr. H. REINTGES, *De autobiografische inscriptie van Weni*, in R.J. DEMARÉE - K.R. Veenhof (eds.), *Zij schreven geschiedenis*, Leiden-Leuven 2003, p. 44-56, with bibliography.

[240] See here above, p. 1-15, and S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 162-163.

[241] Some data favouring this identification were presented by the writer some thirty years ago: E. LIPIŃSKI, *La fête de l'ensevelissement et de la résurrection de Melqart*, in A. FINET (ed.), *Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Ham-sur-Heure 1970, p. 30-58, in particular p. 39-41. See also C. BONNET, *Melqart. Cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée* (Studia Phoenicia VIII), Leuven-Namur 1988, p. 136-143. The ordeal on Carmel (I Kings 18, 17-40) may contain literary elements of various provenance. The identification of the Carmel god with Yahweh is possibly implied by Mich. 7, 14b: "O solitary Dweller of the forest in the midst of the Carmel!" This interpretation was developed by O. EISSFELDT, *Ein Psalm aus Nord-Israel. Mi 7, 7-20*, in *ZDMG* 112 (1962), p. 259-268, reprinted in O. EISSFELDT, *Kleine Schriften* IV, Tübingen 1968, p. 65 ff. It was accepted by J. DUS, *Weiteres zum nordisraelitischen Psalm Micha 7, 7-20*, in *ZDMG* 115 (1965), p. 14-22, but it is criticized by W. RUDOLPH, *Micha-Nahum-Habakuk-Zephanja* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament XIII/3), Gütersloh 1975, p. 129. P.J.P. VAN HECKE, *Living Alone in the Shrubs. Positive Pastoral Metaphors*

of the Carmel was identified with Zeus of Heliopolis (Baalbek) in the inscription of the big marble votive foot, found on the northwestern side of the headland[242]. His mention by Pseudo-Scylax and his identification with the senior god of the Baalbek trinity suggest that he was of more than merely local significance. This is confirmed by the attestations of the holiness of the place in Roman times. In 69 A.D., Vespasian consulted the oracle of the god of the Carmel[243], an event still indirectly recorded by Orosius in 415 A.D.[244] While mentioning Vespasian's visit to the shrine, Tacitus describes it in his particular style, characterized by intensity and brevity: "Between Judaea and Syria rises the Carmel. Thus they call the mountain and the god. The god has neither a statue nor a temple — such was the will of the ancestors. There is only an altar and a worship"[245]. Iamblichus, the Neo-Platonic philosopher (*ca.* 250-325 A.D.), records the solitary sojourn of Pythagoras on Mount Carmel, which he describes as "the holiest of all the mountains, regarded as inaccessible to common people"[246]. The big votive foot with the inscription *ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗ ΚΑΡΜΗΛΩ*, discovered near the monastery of Elija, approximately indicates the site where the shrine was located in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. and the fragmentary Phoenician inscription from the 3rd-2nd century B.C., engraved on a thick slab and found on the slopes of Mount Carmel, in Haifa[247], may come from the same sanctuary.

16. Arados

Mount Carmel is followed by "Arados, city of the Sidonians". K. Galling had suggested to change *Arados* into *Adaros* and identified it with the Βουκόλων πόλις of Strabo[248], which he places at 'Atlit[249].

in Micah 7, 14, in *ZAW* 115 (2003), p. 362-375, is apparently unaware of Eissfeldt's suggestive interpretation.

[242] M. Avi-Yonah, *Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek*, in *IEJ* 2 (1952), p. 118-124; B. Lifshitz, *Études sur l'histoire de la province romaine de Syrie*, in *ANRW* II/8, Berlin-New York 1977, p. 3-30 (see p. 13-16).

[243] Tacitus, *Histories* II, 78, 3; Suetonius, *Vespasian* VIII, 6.

[244] Orosius, *History* VII, 9, 2, in M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, *Orose: Histoires (Contre les Païens)* (Collection Budé) III. *Livre VII. Index*, Paris 1991, p. 38, states that the Carmel oracles promising power have been appropriated by Jews and led to the anti-Roman revolt.

[245] Tacitus, *Histories* II, 78, 3.

[246] Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras* III, 15.

[247] B. Delavault - A. Lemaire, *op. cit.* (n. 175), p. 13-14.

[248] Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2, 27.

[249] K. Galling, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 197-199, quoted by M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (Qedem 5), Jerusalem 1976, p. 43 and 106 (grid ref. 144/234).

Instead, M. Avi-Yonah rather regarded the whole item as a dittography of "Doros, city of the Sidonians", and reckoned with the possibility that 'Atlit was called *Qrt*, the *mutatio Certha* of the Bordeaux Itinerary, and that it was identical with the Μαγδίηλ of Eusebius[250]. These opinions are based on methodologically questionable proceedings and are at present outdated.

The toponym Ἄραδος is based on Phoenician or Aramaic *Ḥarad*, which is not attested so far in epigraphy, but belongs to the old Northwest Semitic vocabulary, since it appears at Mari in the clause *a-na ḫa-ra-di-im pa-ra-si-im*[251], "in order to obstruct the narrow pass". The same noun occurs also as toponym, thus in Amorite and in Judg. 7, 1, where *'Ayn Ḥrd* is correctly rendered in the *Codex Vaticanus* of the Septuagint by πηγὴ Αραδ[252]. It probably derives from the root *ḥrd*, the apparently psychosomatic connotation of which signifies "dismay", "distress".

The meaning of Ἄραδος in the *Periplus* of Pseudo-Scylax is amply confirmed by the Latin names of 'Atlit, which appear to be translations of *Ḥarad*, known thanks to a continuous local tradition. William of Tyre mentions *Petra Incisa*[253], *Lapis Incisus*[254], and *Districtum*[255], all names referring to the cleft in the *kurkar* ridge, which opens the way leading in fifteen minutes to the *Castellum Peregrinorum* of the Crusaders, at 'Atlit[256]. In consequence, the name preserved by Pseudo-Scylax is correct

[250] M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquest. A Historical Geography*, Grand Rapids 1966, p. 29, n. 133.

[251] *ARM* I, 90, 9-10. J.-M. Durand, *Les documents épistolaires du palais de Mari* II (LAPO 17), Paris 1978, p. 88, translates: "dans le dessein de couper le *gué*" and adds on p. 89, n. d), concerning *ḫa-ra-di-im*: "plusieurs villes portent ce nom désormais à l'époque amorite". In particular, Ḫaradum/Ḫarada at Ḫirbet ad-Diniya, on the Middle Euphrates, apparently owns its name to the relatively narrow valley of the Euphrates in this area. For a general description of the site and of its Old Babylonian tablets, see Chr. Kepinski - O. Lecomte - F. Joannès, in *Archeologia* 205 (1985), p. 46-59. J.-M. Durand thinks that the word derives from *ḫarādum*, "surveiller".

[252] Αρεδ according to Eusebius of Caesarea, *Onomasticon*, in E. Klostermann (ed.), *Eusebius: Werke* III/1. *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS 11/1), Leipzig 1904, p. 32: 4. One may also refer to the village of Ḥardīn in the present-day district of Batrūn; cf. E. Wardini, *Lebanese Place-Names* (OLA 120), Leuven 2002, p. 192, 372, 656.

[253] William of Tyre, *Chronicon* X, 25 (26), 30-31; XI, 17, 12, in R.B.C. Huygens (ed.), *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique* (CCCM 63-63A), Turnhout 1986, p. 485, 521.

[254] William of Tyre, *Chronicon* XIII, 2, 21, in *op. cit.* (n. 253), p. 587.

[255] William of Tyre, *Chronicon* X, 25 (26), 32; XIII, 2, 22; 3, 11, in *op. cit.* (n. 253), p. 485, 587, 588.

[256] K. Baedeker, *op. cit.* (n. 85), p. 231. For the site in particular, see C.N. Johns, *Guide to 'Atlit*, reprinted in C.N. Johns, *Pilgrim's Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabaḍ ('Ajlun), Three Middle Eastern Castles from the Time of the Crusades*, Ashgate 1997, No. I.

and the identification of the place with 'Atlit[257] can be regarded as certain.

There is no connection with the Βουκόλων πόλις of Strabo, who mentions it in the large area between Akko and Caesarea[258]. Boucolon should be identified with *Bucael*, situated according to William of Tyre in the mountainous region of Zebulun[259]. It is presented by the archbishop of Tyre as the local name of *Bacades*, probably the same place as the episcopal see of Βακάθα, attested in the 5th-6th centuries as a suffragan of Jerusalem[260]. William's description of the site[261] suggests identifying it with Dāliyat al-Karmel, 13 km south of Haifa[262].

As for the *mutatio Certha* of the Bordeaux Itinerary[263] — a Phoenician *Qarta* —, it has to be located at Tel Megadim, situated exactly 8 miles or 12 km south from Tell as-Samak, which is certainly to be identified with Sycaminum[264], at the north-western tip of Mount Carmel. Qarta is mentioned in Josh. 21, 34 as a city located on the territory of Zebulun but attributed to the Levitical clan Merari[265]. The item Καρθά in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius[266] does not provide any supplementary information, and the city was usually identified with 'Atlit. More precisely, Ḫirbet Dusṭrī, the ruins of the templar fort[267] controlling the narrow passage towards the castel, has been surnamed Ḥorvat Qartā, an appellation that created confusion even among archaeologists[268]. Fortunately, the excavations of 1967-1969 have shown that Tel Megadim, 3 km north of 'Atlit[269], is the ancient Qarta, situated 8 miles south of Sycaminum, as

[257] Grid ref. 1442/2346.

[258] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 27.

[259] WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XXI, 25 (26), 40, in *op. cit.* (n. 253), p. 997.

[260] References in ABEL, *Géographie* II, p. 201-202, n. 5. It seems that one should distinguish two different towns called *Bacatha*. The one mentioned by CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *The Life of St. Saba* 78, is probably the same as William's *Bacades*.

[261] WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XXI, 25 (26), 35-69, in *op. cit.* (n. 253), p. 997-998.

[262] H.-P. KUHNEN, *op. cit.* (n. 213), p. 346, No. 98.

[263] *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, p. 12 (585:2).

[264] J. ELGAVISH, *art. cit.* (n. 227).

[265] *Q-r-t* occurs in several Egyptian texts, but it is the first element of composite place names, like *Qrt-ym*, *Qrt-'nb*, *Qrt-nḏn*; cf. S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 126-127; R. HANNIG, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, 2nd ed., Mainz a/R 1997, p. 1393.

[266] E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 252), p. 116:1.

[267] Grid ref. 14521/23483.

[268] Thus H.-P. KUHNEN, *op. cit.* (n. 213), p. 289: "Ein Ortsname *Qartā* ist für Fst. 82 - *Ḫ. Dusṭrī* überliefert"; cf. p. 345, No. 82.

[269] Grid ref. 145/236. Cf. M. BROSHI, *Tel Megadim*, in *RB* 76 (1969), p. 413-414; 77 (1970), p. 387-388; ID., *Megadim, Tel*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. III, p. 1001-1003. In *DCCP*, p. 367, s.v. Qarta, one should read "8 miles" instead of "3 miles", and in

indicated in the Bordeaux Itinerary for *mutatio Certha*. As for Μαγδίηλ of Eusebius[270], it has to be located at Ḫirbet al-Māliḥa, 3 km south of 'Atlit[271].

Finally, William of Tyre sometimes identifies the site of 'Atlit with *Tyrus Antiqua*[272]. The origin of this appellation, anterior to the construction of the *Castrum Peregrinorum* in 1217, is not clear, but it implies that conspicuous remains of an ancient city were still visible there at the time of William of Tyre (*ca.* 1130-1186).

The earliest excavations at 'Atlit were conducted by C.N. Johns in the area of the large salt ponds for extracting table salt from sea water[273]. They uncovered, mainly in 1930-1933, occupational strata dating to the Bronze Age and the Iron Age[274]. The outstanding finds at this site were two Phoenician cemeteries. The older one, discovered in the ridge east of the coastline, dates back to the 8th-6th centuries B.C. and contained several cremation burials[275]. The second cemetery, at the south-eastern corner of the mediaeval town, belonged mainly to the Persian period and was characterized by rock-hewn shaft graves, which yielded rich finds[276]. The Phoenician harbour, investigated also in underwater surveys[277], was built on the northern site of the rocky peninsula, where the Crusaders built the Pilgrims' Castle in 1217. It was used also for military purposes, as shown by the bronze ram of an ancient warship, datable to *ca.* 300 B.C., which was found near the harbour[278]. The bay south of the

E. STERN, *Dor, Ruler of the Seas*, Jerusalem 1994, p. 66, "north of Atlit" instead of "south of Atlit".

[270] E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 252), p. 130:21-22.

[271] Grid ref. 1444/2313. See here below, p. 320-322.

[272] WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* X, 25, 31; XIII, 2, 23, in *op. cit.* (n. 253), p. 485, 587. It is possible that *Ṣūr* subject to duties in Caesarea according to the Talmud Yerushalmi, *Demai* I, 2, 22a, 57-60, is the *Tyrus Antiqua* of Latin sources.

[273] For a general presentation, see C.N. JOHNS - A. RABAN - E. LINDER - E. GALILI, *'Atlit*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. I, p. 112-122. For a survey of the area, cf. A. RONEN - Y. OLAMI, *Map of 'Atlit*, Jerusalem 1978.

[274] C.N. JOHNS, *Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlīt (1932). The Ancient Tell and the Outer Defences of the Castle*, in *QDAP* 3 (1933), p. 145-164.

[275] C.N. JOHNS, *Excavations at Pilgrims' Castle, 'Atlīt (1933). Cremated Burials of Phoenician Origin*, in *QDAP* 6 (1937), p. 121-152.

[276] C.N. JOHNS, *Excavations at 'Atlīt (1930-1). The South-Eastern Cemetery*, in *QDAP* 2 (1932), p. 41-104. See also E. STERN, *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538-332 B.C.*, Warminster 1982, p. 70-72.

[277] A. RABAN, *Die antiken Häfen des Mittelmeeres*, in *Ruperto Carola. Sonderheft*, Heidelberg 1981, p. 39-83 (see p. 55-58); ID. (ed.), *Harbour Archaeology*, Oxford 1985, p. 30-40; ID., *The Phoenician Harbour and "Fishing Village" at Atlit*, in *Joseph Aviram Volume* (ErIs 25), Jerusalem 1996, p. 490-508 (in Hebrew).

[278] E. LINDER - Y. RAMON, *A Ram of an Ancient Warship*, in *Qadmoniot* 14 (1981),

peninsula did not serve as port, exposed as it was to the prevalent southern and south-western winds.

17. Magdolos

Between "Arados, city of the Sidonians", and "Dor, city of the Sidonians", there is an item marred by a lacuna: "[...] and river of the Tyrians". The mention of a river in this area leaves only one possibility open, namely the outlet of Wādī al-Maġāra with the swamps which existed there in the area of today's fish ponds. The existence of an ancient settlement on the northern bank of the wādī is amply attested by the findings of Ḫirbet Māliḥa (Ḥorvat Migdal Malḥā)[279] and of aš-Šēḫ Burēk[280], on the slopes of the third *kurkar* ridge on which the present Tel Aviv - Haifa highway is situated. The tombs, structures, and other findings of this area go back at least to the early Hellenistic period, in the 3rd century B.C.[281], and reveal a settlement, "where Phoenician remains are unquestionable"[282]. This place is called *Migdal Malḥā* in Jewish sources, like the Talmud Yerushalmi, and *Turris Salinarum*, "Saltworks Tower", in Crusader sources of the 12th-13th centuries[283]. It certainly corresponds to the Μαγδίηλ of Eusebius of Caesarea, located 5 miles north of Dor according to the version of St. Jerome[284]. The spelling Μαγδίηλ reveals a confusion in Eusebius' mind with another name, known from the Bible[285], probably because of the Phoenician Μαγδ- instead of the Hebrew and Aramaic Μιγδ-. The original name of the settlement was most likely **Magdōl*, thus Μάγδωλος in the usual spelling of Pseudo-Scylax.

p. 39-43 (in Hebrew); J.R. Steffy, *'Atlit Ram*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. I, p. 234-236.

279 Grid ref. 1444/2313.

280 Grid ref. 1446/2311 and 14485/23100.

281 H.-P. Kuhnen, *op. cit.* (n. 213), p. 347, Nos. 107a, 107b, and 108.

282 Abel, *Géographie* II, p. 122. An earlier nearby site on the sea was discovered at Tel Nami (grid ref. 1433/2296), but it was occupied only during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, at the end of which it was abandoned; cf. M. Artzy, *Nami, Tel*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. III, p. 1095-1098.

283 G. Reeg, *op. cit.* (n. 157), p. 390-391; G. Beyer, *Das Gebiet der Kreuzfahrerherrschaft in Palästina*, in *ZDPV* 59 (1936), p. 1-91 (see p. 29). The discussion in the Talmud Yerushalmi, *Demai* II, 1, 22a, 36-40, does not concern the territorial boundary of Caesarea, contrary to R.R. Stieglitz, *A Late Byzantine Reservoir and* Piscina *at Tell Tanninim*, in *IEJ* 48 (1998), p. 54-65 (see p. 56).

284 E. Klostermann (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 252), p. 130:21-22. For St. Jerome's corrections and additions to the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, see J. Wilkinson, *L'apport de Saint Jérôme à la topographie*, in *RB* 81 (1974), p. 245-257.

285 Gen. 36, 43; I Chron. 1, 54.

A different completion of the lacuna in the unique manuscript of Pseudo-Scylax is suggested by K. Galling, namely Κροκοδείλων πόλις, "Crocodilopolis"[286], a city mentioned by Strabo[287] and Pliny[288], and usually identified with Tell al-Milāṭ (Tel Tanninim) at the mouth of the Nahr az-Zerqā, often equated with the Crocodile river[289]. Nahr az-Zerqā is understood nowadays as "the blue river", but originally it was the "Piercer" like the Wādī az-Zarqā in Jordan, for this name derives from the Arabic root *ẓaraqa*, "to pierce, to bore". In our case, it is an allusion to the river "piercing" its channel through the cliffs of the *kurkar* ridge which borders the coastline[290]. The Arabic name Zarqā is a translation of Aramaic *Ḥarṣā*, "groove" or "digger"[291], which is attested as the name of the stream by Ptolemy mentioning "the mouth of the Ḥarṣā River", Χερσέου or Χορσέου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί[292]. Ptolemy regards the river as the southern border of Phoenicia, running between Dor and Caesarea in agreement with the view expressed also by Pliny[293] and the Bordeaux Itinerary[294].

If Nahr az-Zerqā is the Χερσέος ποταμός, it can nevertheless be surnamed Κροκοδείλων ποταμός at the same time because of the crocodiles living in the swamps. A crocodile was still killed there in 1902[295] and the river was rebaptized Naḥal Tanninim in Hebrew. Salt-water or estuarine crocodiles undoubtedly infested also the marshy area at the outlet of Wādī al-Maġāra, in the area of today's fish ponds. However, Pliny clearly locates the "town called Crocodilon" and the "river of that name" south of Dor: "There was formerly a town called Crocodilon, and there is still a river of that name; and the cities of Dora and Sycamini,

286 K. Galling, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 197-198 and 204, where this item is transferred after Dor. Such rewritings of ancient texts are of course unacceptable from a methodological point of view.

287 Strabo, *Geography* XVI, 2, 27.

288 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 18.

289 This opinion explains K. Galling's transposition of Crocodilopolis. It was accepted still recently by E. Stern, *Excavations at Tel Mevorakh* I (Qedem 9), Jerusalem 1978, p. 2, but is rightly rejected by R.R. Stieglitz, *art. cit.* (n. 283), p. 55. For Crocodilopolis, see D.W. Roller, *The Northern Plain of Sharon in the Hellenistic Period*, in *BASOR* 247 (1982), p. 43-52 (see p. 46-48); R.R. Stieglitz, *art. cit.* (n. 283).

290 See Map IV in Abel, *Géographie* I.

291 Jastrow, p. 505.

292 Ptolemy, *Geography* V, 14, 3 (p. 963); 15, 2 (p. 987). Abel, *Géographie* I, p. 469-470, shows convincingly that Chorseos/Cherseos cannot be the Nahr ad-Difle, which is practically parallel to the coastline and thus unfit to mark a border.

293 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 69 and 75.

294 *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, p. 12 (585:3).

295 K. Baedeker, *op. cit.* (n. 85), p. 232. Cf. Abel, *Géographie* I, p. 159; D.W. Roller, *art. cit.* (n. 289), p. 47 and 51, n. 15-16.

of which only the memory exists. Then comes Cape Carmel"[296]. K. Galling's proposal leads thus to the transposition of the incomplete phrase in the *Codex Parisinus* after the mention of "Dor, city of the Sidonians". Such a change of the text is methodologically unacceptable and this widely followed suggestion must be simply discarded.

18. Dor

"Dor, city of the Sidonians", was no doubt built on the site of Ḫirbet al-Burǧ (Tel Dor), north of the former village of aṭ-Ṭanṭūra (Dor)[297]. The large-scale excavations started in 1980 under the direction of E. Stern[298] have reached Late Bronze II strata, dating approximately to the time of Ramesses II (1279-1212 B.C.), when Dor is mentioned for the first time as *Tw-ỉ3-r* in an Egyptian topographical list from Amara-West[299]. An earlier attestation of the same name *[T]w-ỉ3-r* possibly occurs at Soleb, in a topographical list of Amenhotep III (*ca.* 1387-1350)[300]. More information about Dor is provided by the Story of Wen-amon, written in the mid-11th century B.C.[301]. This account of the journey of an Egyptian envoy to Phoenicia refers also to Dor and states that the city was then ruled by the *Ṯ3-k3-r*, the *Sakal*, one of the Sea Peo-

[296] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 75. Translation by H. RACKHAM, *Pliny: Natural History* II, London 1942, p. 279.

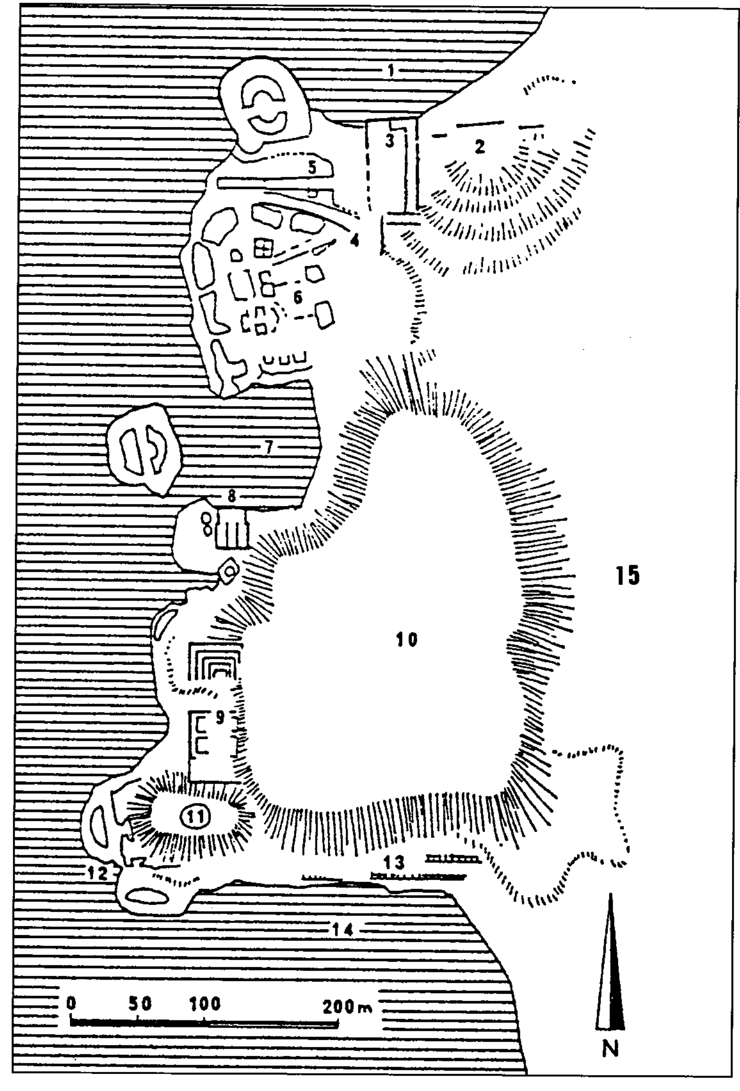
[297] Grid ref. 142/224.

[298] The final reports started to appear: E. STERN (ed.), *Excavations at Dor. Final Report* IA-B (Qedem Reports 1-2), Jerusalem 1995. The general synthesis by E. STERN, *Dor, Ruler of the Seas*, Jerusalem 1994, needs to be updated, already in the light of E. STERN et al., *Tel Dor, 1994-1995: Preliminary Stratigraphic Report*, in *IEJ* 47 (1997), p, 29-56. See also E. STERN - K. RAVEY - S.A. KINGSLEY- A. RABAN, *Dor*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. I, p. 357-372; E. STERN, *Dor*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. II, p. 168-170.

[299] K.A. KITCHEN, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* II, Oxford 1979, p. 216. The identification was first proposed by B. MAZAR, *Dor and Rehob in an Egyptian Topographical List*, in *Yediot* 27 (1963), p. 139-144 (in Hebrew); cf. Y. AHARONI, *op. cit.* (n. 201), p. 46; S. AḤITUV, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 88-89.

[300] E. EDEL, *Die Ortsnamenlisten in den Tempeln von Aksha, Amarah und Soleb in Sudan*, in *BN* 11 (1980), p. 63-79 (see p. 67 and 77). Other attestations of Dor, proposed by M. GÖRG, *Dor, die Teukrer und die Girgasiter*, in *BN* 28 (1985), p. 7-14 (see p. 9-10), should be discarded. One requires a text correction, while the other one (*Tw-r*) occurs among African toponyms: K. ZIBELIUS, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (BTAVO B/1), Wiesbaden 1972, p. 174 and n. 14; cf. also A. SCHEEPERS, *Anthroponymes et toponymes du Récit d'Ounamon*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 17-83 (see p. 69-70).

[301] According to A. EGBERTS, *Hard Times: The Chronology of "The Report of Wenamun" Revised*, in *ZÄS* 125 (1998), p. 93-108, the events narrated in the story are to be dated in the early years of the Twenty-First Dynasty, *ca.* 1065 B.C. or somewhat later.



Dor.

1) North Bay
2) Roman theatre
3) Harbour installations
4) Roman wall
5) Channel
6) Purple dye factory
7) Love Bay
8) Slipways
9) Temples
10) Ancient tell
11) Acropolis
12) Break water
13) Quay
14) South Bay
15) Fish ponds on the site of the ancient lagoon and marshy land

ples[302]. Its prince (*wr*) was called *b3-dy-r*, most likely no proper name, but the Semitic title "substitute", *badilu* or *badalu*[303], implying that the prince was depending from a higher authority, possibly from the king of Tyre. If this interpretation is correct, it is doubtful whether the *Sakal* still controlled Dor at the time when the Story of Wenamon was written[304].

The city was never occupied by the Israelites[305], since even Solomon's fourth district coincided only with "all the *nāpat* of Dor" (I Kings 4, 11), apparently leaving the city itself beyond its boundaries. The term *np*(*w*)*t* occurs in Hebrew only in connection with Dor[306] and is either an Egyptian loan-word[307] or a Canaanite term related to Arabic *nafā* (*npw*), "to eject". In Egyptian texts, *nbwt* signifies a sort of natural declivity or basin, where river waters collect before reaching the seashore, and it refers to an area located along the Canaanite coast[308]. There is little doubt therefore that it designates the swamps to the east of the *kurkar* ridge which borders the Palestinian coast line. There seems to be no etymological link with Official Aramaic *np*('), probably "excess"[309], and Punic *npt*, possibly "overlay" or the like[310]. In a geographical context

[302] A. SCHEEPERS, *art. cit.* (n. 300), p. 70-74 with earlier literature.

[303] E. LIPIŃSKI, Š u - b a l a - a k a *and* badalum, in H. HAUPTMANN - H. WAETZOLDT (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 2), Heidelberg 1988, p. 257-260; A. SCHEEPERS, *art. cit.* (n. 300), p. 38-41.

[304] Already E. Stern regarded this information of the story-teller as a possible anachronism; cf. A. SCHEEPERS, *art. cit.* (n. 300), p. 40-41, n. 158. The Phoenician city from the mid-11th century B.C. on is regarded now as a city-state by E. STERN, *New Finds from Dor concerning the Establishment of the First Phoenician City-State at the Site*, in *F.M. Cross Volume* (ErIs 26), Jerusalem 1999, p. 176-185 (in Hebrew), with an English summary on p. 234*-235*.

[305] Judg. 1, 27; cf. Josh. 17, 11-13.

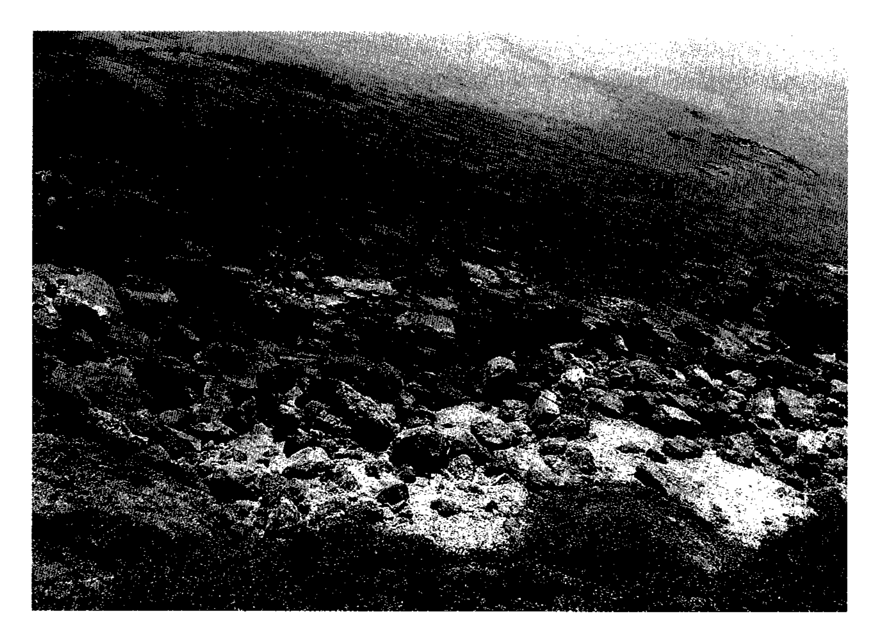
[306] Josh. 11, 2; 12, 23; I Kings 4, 11. The spelling *npwt* in Josh. 11, 2 probably suggests the correct pronunciation of the word, widely used as *nbwt* in Egyptian texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty; cf. C. VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Monographies Reine Élisabeth 1), Bruxelles 1971, p. 139-176. It is a *napūt* form rather than an original plural or a reflex of the later Phoenician pronunciation *-ot* of the feminine ending *-at*. For this shift, see J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 194), p. 150, §228.

[307] It is hard to believe that this would be a Greek loan-word νάπη or νάπα, "wooded dale", as still argued by M. BEN-DOV, *Napha - A Geographical Term of Possible 'Sea People' Origin*, in *Tel Aviv* 3 (1976), p. 70-73.

[308] C. VANDERSLEYEN, *op. cit.* (n. 306), p. 159-174.

[309] The word occurs in judicial context, in the phrases *b-np'* (*TAD* II, B7.2, 4) and *dyn np'* (*TAD* II, B2.9, 4). The first occurrence would refer to "excessive" accusations, while the second one would qualify "a suit for" goods inherited "in excess".

[310] *CIS* I, 166 = *KAI* 76B, 8. A. VAN SELMS, *Mappam ... Poeni vindicant*, in D.M. KRIEL (ed.), *Pro munere grates. Studies ... H.L. Gonin*, Pretoria 1971, p. 191-199 (see p. 195), considers *npt* a kind of textile covering, while most authors translate "honey",





Submerged landing stage on the South Bay and stone anchor from the South Bay (Photos: A. Raban).

np(*w*)*t* should mean "swamp", hardly "foothills", and it must designate the marshy land lying beyond the limits of Dor. Assuming that the list of "Solomon's districts" is based on a document from the mid-10th century B.C., Dor would have been a city-state at that time, perhaps subject to the king of Tyre like Akko, where Tyrian suzerainty was then imposed by force, as reported by Menander of Ephesus. He says that Hiram I (*ca.* 962-929 B.C.) "undertook a campaign against Akko, which had not paid its tribute, and when he had made it again subject to him, returned home"[311]. However, the list of the so-called "twelve districts of Solomon" only covers Israelite territory, without Judah (I Kings 4, 8-19), and it is likely therefore that this source of the Deuteronomist belonged to the period of the Dynasty of Omri[312].

In the 9th-8th centuries B.C., Dor seems in fact to have enjoyed the status of a city state. This is suggested at least by a bifacial seal from the second half of the 8th century B.C., that belonged "to Ṣadoq, son of Mika, [so]n of Krio(s), priest-king of Dor", *l-Ṣdq / bn Mk' /* [*b*]⌞*n*⌟? *Kryw / khn D'r*[313]. The ruler's patronymics *Mk'* and *Kryw* seem to be transcribed from Greek genitives. At least the second one must be Greek[314], what is not so surprising in this period and in a coastal city.

generally with an interrogation mark. However, the context does not favour such an interpretation: "to place over the chamber a *npt* of ... [...]".

[311] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* VIII, 5, 3, §146 = *Contra Apionem* I, 18, §119. *J. Ant.* 'ΙΥΚΈΟΙΣ is probably a variant of 'ΑΚΈΟΙΣ; cf. here above, p. 42.

[312] E. KNAUF, *King Solomon's Copper Supply*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 167-186 (see p. 178).

[313] N. AVIGAD, *The Priest of Dor*, in *IEJ* 25 (1975), p. 101-105, Pls. 10 C-D; N. AVIGAD - B. SASS, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997, p. 60, No. 29. N. Avigad, who had published the seal, thought that it belonged to two individuals, each using one side of the seal. This unlikely hypothesis, still weakened by the clear indication that the same engraver did both sides of the seal (L.H. HERR, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, Missoula 1978, p. 109), is generally followed, also by E. STERN, *Dor, op. cit.* (n. 270), p. 122-123; I. JARUZELSKA, *Urzędnicy w królestwie północnym (Izrael) w VIII w. p.n.e. w świetle pieczęci i Biblii: Próba analizy socjologicznej*, in K. PILARCZYK (ed.), *Żydzi i judaizm we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, Kraków 1997, p. 59-79 (see p. 69); EAD., *Amos and the Officialdom in the Kingdom of Israel*, Poznań 1998, p. 126 and 177; EAD., *Sceaux hébreux et fonctionnaires israélites au VIIIe siècle av. J.-C. (essai sociologique)*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 51/1 (1996-98), p. 43-88 (see p. 73-74); Y. AVISHUR - M. HELTZER, *Studies on the Royal Administrration in Ancient Israel in the Light of Epigraphic Sources*, Tel Aviv-Jaffa 2000, p. 51. On a negative enlarging the seal eight times, there seems to be a faint trace of a somewhat smaller *n* before *kryw*, thus confirming the completion [*b*]*n*. This trace hardly corresponds to *z*, as suggested by A. LEMAIRE in I. JARUZELSKA, *op. cit.*, p. 126, n. 147.

[314] The proper names Μικᾶς and Κριός are well attested in the Aegean: P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, Oxford 1987, p. 273 and 313. However, *Mk'* can also be Semitic; cf. *Mīkā'* in II Sam. 9, 12; Neh. 10, 12; I Chron. 9, 15, as well as *Mīkāh*. The second patronymic can also be read Κυρίου, attested as a proper name.

The inscription is palaeographically Israelite, but the seal is decorated with the winged cobra (*uraeus*), which is frequently found in Egypto-Phoenician art and symbolizes the divine royal power. This is why *khn* should be translated here by "priest-king", while *D'r* is no divine name, but the toponym Dor. The existence of a small city-state of Dor, possibly depending from Tyre, explains why Dor later became the capital of an Assyrian district or province[315]. Dor is also mentioned between Akko and the Philistine territories in Esarhaddon's treaty with Baal I, king of Tyre, as one of the ports of trade entrusted to the Tyrians[316].

The Assyrian control of the sea-coast lasted at least until *ca.* 620 B.C., since the eponym function was still assumed in *ca.* 619 B.C. by a governor of Ṣumur[317]. Then the coastal area passed in the Egyptian sphere of influence, as the Egyptian army of Psammetichus I was operative in Mesopotamia already in 616 B.C., supporting the Assyrians against Nabopolassar, king of Babylon[318]. Under Persian rule, Dor passed into the hands of the Sidonians. The inscription of Eshmunazor II mentions the lands of Dor among those granted him by the "lord of kings", most likely Xerxes I (485-465 B.C.)[319]. Dor was still a city of the Sidonians at the time of Pseudo-Scylax, despite the aftermaths of the Tennes revolt, repressed *ca.* 346/5 B.C.

The original harbour of Dor was most likely situated in the Love Bay, close to the northwest edge of the tell, but this area was abandoned during most of the Iron Age. Its resettlement in the Persian period, favoured by the rising sea level, is indicated mainly by the establishment of slipways facing the north. In the same period, the shallow North Bay was used as a port as well, and some maritime activity has restarted at that time also in the South Bay[320].

[315] *SAA* XI, 1, r. I, 11'; 2, II, 3. This explains why Assyrian pottery types were found at Dor, that may have served as an Assyrian *kāru*: A. GILBOA, *Assyrian-Type Pottery at Dor and the Status of the Town during the Assyrian Occupation Period*, in *Joseph Aviram Volume* (ErIs 25), Jerusalem 1996, p. 122-135 (in Hebrew).

[316] *SAA* II, 5, r. III, 19'. This is confirmed by the large amount of commercial jars of Tyrian types found at Dor: A. GILBOA, *art. cit.* (n. 315).

[317] K. RADNER (ed.), *PNA* I/1, p. XIX: Mannu-ki-ahhe.

[318] A.K. GRAYSON, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5), Locust Valley 1975, Chronicle 3, line 10.

[319] *CIS* I, 3 = *KAI* 14 = *TSSI* III, 28, 18-20.

[320] A. RABAN, *Dor-Yam: Maritime and Coastal Installations at Dor in Their Geomorphological and Stratigraphic Context*, in E. STERN (ed.), *Excavations at Dor. Final Report* IA (Qedem Reports 1), Jerusalem 1995, p. 285-354.

Although the remains of the Persian period at Dor reveal a rather flourishing town and a particularly active harbour, the international maritime trade seems to have declined sharply in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., thus at the time of Pseudo-Scylax. Only a few examples of East Greek pottery from the 4th century have been discovered at the site, as if trade with this area of the Aegean had practically ceased[321], while there is a concomitant sharp drop of Athenian imports from *ca.* 360 B.C. on[322].

19. Jaffa

Pseudo-Scylax mentions Jaffa immediately after Dor. The town name is missing in the manuscript, but the completion is certain because of the reference to Andromeda abandoned to the sea monster. Also Pliny the Elder[323], Strabo[324], Pausanias[325], Josephus Flavius[326], Solinus[327], St. Jerome[328], and others connect the myth with Jaffa, in particular with the rocky hill, 36 metres high, on which the city is built and which overlooks the open sea. The name of Andromeda's father Cepheus (Κηφέυς) might be related to the rock, if it derives from the Semitic word *kēpā*, "rock". According to Conon (36 B.C.-17 A.D.), Cepheus was king of Jaffa, which was called later Phoenicia[329]. In the Greek legend, Andromeda was exposed to the sea monster to placate Poseidon and she was accordingly chained to a rock, but Perseus found her, slew the monster, set her free, and married her. The reason why the myth was connected with Jaffa is unknown, but it is worth noticing that the element -ιόπη occurs in the name of Andromeda's mother, Κασσιόπη.

[321] M.S. MOOK - W.D.E. COULSON, *East Greek and Other Imported Pottery,* in E. STERN (ed.), *Excavations at Dor. Final Report* IB (Qedem Reports 2), Jerusalem 1995, p. 93-125, in particular p. 99.

[322] A. MARCHESE, *Athenian Imports in the Persian Period,* in E. STERN (ed.), *Excavations at Dor. Final Report* IB (Qedem Reports 2), Jerusalem 1995, p. 127-181, in particular p. 172.

[323] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 69.

[324] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 2, 28.

[325] PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* XIV, 35, 9.

[326] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* III, 9, 3, §420.

[327] SOLINUS, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXXIV, 1-2, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, 2nd ed., Berlin 1895, p. 153.

[328] St. JEROME, *Letter* 108, 8, 2; *In Jonam* 1, 3; cf. J. LABOURT, *Saint Jérôme: Lettres* V (Collection Budé), Paris 1955, p. 166; M. ADRIAEN (ed.), *CCSL* 76, Turnhout 1969, p. 381-382; Y.-M. DUVAL, *Jérôme: Commentaire sur Jonas* (SC 323), Paris 1985, p. 180-181.

[329] *FGH* IA, §26, Frg. 1, XL.

Since the distance from Dor to Jaffa amounts to 70 km, one would expect a port of call to be mentioned in between. However, no important harbour existed between the two cities. Straton's Tower, first recorded in 259 B.C. by Zeno[330], an official of Ptolemy II, was founded by Straton I (376/70 - 361/58 B.C.) or Straton II (342/41 or 340/39 - 332 B.C.)[331], kings of Sidon, but initially it was a fortified "tower" and no harbour town[332]. A good natural harbour was located about 10 km south of Caesarea, at Minet Abū Zubura (Tel Mikhmoret), where substantial Phoenician remains from the 6th through the 4th century B.C. have been unearthed[333]. Further south, Apollonia, on the site of the former Arab village of Arsūf (Tel Aršāf), was a conspicuous settlement in the late Persian period[334] and had a harbour[335], which was worth mentioning at the time of Pseudo-Scylax. Some findings suggest it. For instance, a 4th-century B.C. marble relief representing a funerary banquet was discovered at the site during the first season of excavations in 1977. It reveals the presence of a Greek community at Apollonia-Arsūf and implies the existence of commercial ties with Greece in the very period of Pseudo-Scylax[336]. Arsūf seems thus to be the best candidate for an anchorage place in this section of the coastline. As for Makmish (Tel Michal), only 4 km south of Arsūf-Apollonia, it had probably an anchorage for small ships and boats at the foot of the mound[337].

[330] C.C. EDGAR, *Zenon Papyri* I (CGC), Le Caire 1925, Pap. 59004, col. I, line 2; cf. F.-M. ABEL, *La liste géographique du papyrus 71 de Zénon,* in *RB* 32 (1923), p. 409-415 (see p. 410-411). The main Greek sources are collected by D.W. ROLLER, *art. cit.* (n. 289), p. 45-46.

[331] Dates given by H. HAUBEN, *Straton,* in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 427-429.

[332] L. LEVINE, *À propos de la fondation de la Tour de Straton,* in *RB* 80 (1973), p. 75-81; R.R. STIEGLITZ, *Straton's Tower: The Name, the History, and the Archaeological Data,* in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990*, Jerusalem 1993, p. 646-651.

[333] Grid ref. 137/201. Cf. S.M. PALEY - Y. PORATH - R.R. STIEGLITZ, *The 'Emeq Hefer Archaeological Project,* in *IEJ* 34 (1984), p. 276-278 (see p. 277-278); 35 (1985), p. 299-301 (see p. 299-300); R.R. STIEGLITZ, *art. cit.* (n. 332), p. 646-647.

[334] Grid ref. 13191/17804. Cf. I. ROLL - E. AYALON, *Apollonia/Arsuf - A Coastal Town in the Southern Sharon Plain,* in *Qadmoniot* 15 (1982), p. 16-22 (in Hebrew); I. ROLL - E. AYALON, *Apollonia/Arsuf,* in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. 1, p. 72-75; I. ROLL, *Tel Arshaf (Apollonia),* in *ESI* 10 (1991 [1992]), p. 118; 14 (1995), p. 77-78; I. ROLL - O. TAL, *Apollonia-Arsuf: Final Report of the Excavations* I. *The Persian and Hellenistic Periods*, Tel Aviv 1999.

[335] E. GROSSMANN, *Tel Arshaf/Apollonia Underwater Survey,* in *ESI* 10 (1991 [1992]), p. 119; 14 (1995), p. 140; 16 (1997), p. 140.

[336] M. FISHER - O. TAL, *A Fourth-Century BCE Attic Marble* Totenmahlrelief *at Apollonia-Arsuf,* in *IEJ* 53 (2003), p. 49-60.

[337] Z. HERZOG - O. NEGBI - Sh. MOSHKOVITZ, *Excavations at Tel Michal, 1977*, in *Tel Aviv* 5 (1978), p. 99-130 (see p. 128). For the site in general, see Z. HERZOG, *Michal, Tel,* in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. IV, p. 20-22.

The site of Jaffa was occupied as early as the fifth millennium[338]. The city is mentioned since the 15th century B.C. in Egyptian texts and in the Amarna correspondence[339]. It depended in the 8th century from Ṣidqa, king of Ascalon[340], and was given by Xerxes I (485-465 B.C.) to the Sidonians at the same time as Dor[341]. The Persian or Sidonian period is represented by a section of a free-stone wall, uncovered in excavations in 1955, by a large building which might be a temple, by metallurgical installations and a water reservoir[342], but no Phoenician dedicatory inscription was found in Jaffa, contrary to an often repeated statement[343].

The harbour of Jaffa was one of the best natural havens of the southern Syro-Phoenician coast, contrary to Josephus Flavius[344]. It extended on the north-western side of the hill, where it was protected by a chain of rocks jutting out above the water. The basin thus formed was called "the Jaffa sea" in biblical texts recording the transport of the cedars of Lebanon to Jerusalem[345] and in Josephus' writings, which indicate the defence line built by Alexander Yannai "from the mountain-side above Antipatris to the coast at the Jaffa sea"[346]. This was the harbour in which Jonah boarded a ship bound for Tarshish (Jon. 1, 3). Mentioning Jaffa, Pseudo-Scylax certainly refers to the same port where traces of Andromeda's chains were shown on the rock still at the time of Solinus, about A.D. 200. Greek pottery found in Jaffa indicates that, at the time of Sidonian rule, the harbour sheltered ships trading also with Greece[347].

[338] For the archaeology of the site, see J. Kaplan - H. Ritter-Kaplan, *Jaffa*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 655-659; J.P. Dessel, *Jaffa*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. III, p. 206-207. For its history, see also M. Beaudry, *Joppé, Jaffa*, in *DEB*, Turnhout 1987, p. 679-681 with literature. Archaeological finds from old and recent excavations, in 1997-1999, confirm the Egyptian involvement with the city. Cf., for instance, D. Sweeny, *A Lion-Hunt Scarab and Other Egyptian Objects from the Late Bronze Fortress at Jaffa*, in *Tel Aviv* 30 (2003), p. 54-61.

[339] S. Aḥituv, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 121; *EA* 294, 20; 296, 33, perhaps 138, 6.85 and 365, 26, unless a homonymous town is mentioned there.

[340] D.D. Luckenbill, *op. cit.* (n. 65), p. 31, lines 69-71.

[341] *CIS* I, 3 = *KAI* 14 = *TSSI* III, 28, 18-20.

[342] J. Kaplan - H. Ritter-Kaplan, *Jaffa*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 655-659.

[343] For instance, *EJ*, Jerusalem 1971, Vol. 9, col. 1250; E. Stern, *Dor*, *op. cit.* (n. 270), p. 150. The authenticity of this inscription, *RÉS* 367, allegedly discovered at Nebi Yunis, about 20 km south of Jaffa, is doubtful; cf. F. Israel, *Nebi Yunis*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 311.

[344] Josephus Flavius, *The Jewish War* III, 9, 3, §419-427.

[345] II Chron. 2, 15; Ezra 3, 7.

[346] Josephus Flavius, *The Jewish War* I, 4, 7, §99.

[347] H. Ritter-Kaplan, *The Ties between Sidonian Jaffa and Greece in the Light of Excavations* (in Hebrew), in *Qadmoniot* 15 (1982), p. 64-68.

20. Ascalon

Ascalon is the last Syro-Phoenician city named by Pseudo-Scylax who regards it as "a city of the Tyrians", adding the mention "and a royal residence". It is surprising at first sight that he does not refer to Ashdod, which is situated 16 km north of Ascalon and is called "a great city" by Herodotus II, 157. It was certainly occupied at that time, as shown by uncovered structures from the Persian period, unfortunately disturbed by later levels. However, the reason for an omission of Ashdod may be simple: the ancient town was built 4.5 km inland, while the distance from Jaffa to Ascalon by sea amounted to 45 km, which did not require *per se* an intermediary port of call.

Tel Ashkelon occupies a rocky amphitheatre embracing about 1 1/3 km of shore with traces of an old harbour in the southwest corner[348]. Large-scale excavations are conducted at Tel Ashkelon since 1985 under the direction of L.E. Stager. They have recovered cultural sequences from the fourth millennium B.C. through the 13th century A.D.[349]. The Persian period was one of the richest at the site and it was characterized by the predominance of Phoenician material culture. However, no specifically Tyrian elements can be distinguished, unless the pendants in the shape of the "sign of Tannit", found in 5th- and 4th-century contexts[350], are regarded as religious insignia of Tyrian origin, and attention is paid to Zech. 9, 3-5, who witnesses a real Tyrian influence at Ascalon.

Instead, the numerous burials of dogs (some 1,400) discovered inside the city can hardly be related to the cult of a Phoenician deity[351]. They

[348] Grid ref. 107/119.

[349] L.E. Stager, *Ashkelon*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. I, p. 103-112, with a historical sketch on p. 103-105. Cf. also D. Schloen, *Ashkelon*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. I, p. 220-233. For mentions of Ascalon in Egyptian sources, see S. Aḥituv, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 69-71.

[350] E. Stern, *Goddesses and Cults at Tel Dor*, in *Qadmoniot* 35 (2002), p. 108-112 (in Hebrew), see the photograph on p. 109.

[351] L.E. Stager, *art. cit.* (n. 348), p. 108; P. Wapnish - B. Hesse, *Pampered Pooches or Plain Pariahs? The Ashkelon Dog Burials*, in *Biblical Archaeologist* 56 (1993), p. 55-80; M. Heltzer, *On the Vth Century B.C.E. Dogs from Ashkelon*, in *Transeuphratène* 15 (1998), p. 149-152; B. Halpern, *The Canine Conundrum of Ashqelon: A Classical Connection?*, in L.E. Stager - J.A. Greene - M.D. Coogan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond. Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer*, Winona Lake 2000, p. 133-144. An excellent photograph of one of these dog burials is reproduced in *National Geographic* 199/1 (2001), p. 82-83. See also S. Reinach, *Les chiens dans le culte d'Esculape et les kelabim des stèles peintes de Citium*, in *Revue Archéologique* 1884-2, p. 129-135. The *klbm* and *grm*, listed in temple accounts at Citium among employees receiving small sums of money (*CIS* I, 86A-B = *KAI* 37 = *TSSI* III, 33, A, 15 and B, 10), are no dogs and puppies, but men and boys employed as sacred male prostitutes; cf. O. Masson - M.

rather witness the Old Iranian view of the dog, as vividly expressed in the *Vidēvdād*, the priestly code of the Parsees included in the Avesta[352]. The amount of attention paid to the dog (*sag/sak*) in the *Vidēvdād* brought about a certain tendency to its virtual anthropomorphism[353]. Not only the dog is compared to a priest, a warrior, a minstrel, etc.[354], but even the regulations for the care of pregnant bitches are modelled after those for women and occur together with them[355]. This particular view is reflected adequately at Ascalon in the careful attention given to the internment also of newborn puppies[356]. These dog burials of the 5th-4th centuries B.C. witness an early Iranian custom of burying the dog's body like a human's, while in the later practice it had to be carried, like a human corpse, to a place of exposure[357]. This internment of dogs, attested at Ascalon, Beirut, and al-Ḫalde (Lebanon)[358], implies the pres-

SZNYCER, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, Genève-Paris 1972, p. 65-68. In Cyprus, where Greek cultural influence was important, homosexuality and pederasty must have played a greater rol than in Phoenicia proper; cf. A. DIERICHS, *Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands*, 2nd ed., Mainz a/R 1997, p. 94-98.

[352] Critical edition by K.F. GELDNER, *Avesta, the Sacred Books of the Parsis*, Stuttgart 1889-96, and the French translation by J. DARMESTETER, *Le Zend-Avesta* I-III, Paris 1892-93.

[353] M. SCHWARTZ, *The Old Eastern Iranian World View according to the Avesta*, in I. GERSHEVITCH (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* II. *The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, Cambridge 1985, p. 640-663 (see p. 646, 661); M. BOYCE, *Dog* II. *In Zoroastrianism*, in E. YARSHATER (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica* VII, Costa Mesa 1996, p. 467-469; M. MACUCH, *On the Treatment of Animals in Zoroastrian Law*, in A. VAN TONGERLOO (ed.), *Iranica Selecta. Studies in Honour of Professor Wojciech Skalmowski* (Silk Road Studies 8), Turnhout 2003, p. 167-190 (see p. 183-187). See also B. SCHLERATH, *Der Hund bei den Indo-Germanen*, in *Paideuma* 6 (1954), p. 25-40.

[354] *Vidēvdād* 13, 44-48.

[355] *Vidēvdād* 15, 19-20.

[356] L.E. STAGER, *art. cit.* (n. 349), p. 108.

[357] *Vidēvdād* 8, 14.

[358] Burials of dogs dating to the Persian period were discovered also at Beirut, as mentioned by U. FINKENBEINER, *Fortifications of Prehellenistic Beirut: The Archaeological Site BEY 020*, in *National Museum Notes* 5 (1997), p. 8-9. A similar discovery was made previously in Lebanon by R. Saidah, in the excavations of al-Ḫalde; cf. here above, p. 22, n. 27. Precise information is missing. One should thus avoid tracing such findings to a sacrifice (*Iliad* XXIII, 173-174) or a practice of eating dog flesh (JUSTINUS, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* XIX, 1; PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 1; cf. M. LEGLAY, *Saturne Africain. Histoire*, Paris 1966, p. 315-316, n. 6), relating them to the dog figured on some Tyrian coins, or connecting them with the cult either of Asclepius (cf. S. REINACH, *art. cit.* [n. 351]) or possibly Sarapis (cf. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 1988-1989*, Warsaw 1990, p. 35). In southern Iraq, at the site of ancient Isin, burials of thirty-three dogs have been found. They have been dated from the early I millennium B.C. and related to the cult of Gula, the goddess of medicine: B. HROUDA, *Zusammenfassender Vorbericht über die Ergebnisse der 1. Kampagne in Ishan Bahriyat/Isin*, in *Sumer* 29 (1973), p. 37-45 and Pls. 1-24 (see p. 40 and Pls. 9-10); ID., *Isin. C. Archäologisch*, in *RLA* V, Berlin 1976-80, p. 189-192 (see p. 191b); I. FOHR, *Der Hund*

ence of a Persian community and provides a proof that the basic regulations of the *Vidēvdād* concerning care of dogs and punishment for harm to dogs go back at least to Achaemenian times.

The large dog cemetery was close to the harbour, the importance of which is so far best evidenced by a series of major storehouses. One of them still contained Phoenician amphorae, undecorated Attic black-glazed pottery, as well as red-figured and black-figured wares, clearly witnessing overseas trade. About 150 metres inland, monumental ashlar buildings from the Persian period might represent the "royal residence" mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax, as they were certainly visible from the seaport. Further research is certainly needed to assess the real importance of the harbour of Ascalon.

Pseudo-Scylax regards Ascalon as the last Syro-Phoenician harbour town, obviously considering Gaza as a city under Arabian rule. In fact, Gaza served in the Persian period as an outlet for the South-Arabian incense trade and its prosperity depended from the traffic controlled by the Arabian kings of Qedar who ruled the desert areas bordering Egypt and Palestine[359]. The commercial activity of Gaza even prompted the issue of an indigenous silver coinage, struck from *ca.* 450 through 331 B.C.[360]

Changing his initial terminology "Syria and Phoenicia", Pseudo-Scylax thus locates Ascalon at the southern border of "Coele-Syria". This name is attested for the first time in a quotation of Ctesias (*ca.* 390 B.C.) by Diodorus of Sicily[361]. According to Ctesias, Ninus (Assyria) had conquered τήν τε Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην ἔτι δὲ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν κ.τ.λ. He thus distinguishes Phoenicia from Coele-Syria, pre-

als Begleittier der Göttin Gula und anderer Heilsgottheiten, in B. HROUDA (ed.), *Isin-Išan Bahriyat* I. *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1973-1974*, München 1977, p. 135-145. Isin was indeed Gula's main cult centre and a dog was believed to accompany her.

[359] H.J. KATZENSTEIN, *Gaza in the Persian Period*, in *Transeuphratène* 1 (1989), p. 67-86. For Gaza in Egyptian sources of the I Millennium B.C. see J. QUAEGEBEUR, *À propos de l'identification de la "Kadytis" d'Hérodote avec la ville de Gaza*, in K. VAN LERBERGHE - A. SCHOORS (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (OLA 65), Leuven 1995, p. 245-270.

[360] U. RAPPAPORT, *Gaza and Ascalon in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods in Relation to Their Coins*, in *IEJ* 20 (1970), p. 75-80; L. MILDENBERG, *Gaza Mint Authorities in the Persian Time*, in *Transeuphratène* 2 (1990), p. 137-146 and Pls. IV-VII; ID., *Gaza von 420 bis 332 nach den Sachquellen*, in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz a/R 1990, p. 431-432; ID., *Über das Münzwesen im Reich der Achämeniden*, in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 26 (1993), p. 55-79 and Pls. 6-13 (see p. 69-70).

[361] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* II, 2.

serving the original meaning of the latter toponym, which is perfectly Greek[362] and initially designated the region of Syria "confined" by the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges. It thus corresponded roughly to the Beqa' valley with its northern and southern extensions in the lowlands along the Orontes and Jordan rivers. Former explanations of the restrictive qualification Κοίλη in the name of Coele-Syria as a translation of Egyptian *Ḫ3r*, "Syro-Phoenicia"[363], or an adaptation of Aramaic *kol*, "all"[364], or even *ḥeylā'*, "army"[365], have rightly been abandoned[366]. However, Pseudo-Scylax is the first author — in the present state of our knowledge — who uses the name of Coele-Syria in a broader sense, which includes the coastal region and thus encompasses the bulk of territories belonging to the Persian province of 'Abar-Nahara, "Beyond the River (Euphrates)". This does not mean, of course, that Κοίλη Συρία was intended to be a translation of 'Abar-Nahara.

The distance of 1,700 (αψ') stadia from the River of Tapsaḥ to Ascalon, indicated in the *Codex Parisinus*, is obviously erroneus. The correction βψ' or 2,700 stadia (*ca.* 500 km), proposed by C. Müller in his edition of the *Periplus*, would correspond roughly to the distance from Ascalon to the mouth of the Orontes.

The information provided by Pseudo-Scylax in §104 is in general correct and the text of the *Codex Parisinus*, with its spelling of the place names, appears to be trustworthy. The next following paragraphs of the *Periplus* refer to Arabia (§105, lost for its greatest part), the Nile delta

[362] É. BIKERMAN, *La Coelé-Syrie: Notes de géographie historique*, in *RB* 54 (1947), p. 256-268. Instead, it does not seem that the name did correspond to an official, administrative entity before the creation of the Province of Coele-Syria by Septimius Severus, in 194 A.D.; cf. M. SARTRE, *La Syrie Creuse n'existe pas*, in P.-L. GATIER et al., *Géographie historique du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1988, p. 15-40.

[363] W. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Name* Κοίλη Συρία, *Coelesyria*, in *OLZ* 9 (1906), col. 108; cf. G. BEER, *Koele-Syria*, in *PW* XI/1, Stuttgart 1921, col. 1050-1051.

[364] This suggestion, first made by E. SCHWARTZ, *Einiges über Assyrien, Syrien, Koilesyrien*, in *Philologus* 86 (1931), p. 373-399 (see p. 399), was developed by A. SHALIT, Κοίλη Συρία *from the Mid-Fourth Century to the Beginning of the Third Century B.C.*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* I, Jerusalem 1954, p. 64-77. It is accepted cautiously by K. GALLING, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 202-203, and confidently by E. STERN, *The Persian Empire and the Political and Social History of Palestine in the Persian Period*, in W.D. DAVIES - L. FINKELSTEIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* I, Cambridge 1984, p. 70-87 (see p. 78), although κοίλη introduces a restrictive notion of Syria, far from referring to "all Syria".

[365] K. GALLING, *Die syrisch-palästinische Küste nach der Beschreibung bei Pseudo-Skylax*, in *ZDPV* 61 (1938), p. 66-96 (see p. 86-87). The author has abandoned this idea in ID., *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 203.

[366] W. ORTH, *Die Diadochenzeit im Spiegel der historischen Geographie* (BTAVO B/80), Wiesbaden 1993, p. 88.

(§106, partly lost), the coast of the Adurmachidae under Egyptian rule (§107), the coast of Marmarica (§108), partly depending from Cyrene, the Greater Syrtis (§109), and the coast of the Lotus-eaters (§110), where begin territories depending from Carthage[367]. Pseudo-Scylax further describes the outer "Libyan" coast as far as the Carthaginians traded (§111-112)[368].

[367] See here below, p. 339-341.

[368] See here below, p. 340-342, 448, and 463.

CHAPTER IX

FROM THE GREATER SYRTIS TO THE PILLARS OF HERACLES WITH PSEUDO-SCYLAX §110-111

The ancient Greek name Λιβύη designated northern Africa to the west of Egypt. This use corresponds to the geographical division of the earth proposed by Hecataeus[1]. It is followed by Pseudo-Scylax who states that Libya begins west of the Canopic branch of the Nile, which entered the Mediterranean at the western end of the Bay of Aboukir. The territories depending from the Carthaginians lay further to the west, starting from Neapolis or Lepcis/Leptis Magna, between the Syrtes. The indigenous Libyan population of the southern part of this area, especially of Djerba, is characterized by Pseudo-Scylax as "Lotus-eaters", an appellation which is used already by Herodotus[2].

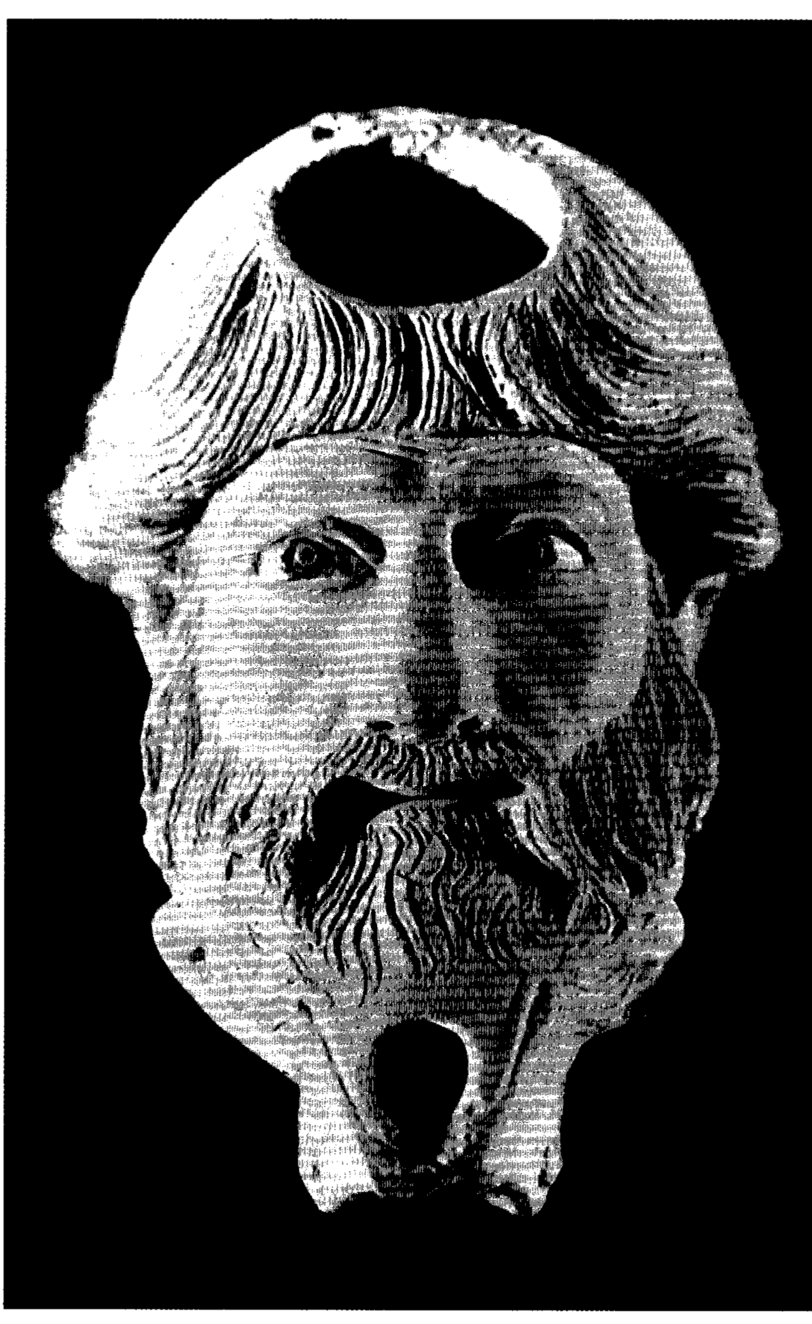
Sections 110 and 111 of the *Periplus* seem to be based on a main source, but contain additions borrowed from other sources, and there are a few obvious lacunae. The basic text is nevertheless correct, but emendations introduced by modern editors have sometimes distorted the original form of the place names. The right method consists in following the text of the manuscript and explaining the toponyms in the light of well-known phonetic rules[3].

In the present text of §111, however, Lue is said to be opposite the islands of Gades. This is a gross error, quite surprising in the *Periplus*, since Gades even lay outside the Pillars of Heracles: Pseudo-Scylax §2 estimates the distance from Gades to the Pillars at a one-day sailing. A part of the text must therefore be missing after the words "Lue, a city on a river". Fortunately, the missing passage has been inserted in §112, where it can be recognized easily since it distorts the text. It contains a development on Cape Soloeis that has been added to the main source. We replace the whole passage in §111, indicating it by italics.

[1] This results from HERODOTUS, *History* II, 15-16; cf. K. ZIMMERMANN, *Libyen. Das Land südlich des Mittelmeeres im Weltbild der Griechen* (Vestigia 51), München 1999, p. 77-79.

[2] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 177 and 183.

[3] The writer followed the same method in his previous studies of these sections of Pseudo-Scylax §110-111 according to C. MÜLLER's edition (*GGM* I, p. 15-96) and §93-94 according to the edition by B. FABRICIUS, *Anonymi, vulgo Scylacis Caryandensis, periplum maris interni* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), Leipzig 1878: E. LIPIŃSKI, *La Méditerranée centrale d'après le Pseudo-Skylax*, in *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 3 (1993), p. 175-197, and *Sites "phénico-puniques" de la côte algérienne*, in *REPPAL* 7-8 (1992-93), p. 287-324.



Punic lamp
(Bardo Museum, Tunis).

§110. ΛΩΤΟΦΑΓΟΙ. Τὰ δὲ ἔξω τῆς Σύρτιδος παροικοῦσι Λίβυες Λωτοφάγοι ἔθνος μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς ἑτέρας Σύρτιδος. Οὗτοι λωτῷ χρῶνται σίτῳ καὶ ποτῷ. Ἀπὸ δὲ Νεαπόλεως τῆς Καρχηδονίων χώρας Γράφαρα πόλις· ταύτῃ παράπλους ἡμέρας μιᾶς ἀπὸ Νέας πόλεως. Ἀπὸ δὲ Γραφάρων Ἀβρότονον πόλις καὶ λιμήν· ταύτης ὁ παράπλους ἡμέρας μιᾶς. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀβροτόνου Ταριλία πόλις καὶ λιμήν· παράπλους ἄπο Ἀβροτόνου ἡμέρας μιᾶς. Κατὰ δὲ ταῦτά ἐστι νῆσος, ᾗ ὄνομα Βραχείων, μετὰ Λωτοφάγους κατὰ ριχίας· ἔστι δὲ ἡ νῆσος αὕτη σταδίων τ΄, πλάτος δὲ μικρῷ ἐλάττων· ἀπέχει δὲ ἀπὸ τής ἠπείρου ὡσεὶ σταδια γ΄. Ἐν δὲ τῇ νήσῳ γίνεται λωτὸς, ὅν ἐσθίουσι, καὶ ἕτερος, ἐξ οὗ οἶνον ποιοῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπός ἐστι τῷ μεγέθει ὅσον μιμαίηνκλον. Ποιοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἔλαιον πολὺ ἐκ κοτίνων. Φέρει δὲ καρπὸν ἡ νῆσος πολὺν, πυροὺς καὶ κριθάς· ἔστι δὲ ἡ νῆσος εὔγειος. Πλοῦς ἀπὸ Ταραχειῶν εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἡμέρας μιᾶς. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν νῆσόν ἐστι Ἔπιχος πόλις. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς νήσου εἰς Ἔπιχον πλοῦς ἡμέρᾳ ἡμισείᾳ. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐσχίδων πλοῦς ἡμέρας· καὶ νῆσος ἔπεστιν ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐρήμη. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἀκακινίτης νῆσος καὶ πόλις καὶ κατὰ

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§110. "LOTUS-EATERS. The region outside the Syrtis is inhabited by the Libyan Lotus-eaters, a tribe spreading as far as the mouth of the other Syrtis. They use lotus as food and drink. Beyond Neapolis, which is in the territory of the Carthaginians, the city of Graphara. To reach it, (there is) a day of sailing from Neapolis. Beyond Graphara, ... Abrotonon, a city and a harbour. To reach it, (there is) a day of sailing. Beyond Abrotonon, Tarilia, a city and a harbour. To reach it, (there is) a day of sailing from Abrotonon ... Nearby there is an island called Shoals, with Lotus-eaters on a rocky shore. This island is 300 stadia in length and slightly less in breadth. On this island grows a lotus that they eat, and another, from which they make wine. The fruit of the lotus is similar in size to that of the arbutus. They also make much oil from oleasters. The island bears much grain, both wheat and barley, since the island is fertile. Sailing from the Saltworks to the island is one day. After this island is the city of Epichos. From the island to Epichos there is a sailing of half a day ... From Eschidon there is a sailing of one day ... and there is then a deserted island. After it is Aka(r)kinitis[4], an island and a city, and near

[4] The original text probably read Ἀκαρκινίτις, with the Phoenician-Punic article *hal'a*.

ταύτην Θάψος. Παράπλους ἀπό ταύτης εἰς Θάψον ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμίσεως. Ἀπὸ δὲ Θάψου τῆς μικρᾶς καὶ Δρονίτις ἐστὶ κόλπος μέγας εἴσω, ἐν ᾧ ἡ Σύρτις ἐστὶ ἡ μικρά, Καρκινῖτης καλουμένη, πολὺ τῆς ἄλλης Σύρτιδος χαλεπωτέρα καὶ δυσπλοτοτέρα, ἧς τὸ περίμετρον στάδια ͵β. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Σύρτιδι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ νῆσος καὶ λίμνη Τρίτωνος καλουμένη καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτων, καὶ αὐτόθεν ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς Τριτωνίδος ἱερόν. Στόμα δὲ ἔχ ἡ λίμνη μικρὸν, καὶ ἐν τῷ στόματι νῆσος ἔπεστι· καὶ ὅ τῆς ἀνάπωτις ᾖ, ἐνίοτε ἡ λίμνη οὐκ ἔχ εἴσπλουν συνυφαίνουσα. Ἡ δὲ λίμνη αὕτη ἐστὶ μεγάλη, τὸ περίμετρον ἔχουσα ὡς σταδίων χιλίων. Περιέπουσι δέ αὐτήν Λίβυοι πάντες ἔθνος, καὶ πόλις τὸ ὑπέκεινα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμάς· οὗτοι γὰρ ἅπαντες καὶ κάλλιστοι. Καὶ ἡ χώρα αὕτη ἀρίστη καὶ παμφορωτάτη, καὶ βοσκήματα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ μέγιστα καὶ πλεῖστα· καὶ αὐτοὶ πλουσιώτατοι καὶ κάλλιστοι. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν ταύτην Νεάπολίς ἐστι. Παράπλους δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀδρύμητος ἐπὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἡμερῶν οτ´. Μετὰ δὲ Νέαν πόλιν Ἑρμαία ἄκρα καὶ πόλις. Παράπλους ἀπὸ Νέας πόλεως εἰς Ἑρμαίαν ἡμέρας καὶ ἡμίσεως. Ἀπὸ δὲ Νέας πόλεως ἐστιν εἰς ἰσθμὸν στάδια ρπ´ πεζῇ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς Καρχηδόνα. Ἔστι δὲ ἀκτὴ, δι' ἧς ἰσθμός ἐστι. Παράπλους ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἥμισυ ἡμέρας. Ἡ δὲ Καρχηδονίων χώρα ἐστὶν ἐν κόλπῳ.

§111. ΚΑΡΧΗΔΩΝ. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἰσθμὸν Καρχηδών ἐστι πόλις Φοιάλων καὶ λιμήν. Παράπλους ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας ἥμισυ ἡμέρας εἰς Καρχηδόνα. Ἔπεισι δὲ νησία ἐν τῇ Ἑρμαίᾳ ἄκρᾳ, Ποντία νῆσος καὶ Κόσυρος. Πλοῦς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας ἐπὶ Κόσυρον ἡμέρας. Ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας ἄκρας πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα μικρὸν ἀπὸ Ἑρμαίας εἰσὶ νῆσοι τρεῖς μικραὶ κατὰ τοῦτο, ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων οἰκούμεναι· Μελίτη πόλις καὶ λιμήν, Γαῦλος πόλις, Λαμπάς· αὕτη πύργους ἔχει δύο ἢ τρεῖς. Ἀπὸ δὲ Κοσύρου ἐπὶ Λιλύβαιον ἀκρωτέριον Σικελίας πλοῦς ἡμέρας μιᾶς. Μετὰ Καρχηδόνα Ἰτύκη πόλις καὶ λιμήν. Παράπλους δὲ ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος εἰς Ἰτύκην μιᾶς ἡμέρας. Ἀπὸ Ἰτύκης εἰς Ἵππου ἄκραν, Ἵππου πόλις καὶ λίμνη ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐστί, καὶ νῆσοι ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, καὶ περὶ τὴν λίμνην πόλεις. Ἐν ταῖς νήσοις αἵδε· Ψέγας πόλις, καὶ ἀπαντίον αὐτῆς νῆσοι Ναξικαὶ πολ-

it is Thapsus. The sailing from there to Thapsus is a day and a half. From Thapsus Minor and Dronitis a large gulf is projecting forward, where [is the Lesser Syrtis, called Karkinitis, which is much more difficult and more troublesome for sailing than the other Syrtis, and the circumference of which is 2000 stadia. Within this Syrtis are located the island and the lake called Triton, as well as the Triton River, and there is also the sanctuary of Athena Tritonis. (The lake has a small mouth and there is an island in the mouth, and when there is an ebb tide, the lake sometimes does not appear to be accessible to vessels. This lake is large, having a circumference of about one thousand stadia.) All the Libyans venerate her, the tribe and a city below, on the sunset side. All these Libyans are said to be all blond and handsome. And this land is excellent and very productive, and their herds are the largest and most numerous, and they themselves are the wealthiest and most handsome. After this Syrtis] is Neapolis. Sailing from Adrumetus to Neapolis is 370 'stadia'[5]. After Neapolis, the cape and the city of Hermaia. Sailing from Neapolis to Hermaia, a day and a half. [From Neapolis, there are 180 stadia on foot, by the isthmus, to the other sea, which is in front of Carthage. There is a peninsula through which the isthmus cuts its way. Sailing from the river, which is there, to Carthage, half a day. The territory of the Carthaginians is on a gulf.

§111. CARTHAGE. After the isthmus] is Carthage, the city of the 'Poeni'[6] and a harbour. Sailing from Hermaia ... to Carthage, half a day. There are some islets off the Hermaia cape: the island of Pontia and Cossyra. Sailing from Hermaia to Cossyra, a day. Beyond the Hermaia cape, on the site of the sun setting, close to Hermaia, there are three small islands inhabited by Carthaginians: Malta, a city and a harbour, Gaulos, a city, Lampas; the latter has two or three towers. From Cossyra to the promontory of Lilybaeum in Sicily, a one-day sailing. After Carthage there is Utica, a city and a harbour. Coasting from Carthage to Utica is one day. From Utica to the promontory of Hippo ... The city of Hippo, and there is a lake adjacent to it, and there are islands in the lake, and there are cities around the lake ... Among the islands are the following ones: the city of Psegas and, opposite it, the numerous Naxian islands;

[5] The manuscript reads "days", but it is evident that the scribe followed the usual pattern of the notices and that "stadia" should be read here instead of "days".

[6] The manuscript reads Φοιαλων, but it is evident that the scribe confounded the three strokes of N with ΑΛ. One should correct Φοινῶν, etymologically "of the Red ones", an interpretation of the name "Phoenicians". The Latin form *Poeni* derives from this Φοινοί.

λαί, Πιθηκοῦσαι καὶ λιμήν. Κατ' ἐναντίον αὐτῶν καὶ νῆσος καὶ πόλις ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Εὔβοια· Θάψα καὶ πόλις καὶ λιμήν, Καύκακις πόλις καὶ λιμήν, Σίδα πόλις, Ἰουλίου ἄκρα, πόλις καὶ λιμήν, Ἕβδομος πόλις καὶ λιμήν· Ἄκιον νῆσος, πόλις καὶ λιμὴν ἔπεστι· Ψαμαθὸς νῆσος, πόλις καὶ λιμὴν καὶ κόλπος. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ Βαρτὰς νῆσος καὶ λιμήν, Χάλκα πόλις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, Ἀρύλων πόλις, Μὴς πόλις καὶ λιμήν, Σίγι πόλις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ νῆσος Ἄκρα, πόλις μεγάλη, λιμήν — Ἄκρος ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ κόλπος ἐν αὐτῇ — ἔρημος νῆσος Δρίναυπα ὄνομα, Ἡρακλεία στήλη ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἄκρα Ἄπινι, Λύη πόλις ἐν ποταμῷ, *Κράβις ποταμὸς καὶ λιμὴν καὶ πόλις Φοινίκων Θυμιατηρίας ὄνομα. Ἀπὸ Θυμιατηρίας εἰς Σολόεσαν ἄκραν, ἣ ἀνέχει μάλιστα εἰς τὸν πόντον. Τῆς δὲ Λιβύης πᾶσα αὕτη ἡ χώρα ὀνομαστοτάτη καὶ ἱερωτάτη. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῆς ἄκρας ἔπεστι βωμὸς μέγας ποινῆς Ποσιδῶνος. Ἐν δὲ τῷ βωμῷ εἰσὶ γεγραμμένοι ἀνδριάντες, λέοντες, δελφῖνες· Δαίδαλον δέ φασι ποιῆσαι. Ἀπὸ δὲ Σολόεντος ἄκρας* καὶ ἀντίον αὐτῆς τὰ Γάδειρα νῆσος. Ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνος ταύτη ἐστὶν ἐφ' Ἡρακλείους στήλας τοῦ καλλίστου πλοῦ παράπλους ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ νυκτῶν ἑπτά.

ΓΑΔΕΙΡΑ. Εἰσι νῆσοι αὗται πρὸς τῇ Εὐρώπῃ – τούτων ἡ ἑτέρα πόλιν ἔχει — καὶ Ἡράκλειοι στῆλαι κατὰ ταύτας· ἡ μὲν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ταπεινή, ἡ δὲ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ ὑψηλή. Αὗται δὲ εἰσὶν ἄκραι καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλων, διέχουσι δὲ αὗται ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πλοῦν ἡμέρας. Παράπλους Λιβύης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τοῦ Κανωπικοῦ στόματος μέχρι Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, τιθεμένου τοῦ λογισμοῦ κατὰ ταὐτά, ἅπερ ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Εὐρώπῃ γέγραπται, κατὰ τοὺς κόλπους κύκλῳ περιπλέοντι ἡμερῶν οδ′. Ὅσα γέγραπται πολίσματα ἢ ἐμπόρια ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, ἀπὸ τῆς Σύρτιδος τῆς παρ' Ἑσπερίδας μέχρι Ἡράκλειων στηλῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ, πάντα ἐστὶ Καρχηδονίων.



Coin of *HADRUM*(etum), Sūsa, with head of Baal Ḥamon.

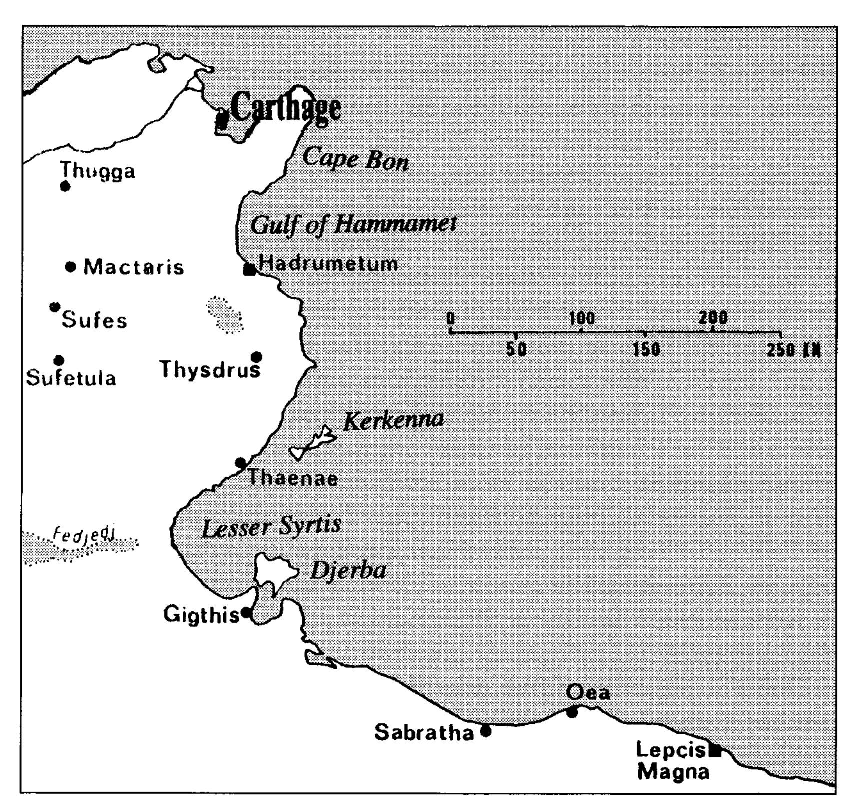
Pithekoussai and a harbour; opposite it, an island and a city in the island, Euboeia; Thapsa, a city and a harbour; Kaukakis, a city and a harbour; Sida, a city; the promontory of Ioulios, a city and a harbour; Hebdomos, a city and a harbour; the island of Akion, on which there is a city and a harbour; the island of Psamathos, a city and a harbour, and there is a gulf and, in this gulf, there is the island of Bartas and a harbour; Chalka, a city on a river; Arylon, a city; Mes, a city and a harbour; Sigi, a city on a river, and the island of Akra facing the river, a large city and a harbour; Akros, the city and the gulf next to it; a deserted island, called Drinaupa; the Pillar of Heracles in Libya; the promontory of Apini; Lue, a city on a river, *the Krabis River, and a harbour and a city of the Phoenicians, Thymiateria by name. From Thymiateria to Cape Soloeis, which advances most into the sea, ... (All this region of Libya is most renowned and most sacred. At the extremity of the Cape stands a great altar of Poseidon's revenge. Human figures, lions, dolphins are drawn on the altar. Daedalus is said to have made it). From Cape Soloeis* and opposite it, (there are) the islands of Gades. From Carthage to the Pillars of Heracles, under the best sailing conditions, such a coasting lasts seven days and seven nights.

GADES. These islands are near Europe. One of them has a city and near them are the Pillars of Heracles, the low one in Libya, the high one in Europe. They are high promontories opposite each other and they are separated from each other by a day's sailing. The coasting of Libya from the Canopic mouth in Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles lasts 74 days, if the calculation is made in the same way as that described in respect to Asia and Europe and if one sails around along the gulfs. All the towns and emporia, which have been recorded in Libya from the Syrtis of the Hesperides to the Pillars of Heracles in Libya belong to the Carthaginians."

Having described the coast of ancient Libya from the westernmost, Canopic branch of the Nile to the Greater Syrtis, Pseudo-Scylax reports that the coastal area between Greater Syrtis and Lesser Syrtis was inhabited by Libyans whom he calls "Lotus-eaters", Λωτοφάγοι. This appellation and the explanation given to this name derive from the somewhat fanciful ethnography of ancient writers, like Herodotus[7] and Strabo[8].

[7] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 177-178, also IV, 183, where he locates the "Lotus-eaters" at a distance of a thirty-days journey from the Garamantes.

[8] STRABO, *Geography* III, 4, 3; XVII, 3, 8. In III, 4, 3, Strabo seems to reproach to Artemidorus of having induly expanded the territory of the "Lotus-eaters". On this subject, see now S. BIANCHETTI, *I Lotofagi nella tradizione antica: geografia e simmetria*, in *L'Africa romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 219-229.



Pseudo-Scylax §110.

According to Pliny, their real name was *Machroae*[9], which corresponds to Ptolemy's Μάχρυες[10] and is a simple phonetic variant of Μάχλυες[11], witnessing the weak distinction between *l* and *r*[12]. Leaving aside the fancy stories reported on the Μάχλυες by ancient writers[13], it is worth recording that the personal name *Machrus* still occurs in Roman Tripoli-

[9] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 28.

[10] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 6 (p. 641: all the references to Ptolemy's *Geography* are based on C. MÜLLER, *Claudii Ptolemaei geographia* I/2, Paris 1901). Cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 268.

[11] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 178, 180; PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VII, 15. Both authors distinguish the Μάχλυες from the "Lotus-eaters", but this distinction is probably based on the sole evidence of two coexisting names.

[12] It is possible that the alternance *l/r* is due to an Egyptian information source. Cf. A. LOPRIENO, *Egyptian and Coptic Phonology*, in A.S. KAYE (ed.), *Phonologies of Asia and Africa* I, Winona Lake 1997, p. 431-460 (see p. 435).

[13] Cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 64, n. 163.

tania[14], that this name most likely is an allomorph of Berber *mkr*, "great", and that the tribal name *bnw M'kr* is still reported by Ibn Khaldun[15]. In other words, the "Lotus-eaters" were ancestors of a Berber tribe, and Pseudo-Scylax rightly distinguishes them from the Carthaginians living in Neapolis.

1. Lepcis Magna

Several cities of the Middle East and of North Africa are called Neapolis in Greek and Latin sources. The "New town" at the western end of the Greater Syrtis is *Lepcis* or *Leptis*, often surnamed "Great" (Λέπτις μεγάλη, *Leptimagna*)[16] in order to distinguish it from the homonymous city situated on the Lesser Syrtis. It is the modern Lebda. In Punic inscriptions[17] and coin legends[18], it is called *Lpqy* or *'-Lpqy*, with the article[19]. Its name seems to be Semitic[20] and to designate something fabricated. Beside the toponym, the root does not occur so far in the poorly attested Phoenician vocabulary, but the Arabic verb *laffaqa* means "to invent, fabricate, piece together". The Greek name "New town" apparently confirms this etymology, which points to a new foundation, and Latin texts record the foundation of Lepcis by Phoenicians: its founders were Sidonians according to Sallust[21], Tyrians according to Pliny[22] and Silius Italicus[23]. Pseudo-Scylax calls its inhabitants

[14] K. JONGELING, *North-African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, p. 77.

[15] IBN KHALDUN, *Kitāb al-'ibar*, Beyrouth 1968, Vol. VI, p. 462, 556; cf. K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. XXVI.

[16] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 27; PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 3 (p. 629); *Stadiasmus maris magni* §93 (see below, n. 29); SOLINUS, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXVII, 8, ed. Th. MOMMSEN, 2nd ed., reprint Berlin 1958; PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars* IV, 21 and *On Justinian's Buildings* VI, 4, ed. J. HAURY, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1962-64, Vol. I, p. 518, 519; Vol. IV, p. 176, 177; *Table of Peutinger* VII, 3; *IRT* 284.

[17] G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927-1967)*, Roma 1987, Nos. 2; 27, 7; 31, 1.3.4; 32, 2, always *'-Lpqy*.

[18] The coin legends use the form *Lpqy*; see the references in JONGELING, *Names*, p. 179.

[19] Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Studia Phoenicia XV; OLA 90), Leuven 2000, p. 263.

[20] There seems to be no ground for assuming that *Lpqy* is a native Libyan name, as proposed by some historians and archaeologists of the Classical antiquity, for example: T. KOTULA, *Septymiusz Sewerus*, Wrocław 1987, p. 17; W. BALL, *Rome in the East*, London 2000, p. 489, n. 134.

[21] SALLUST, *Jugurtha* 78: *Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum est.*

[22] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 76.

[23] SILIUS ITALICUS, *Punica* III, 256, ed. I. DELZ, *Silius Italicus: Punica* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana), Stuttgart 1987, p. 63: *Sarranaque Leptis.*

"Carthaginians", and the oldest traces of the occupation of Lepcis seem to go back to the second half of the 7th century B.C.[24], when Carthage was already in condition of controlling this region. It is quite possible therefore that the statement of Pseudo-Scylax has to be taken at its face value and that Lepcis was a Carthaginian foundation[25]. This would also explain why Carthage intervened *ca.* 515 B.C. to expel Dorieus from his colony at Kinyps, 18 km east of Lepcis[26], where Pseudo-Scylax records the ruins of a deserted city.

The site of Lepcis comprised four islets favouring the establishment of a port, which was thus protected from the prevalent north-western winds. One of these islets is mentioned in a Punic inscription of the 1st century A.D., which records the restoration of a temple on the isle called *Lyd*[...][27]. The ancient harbour lay at the mouth of the small stream known as Wādī Lebda and was sheltered by the islets, which were included later in the western breakwater of the large Severan harbour, built in the early 3rd century A.D. The earliest harbour occupied the site of the port built at the mouth of the wādī in the time of Nero (54-68 A.D.)[28], when the silted port was reactivated. In fact, §93 of the *Stadiasmus maris magni*, dating to the time of Augustus (31 B.C.-

[24] E. De Miro, *Leptis Magna. L'emporio punico e l'impianto romano: punti fermi di chronologia*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 403-414. See also T.H. Carter, *Western Phoenicians at Lepcis Magna*, in *AJA* 69 (1965), p. 123-132 (see p. 125-126, 130); A. Di Vita, *Le date di fondazione di Leptis e di Sabratha*, in J. Bibauw (ed.), *Hommages à M. Renard*, Bruxelles 1969, Vol. III, p. 196-202. For Lepcis Magna, see also *IRT*, p. 72-86, and R. Bianchi Bandinelli - E. Vergara Caffarelli - G. Caputo, *Leptis Magna*, Roma 1964. A short synthesis of the excavations at Lepcis Magna is given in *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale*, Roma 1958-66, Vol. IV, p. 572-594; *PECS*, p. 499-500; G.D.B. Jones, *Leptis Magna*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. III, p. 347-350. See besides Desanges, *Pline*, p. 261-264, 360-361, 499; W. Ball, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 419-431.

[25] This opinion is expressed now by W. Ball, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 419-420.

[26] According to Herodotus, *History* V, 42 (cf. IV, 175 and 198), Dorieus, son of the Spartan king Anaxandrides, tried to establish a colony on the coast of Greater Syrtis, but was expelled after three years by the Carthaginians allied to the Maces; cf. Desanges, *Pline*, p. 257-259; G. Cifoni - M. Munzi, *Fonti letterarie e archeologiche per la storia del Kinyps (Libia)*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 1901-1918.

[27] G. Levi Della Vida - M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, *op. cit.* (n. 17), No. 32, 1, where one can read *'y Lyd*[...], "the isle of Lyd[...]"; cf. R. Rebuffat, *Leptis Magna*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 257-258.

[28] *IRT* 341; R. Bartoccini, *Il porto romano di Leptis Magna*, Roma 1960, p. 14, 27 ff.; Id., *Il porto di Leptis Magna nella sua vita economica e sociale*, in *Hommages à Albert Grénier* (Coll. Latomus 58), Bruxelles 1961, Vol. I, p. 228-243; R. Bianchi Bandinelli et al., *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 21, 60, 113, 116. Additional chronological data may be provided by new researches at the site: N. Masturzo, *Rilievo del braccio a mare orientale delle mura di Leptis Magna*, in *Libya Antiqua*, n.s., 2 (1996), p. 59-65.

14 A.D.)[29], states explicitly that Lepcis has no harbour. Pseudo-Scylax does not mention its harbour either, but indicates that there was at least an anchorage. This was most likely located at the mouth of Wādī Lebda, since the large artificial harbour built in the Hellenistic period near Cape Hermaion, the actual promontory of Homs, 3 km west of Lepcis, did not yet exist in the 4th century B.C.[30] Lepcis could not prosper without a port, as it was the chief commercial storage on the coasts of the Greater Syrtis for the interior of the African continent. Since vestiges of the ancient Phoenician settlement were discovered near the mouth of the wādī, this area corresponds to the original site of the emporium. The Punic cemetery of the theatre dates instead from the 4th-3rd centuries B.C.[31] and indicates that its site lay beyond the urban limits at the time of the sources of Pseudo-Scylax. The necropolis was abandoned in the 2nd century B.C.[32], when Lepcis was considerably extended westwards and when the new harbour was built at Homs.

2. Graphara

Pseudo-Scylax then mentions Graphara, which he locates at a day-long sailing from Neapolis/Lepcis. This is the Γάφαρα λιμήν of Ptolemy[33] and Τὰ ᾿Άφορα of the *Stadiasmus* §95[34], where additional precisions are given: the city was built on a promontory with an anchorage on both sides of the cape and of a watering place. These indications

[29] This anonymous work is based on a Greek text from the 3rd century A.D., but some of the sources used by the latter must go back to the 1st century B.C., in particular §93-94. The *Stadiasmus* contains a wealth of information on anchorages, water resources, and distances between the places mentioned. See also here above, p. 200. One of the preserved sections deals with the coastal journey from Alexandria to Utica. Concerning §93-94, see A. Di Vita, *Un passo della Σταδιασμὸς τῆς Μεγάλης Θαλάττης ed il porto ellenistico di Leptis Magna*, in *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*, Rome 1974, p. 229-249; J. Rougé, *Ports et escales dans l'Empire tardif*, in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1978, p. 67-128 (see p. 99-102); G. Uggeri, *Stadiasmus Maris Magni: un contributo per la datazione*, in *L'Africa romana* XI, Ozieri 1996, p. 277-285 (see p. 279-281).

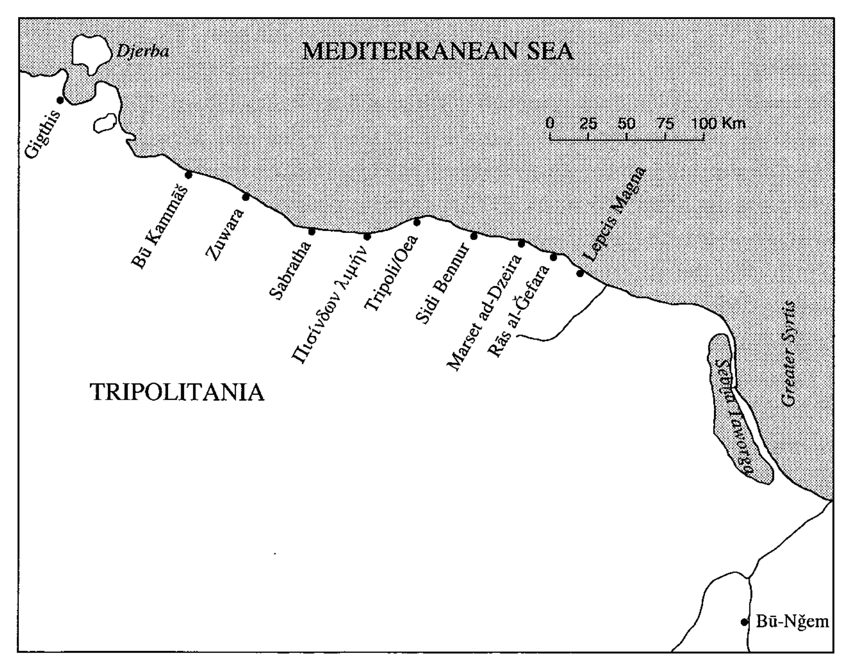
[30] This harbour was discovered in 1972; cf. A. Di Vita, *art. cit.* (n. 29).

[31] G. Caputo, *Il teatro augusteo di Leptis Magna*, Roma 1987.

[32] This is apparently the period when Lepcis Magna became a dependency of the Numidian kings, probably *ca.* 162/1 B.C.; cf. Polybius, *History* XXXII, 2 = XXXI, 21. In 111 B.C., the city obtained the *amicitia societasque* of the Roman people and, in 108 B.C., the protection of a garrison; cf. Sallust, *Jugurtha* 77.

[33] Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 3, 3 (p. 628), who provides the spelling of the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. or of a source from the Hellenistic period.

[34] *Stadiasmus maris magni* §96: Τῶν ᾿Αφορῶν.



Tripolitania.

suggest identifying Graphara either with Marset ad-Dzeira[35], about 40 km west of Lepcis, or with Rās al-Ğefara[36], 25 km west of Lepcis. Both distances correspond to a one-day coasting, but the second location is supported by the modern toponym.

The spelling of the *Stadiasmus*, which actually reinterprets the toponym in the sense of "barren places"[37], goes back to *Ταφορα, where the initial Γ was confused with T. The same confusion is echoed in the *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder and in the *Chorography* of Pomponius Mela. In the manuscripts of Pliny's work the place name occurs under the forms *Taphra*, *Thafra* or *Thrafra*[38], while the sequence

[35] R.G. GOODCHILD, *Tabula Imperii Romani. Map of the Roman Empire* 33. *Lepcis Magna*, London 1954, p. 11. Cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 100.

[36] J. DESANGES, *Géographie de l'Afrique et philologie dans deux passages de la* Chorographie *de Méla*, in *L'Africa romana* XI, Ozieri 1996, p. 343-350 (see p. 345), reprinted in J. DESANGES, *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta minora*, Paris 1999, p. 123-129 (see p. 124-125).

[37] J. DESANGES, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 345; reprint (n. 36), p. 125.

[38] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 27. It is possible that Pliny's Greek source was reading Γραφρα.

Habromacte Phyre in the basic manuscript of the *Chorography*[39] should be divided in *Habromac Tephyre*[40].

Ptolemy's Γάφαρα should of course be compared with the Greek transcriptions Γοφερα[41] and Γοφορα[42] of the name written *'prh* in biblical Hebrew. In Hellenistic times, the initial *'ayin* was often indicated in Greek transcription by a *gamma*, especially when it originated from *ġayin*, as in Γάζα for *'Azzā*. The earlier form *Graphara* of Pseudo-Scylax shows that *'ayin* was still articulated at that time as a true pharyngeal or as a velar fricative, and was thus indicated in Greek by *gr*[43]. The toponym is Semitic and must be identical with *'prh* in biblical Hebrew. This place name suggests either a shelter, if it is related to *ġpr*, "to cover"[44], or a plot of land, if it derives from the root *'pr*, "to dust", pronounced *ġeppeṛ* in modern Berber[45]. The latter etymology suits the coastal plain of Tripolitania, known precisely as the Ğefara. This name was probably borrowed by the Arabs from Greek Γάφαρα, which in turn was a transcription of Phoenician *'pr(t)*, that was the name of the city mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax and most likely of the surrounding plain. This plain is backed to the south by a line of northward facing scarps, often referred to simply as the Ğabal.

3. Sabratha

After Graphara, Pseudo-Scylax mentions the harbour-town of Abrotonon, again at the distance of a day-long sailing. Since Abrotonon is a well-known Graecized form of Sabratha[46], which lies 140 km west

[39] POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 34, ed. A. SILBERMAN, Paris 1988, p. 11; ed. P. PARRONI, Roma 1984, p. 206-207. The text is preserved in only one manuscript, *Vaticanus Latinus 4929*, from which depend all the known apographs; cf. P. PARRONI, *Pomponii Melae De Chorographia libri tres*, Roma 1984, p. 55-81.

[40] J. DESANGES, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 345; reprint (n. 36), p. 125. The identification of *Phyre* with Pliny's *Taphra* is proposed also by M. FORA, *Le* Macomades *d'Africa: rassegna delle fonti letterarie*, in *L'Africa romana* VIII, Sassari 1991, p. 221-228 (see p. 223-224 with n. 19).

[41] Septuagint: I Kings 13, 17; I Chron. 4, 14.

[42] Septuagint: I Chron. 4, 14.

[43] A comparison with some modern articulations and transcriptions of *ġayin* can be useful, for example "Srira" for *Sġira*, "Brerrita" for *Briġita*. This results from an uvular articulation of *g* aiming at expressing the *ġayin* (cf. French "grasseyer").

[44] Arabic *ġaffara* also means "to guard, watch".

[45] Cf. M.G. KOSSMANN, *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig*, Paris-Louvain 1997, p. 467.

[46] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 18; PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 27; STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Ἀβρότονον. See also *Habromac(te)* in POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 34.

of Rās al-Ǧefara, this means that probably as much as three intermediate ports or anchorages are missing in the text. Such places are named in Ptolemy's sequence of Γαφάρα λιμήν, Ἑῴα, Πισίνδων λιμήν, Σάβρατα[47], and in the *Stadiasmus* §96-98: Ἀμαραία, Μεγέρθι, and Μακαραία. Unfortunately, the distances given in the preserved manuscript of the *Stadiasmus* are problematic and a precise identification is therefore difficult. We follow it here in the west-east direction.

It was assumed that Μακαραία is Oea (Tripoli), that this name stands for Makar-Oea[48] and corresponds to the double name *Wy't M'qr* appearing in the Neo-Punic legends of some local coins of Tripoli[49]. However, *M'qr* can be the personal name of the magistrate following the city name[50], and it is not evident that the final element -αία of Μακαραία — present also in Ἀμαραία — is a transcription of *Wy't*, the *Oea* of Latin sources and the Ἑῴα of Ptolemy[51]. On the other hand, the distance between Μακαραία and Σάβραθα, estimated in the *Stadiasmus* §99 at 400 stadia, roughly corresponds to the 65 km — about 350 stadia — separating Oea from Sabratha.

The earliest evidenced occupation of Oea, which was situated on a promontory stretching out into the Mediterranean, goes back to the 5th century B.C., before the time when Pseudo-Scylax was composed. Its oldest vestiges[52], uncovered near a small natural harbour and on the site of Bū Seta, in the eastern suburb of modern Tripoli, go back to the 5th century B.C. To the west, the necropolis of Gheran comprised, in the 3rd century B.C., tombs with a sepulchral chamber in a purely Punic style

[47] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 3 (p. 628, 627).

[48] C. MÜLLER, *GGM* I, p. 463. — For an evaluation of the distance corresponding to a day-long coasting in Antiquity, see P. CINTAS, *Fouilles puniques à Tipasa*, Alger 1949, p. 8-13 = *Revue Africaine* 92 (1948), p. 270-275. Cintas' conclusions are confirmed by HERODOTUS' information concerning the width of the Caspian Sea (eight rowing days: *History* I, 203) and the length of the Red Sea (forty rowing days: *History* II, 11). The estimate recorded by him is insufficient for the length of the Caspian Sea and the width of the Red Sea, unless the latter is based on the Gulf of Suez (half a day).

[49] J. DESANGES, *art. cit.* (n. 36), p. 346, reprint (n. 36), p. 125-126. For these coins, see *NAA* II, p. 23, Nos. 41-45. See also G. (W.) GESENIUS, *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt*, Leipzig 1837, Pl. 44, XXV, A, B, C, E; G. MACDONALD, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* III, Glasgow 1905, p. 581.

[50] G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *op. cit.* (n. 17), Nos. 10, 1; 26, 1 and 3. For example, the name of two magistrates appears with the city name *Krṭn* on some coins of Cirta/Constantine. See the references in LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 362-363.

[51] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 3 (p. 628).

[52] Cf. *IRT*, p. 20-24; *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, *op. cit.* (n. 24), Vol. VII, p. 986-987; *PECS*, p. 639; DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 256-257, 412, 499. For the site of Gheran, see L. TABORELLI, *Le stele neopuniche dall'oasi di Gheran*, in *Karthago* 23 (1995), p. 31-44.

and yielded steles with the "Sign of Tannit", while a local *tophet* witnesses well-known cultual practices of the Punic world. There is no doubt therefore that the Punic city and the small port of Oea, east of the peninsula prolonged by a series of recifs, existed at the time of the sources of Pseudo-Scylax.

Although no text from the Hellenistic period mentions the city, Silius Italicus names Oea with Sabratha and Lepcis among the towns depending from Carthage at the time of the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) and records the tradition of its Siculo-African foundation[53], possibly an allusion to settlers from various regions of the Empire of Carthage in the 5th century B.C.

Μεγέρθι, qualified in the *Stadiasmus* as "city and harbour", is mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* as *Megradi, villa Aniciorum*[54]. The city is located there XXV miles from Oea, i.e. 37 km, a reasonable distance which should be preferred to the 400 stadia or 74 km assigned by the *Stadiasmus* to the distance between Μεγέρθι and Μακαραία. This figure (υ′) probably originated by mistake from 200 (σ′), which would correspond exactly to the XXV miles of the *Itinerarium*. This would lead to the location of Μεγέρθι/*Megradi* near Sidi Bennur. The same city was most likely named *Mqrty* in the Punic version of the trilingual inscription from Lepcis Magna[55], where Greek reads Μεχρασι and Latin *Mecrasi*, with the same vocalization as *Megradi*. The correspondence Punic *t* : Greek/Latin *s* is not unparalleled in that period, since it is attested also for the name *Tipasa*, in Numidia, written *Ṭp'tn* in the Neo-Punic legend of coins dating from the 1st century B.C.[56] The modern name of the locality is *Tifeš*; it is situated about 100 km south of 'Annāba (Algeria). Variant Latin transcriptions of the same place names apparently confirm the existence of a correspondence between *t* and a sibilant, like in *Zita*, called *Ziza* on the Peutinger Table.

[53] SILIUS ITALICUS, *Punica*, III, 257: *Oeaque Trinacrios Afris permixta colonos*; cf. *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 63.

[54] O. CUNTZ, *Itineraria Romana* I, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1990, p. 9: 62, 3.

[55] *IRT* 654; G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *op. cit.* (n. 17), No. 25. The reading *Mqrty*, corresponding to the ancient drawing of the Punic inscription which became illegible, is proposed by JONGELING, *Names*, p. 187. See also E. LIPIŃSKI, *Bonchor de Béja*, forthcoming.

[56] *NAA* III, p. 53-57, Nos. 63-65, and *Suppl.*, p. 66. For the location of Tipasa, see *AAAlg*, fol. 18 (Souk Ahras), No. 391. — This correspondence is not examined in the recent grammars of Phoenician-Punic, but it might be compared with the dialectal Greek assibilation of *-ti* > *-si*; cf. A. MEILLET - J. VENDRYES, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*, 3rd ed., Paris 1960, p. 67, §87; M. LEJEUNE, *Phonétique historique du mycénien et du grec ancien*, Paris 1972, p. 63-66, §51-53.

'Αμαραία is placed by the *Stadiasmus* half-way between Graphara and Megerthi, i.e. 40 stadia or 7.4 km from each of these cities. If 'Αμαραία was distant 80 (π') stadia from Rās as-Ğefara instead of 40 (μ'), it could be situated at the cape of Marset ad-Dzeira, 40 km west of Lepcis Magna. In this hypothesis, the distance from 'Αμαραία to Μεγέρθι should probably be corrected from 40 (μ') to 140 (ρμ') stadia or 26 km.

Of course, we do not know whether the ports or anchorages missing in the present text of Pseudo-Scylax corresponded to the names recorded by the *Stadiasmus*. One would expect to find there at least Megerthi and Oea with approximate coasting distances of 40 km and 37 km. An anchorage in the middle of the 65-km journey from Oea to Sabratha should be taken into account as well, possibly in the area of present-day Zawiya.

Ptolemy locates Πισίνδων λιμήν half-way between 'Εώα and Σάβρατα, but this seems to be the same place as *Fisida*, situated to the west of Sabratha according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* 61, 1[57] and the Peutinger Table[58], and called Πισίνδα by Ptolemy[59].

Abrotonon or Sabratha, about 65 km west of Oea, had but a small harbour, like present-day Ṣabra. It was nevertheless important for sailors, since this coastal stretch had no natural harbours. *Stadiasmus* §99 contends that "the city lacked a harbour", but adds that it "has an anchorage". The most ancient archaeological remains at the site go back to the 5th century B.C. They include, among others, amphorae from the mid-5th century B.C. and a section of a city wall from the second half of the 5th century B.C.[60] The town existed therefore at the time of Pseudo-Scylax, even if a permanent occupation is not attested so far before the second part of the 4th century B.C., probably near a large market which will become the site of the Roman forum[61]. The uncovered cemeteries south

[57] O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 9: 61, 1.

[58] *Peutinger Table* VII, 1: *Pisida*.

[59] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 11 (p. 659).

[60] P.M. KENRICK, *Excavations at Sabratha 1948-1951,* in *Libyan Studies* 13 (1982), p. 51-60; ID., *Sabratha*, in D.J. BUCK - D.J. MATTINGLY (eds.), *Town and Country in Roman Tripolitania. Papers in Honour of Olwen Hackett* (BAR Intern. Ser. 274), Oxford 1985, p. 1-12; J.N. DORE - N. KEAY, *Excavations at Sabratha 1948-1951* II. *The Finds 1. The Amphorae, Coarse Pottery and Building Materials,* London 1989.

[61] See the notices in *IRT*, p. 20-24; *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, *op. cit.* (n. 24), Vol. VI, p. 1050-1060; *PECS*, p. 779-780; A. DI VITA, *op. cit.* (n. 24); DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 237-237, 389-390; P.M. KENRICK, *Excavations at Sabratha, 1948-1951,* London 1986; M.G. FULFORD - R. TOMBER, *Excavations at Sabratha* II. *The Finds 2. The Fine Wares and Lamps*, London 1994 (cf. J.-P. MOREL, rev. in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 [1996], p. 484-486); B. BESSI, *L'emporio di Sabratha*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 1387-1396. See also Vols. 4, 6, 11, 18-21 of the series *Monografie di Archeologia Libica*.

of the city, with sepulchral chambers in Punic style, do not seem to antedate the 3rd century B.C., while the oldest recognized phase of the *tophet* can be traced back to the 2nd century B.C.[62] The harbour quarter at Sabratha always kept the irregular plan of the original settlement which was founded according to Silius Italicus by colonists from Tyre[63]. However, the ending *-tn* of the Punic toponym *Sbrt(')n*, attested by the coin legends[64], reveals its Libyco-Berber origins[65] and Ephorus, in the 4th century B.C., seems thus to qualify Abrotonon correctly when he calls it a "town of Libyphoenicians"[66]. This Greek name of the city, used besides *Sabrat(h)a*[67], should be explained by the dialectal Greek change *s* > *h*[68] and thus implies the presence of a rough breath, possibly marked by the *Habrotonum* of Pliny, who mentions both *Habrotonum* and *Sabrata* without noticing that this is the same city[69], as well as by the *Habromac(te)* of Pomponius Mela[70]. Instead, it is not clear while the *a*-vowels of *Sabratha* change into *o* in *(H)abroton(um)*. The tradition attributing a Tyrian origin to the city may have been inspired by the contacts of Sabratha with the Levant in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C., as suggested by the epitaph of a Tyrian[71].

4. Tarilia

According to Pseudo-Scylax, "the city and the harbour of Tarilia" were situated at a one-day sailing from Abrotonon. Authors correct this

[62] L. BRECCIAROLI TABORELLI, *Il* tofet *neo-punico di Sabratha*, in *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1983, Vol. II, p. 543-547 and Pls. XC-XCV; L. TABORELLI, *L'area sacra di Ras Almunfakh presso Sabratha. Le stele*, Roma 1992.

[63] SILIUS ITALICUS, *Punica* III, 256: *Sabratha tum Tyrium uulgus*, in *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 63.

[64] G. (W.) GESENIUS, *op. cit.* (n. 49), Pl. 43, XXIV, C, G; *NAA* II, p. 27-28, Nos. 51, 62-64; L. RAHMOUNI, *Monete autonome di Sabratha e Cercina: nuovi dati e relettura*, in *REPPAL* 12 (2002), p. 103-108 (see p. 103-106). The reading with *Ṣ*, proposed by L. Müller, is less probable; cf. JONGELING, *Names*, p. 191.

[65] JONGELING, *Names*, p. 57-60; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. XV-XVI.

[66] Quoted by STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. 'Αβρότονον.

[67] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 25. 35; SUETONIUS, *Vespasian* III; PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 3.11 (p. 627 and 659); *Itinerarium Antonini* in O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 9: 62; *Peutinger Table* III, 5 and V, 6; *Cosmography of Ravenna* VII, 2, in J. SCHNETZ, *Itineraria Romana* II, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1990, p. 37: 40 and 89: 1; *Stadiasmus maris magni* §99-100.

[68] A. MEILLET - J. VENDRYES, *op. cit.* (n. 56), p. 48-49, §65.

[69] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 27 and 25, 35.

[70] POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 34; cf. above, p. 349, n. 39.

[71] G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *op. cit.* (n. 17), No. 4.

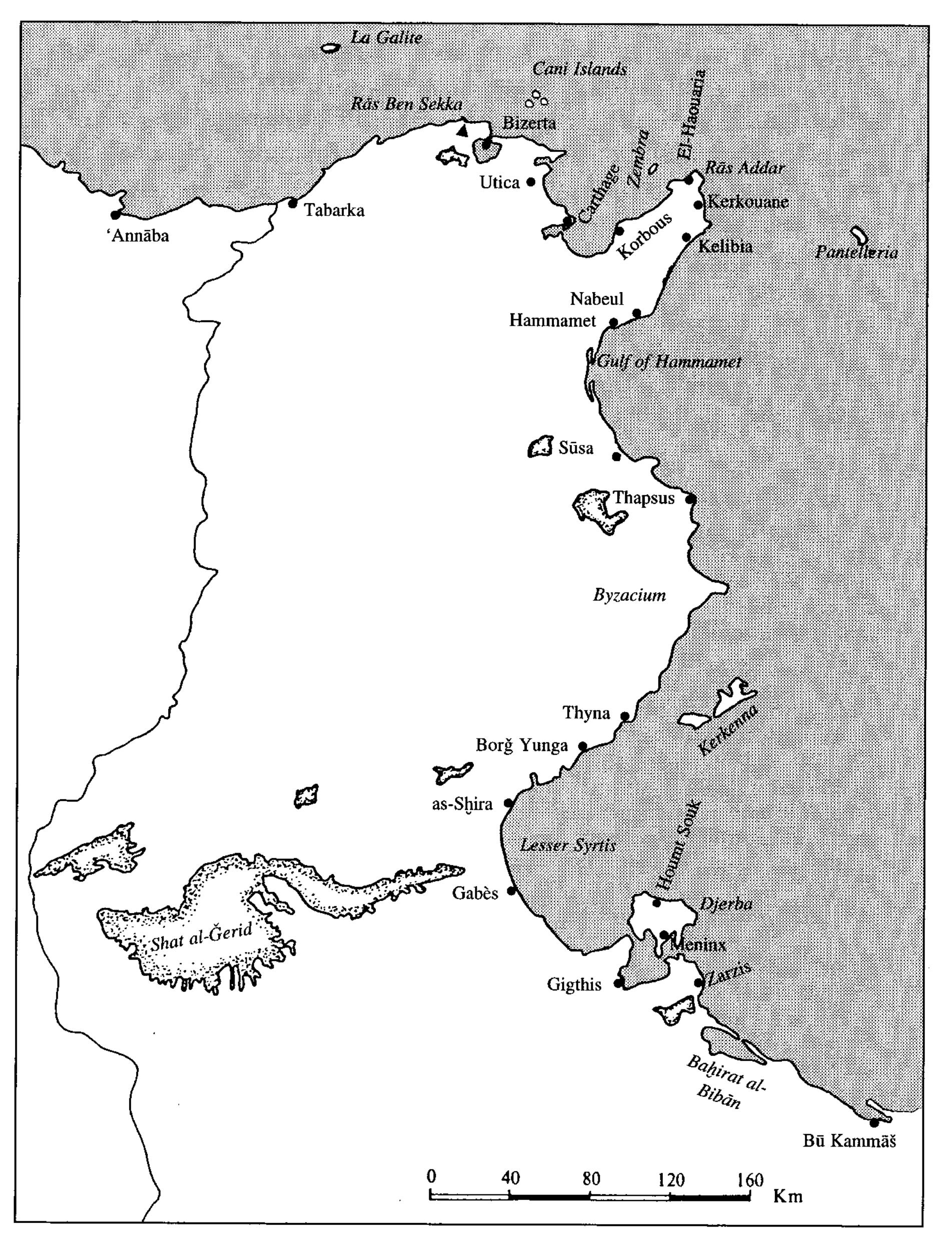
place name into Ταριχεῖαι, "Saltworks", as if a Greek scribe could misspell a word of his own language to such an extent and change it into an unattested toponym. In reality, Ταριλία must be a Libyco-Berber place name with initial element *t*-, comparable with the anthroponym *TRLT*, which is attested in Libyan inscriptions[72]. Since Tarilia could be reached in a one-day coasting from Sabratha, it should correspond to Locros, located in the *Stadiasmus* §100 and §101 about 300 stadia or 55.5 km west of Sabratha. This is precisely the distance from present-day Ṣabra to Zuwara. The *Nautical instructions* report about the latter place: "One can anchor in front of Zuwara and easily disembark by nice weather. There is a village in the midst of the date-palms of the oasis"[73].

Following Ταριλία there is another gap in the text of Pseudo-Scylax, where two anchorages or harbours should have been mentioned. This missing passage was replaced by a description of the island of Djerba. The first place omitted in the actual text probably corresponds to the lagoon of Bū Kammāš, about 50 km northwest of Zuwara, near the Tunesian-Libyan border. This must have been Zeucharis, situated by the *Stadiasmus* (§101 and §102) about 300 stadia or 55.5 km west of Locros and described by him as having "an excellent harbour". There was a Punic settlement at Bū Kammāš, where a fragment of a Neo-Punic funerary inscription was found[74], as well as a Roman milestone[75].

5. Taricheiai

The second anchorage should correspond to Ταριχεῖαι, "Saltworks", mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax after the inserted description of the island of Djerba. This place is generally identified with the Tunisian lagoon of Baḥirat al-Bibān, whose entrance from the sea lays about 50 km northwest of Bū Kammāš. This lagoon, which is more than 30 km long and 10 km wide, is separated from the sea by a narrow neck of sand, cut by two channels framing an islet. The site corresponds quite well to Strabo's Zouchis. He situates the latter at a large lake communicating with the sea by a narrow passage and mentions several saltworks in the area, as well as purple dye-works[76]. The toponym may have some con-

[72] *RIL* 127 and 948; cf. JONGELING, *Names*, p. 191.
[73] *Instructions nautiques*, Paris (19th century), No. 778, p. 658.
[74] G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *op. cit.* (n. 17), No. 6.
[75] *IRT* 923. According to the authors, the site would correspond to *Fisida* of the *Itinerarium Antonini* (O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* [n. 54], p. 9: 61,1) and of the *Peutinger Table* VII, 1 (*Pisida*). See above, p. 352.
[76] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 18.



From Bū Kammāš to 'Annāba.

nection with the Zouekes of Herodotus[77], who seems to locate this Libyan population near the southern coast of Tunisia. The present-day Salt Lagoon, Sabḫat al-Melaḥ, lays about 10 km north of the Baḥirat al-Bibān and is close to two ancient settlements corresponding to the modern city of Zarzis[78] and to the archaeological site of Ziān[79], 9 km west of Zarzis. Despite the discovery of considerable Punic remains[80], no evidence is available so far that these settlements existed already at the time of the sources of Pseudo-Scylax.

6. Djerba

Sailing ahead for one day, one arrives to Djerba, the Brachion or "Shoal" of Pseudo-Scylax, the Lotophagitis or Lotus-eaters' Island of Eratosthenes and other Greek authors[81], the Pharis of Theophrastus[82],

[77] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 193.

[78] Zarzis is the site of the ancient Roman city of Gergis, mentioned in *Stadiasmus* §102-103 and §105, and by PROCOPIUS, *On Justinian's Buildings* VI, 4, 14, in *op. cit.* (n. 16), Vol. IV, p. 178: 14. Although the modern city does not preserve visible traces of its past, one cannot identify Gergis with Gigthis, as suggested by R. REBUFFAT, *Où étaient les Emporia?*, in *Semitica* 39 (1989 [1990]), p. 111-126 (see p. 113, n. 6, and p. 115). In fact, independently from the phonological question (Gergis > Ǧerǧis > Zarzis), it is clear that the *Stadiasmus* mentions Gergis between Zeucharis and Meninx, which is the important ancient city the ruins of which are visible 500 metres north of Borǧ al-Kantara, near the road of Houmt Sedouikech, as confirmed by *CIL* VIII, 22785 = Z.B. BEN ABDALLAH, *Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes du Musée du Bardo* (CÉFR 92), Rome 1986, p. 10-11, No. 19. Now, coming by sea from Zeucharis, one cannot reach Gigthis without passing first at Meninx, where the anchorage must have been near the point where starts the "Road of the Camel". The *Stadiasmus* simply omits Gigthis, since it mentions *Tacape*/Gabes immediately after Meninx.

[79] Ziān is the site of the ancient *Zita (Itinerarium Antonini)* or *Ziza* (Peutinger Table). PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 3 (p. 626) mentions a "promontory of Ζεῖθα" west of Sabratha: Ζεῖθα ἄκρα. The place name is most likely the Phoenician-Punic name of the "olive tree". Ziān was first excavated in 1884 by E. Pellissier.

[80] The site of Ziān yielded a Neo-Punic inscription (*RÉS* 558), as well as Neo-Punic tombs with pottery, also bearing Neo-Punic graffiti; cf. R. DU COUDRAY DE LA BLANCHÈRE - P. GAUCKLER, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui*, Paris 1897, p. 229, Nos. 137 and 142. The existence of a *tophet* is attested by the 1987 discovery of 170 Punic steles in local limestone marking burials of ashes and burnt small bones belonging probably to birds: A. FERJAOUI, *Les stèles puniques de Zian (Zarzis)*, in *REPPAL* 4 (1988), p. 265; A. DRINE, *Note sur le site de Zitha (Hr Zian) à Zarzis*, in *REPPAL* 6 (1991), p. 17-30 (see p. 18-19); A. DRINE - A. FERJAOUI, *Présentation des stèles votives découvertes à Zian (Tunisie)*, in *Actes du IIIe Congrès international des Études phéniciennes et puniques*, Tunis 1995, Vol. I, p. 396-400.

[81] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 41; POLYBIUS, *History* I, 39, 2.

[82] THEOPHRASTUS, *Enquiry into Plants* IV, 3, 2, ed. S. AMIGUES, Paris 1988-89, Vol. II, p. 68.

and perhaps the Phla of Herodotus[83]. The island is irregular in outline, its coast line being some 125 km and its area 568 km^2. It is flat and contains neither rivers nor springs, but is supplied with water by wells, cisterns, and a modern aqueduct. The water provided by the wells is slightly salty, sometimes brackish, and does favour only some kinds of cultivations. It was well wooded with date-palms and olive trees, some of them being very old. However, their yield was still recently very small — only 13 kg per tree — and this was the case in Antiquity as well, since Pseudo-Scylax contends that people of Djerba extracted oil from oleasters, which yield small quantities of oil. His comments on lotus, similar to those found in Herodotus IV, 177, are borrowed from the ancient ethnographic tradition of Greek geographers. He adds however that the Lotus-eaters were living near ῥιχίας (Ionic ῥηχίας), "rocky shore".

According to Pseudo-Scylax, the island was well cultivated in the mid-4th century B.C., when it most likely depended from Carthage. In fact, Punic pottery was found in many places without an evident link with a settlement. The earliest datable material recovered in Djerba consists of Attic pottery of the early 5th century B.C. found on four sites[84]: the Libyco-Punic necropolis of Ghizen[85], to the east of Houmt Souk, the central town of Bourgou and, on the southern side, the port of Guellala and the town of Meninx. Bourgou was the most important inland site in the Punic period[86] and, considering the shoals off the coast of Ghizen, it is Sidi Garous, on the eastern side of the island, that is likely to have served as Bourgou's harbour, but the archaeological evidence has been completely eradicated there by hotel development. Pre-Roman occupation was found on the southeast coast at Souk al-Guebli and Henchir Tala, in the Meninx area, where remains of a possible sanctuary and sev-

[83] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 178: "the Lake Tritonis, where there is an island whose name is Phla".

[84] A general assessment is provided by E. FENTRESS, *Djerba*, in *OEANE*, Oxford-New York 1997, Vol. III, p. 219-220; EAD., *The Jerba Survey: Settlement in the Punic and Roman Periods*, in *L'Africa romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 73-85; A. AGUS - R. ZUCCA, *Meninx-Girba nelle fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 1919-1954.

[85] For Ghizen, see J. AKKARI-WERIEMMI, *La nécropole libyco-punique de Ghizène (Djerba, Tunisie)*, in *Africa* 13 (1995), p. 51-74; H. BEN YOUNÈS, *Le Sahel et l'île de Djerba: les caractéristiques de l'architecture funéraire punique*, in *Africa* 14 (1996), p. 7-12 (see p. 7-10).

[86] J. AKKARI-WERIEMMI, *Un témoignage spectaculaire sur la présence libyco-punique dans l'île de Jerba: le mausolée de Henchir Bourgou*, in *REPPAL* 1 (1985), p. 189-196.

eral Neo-Punic steles were uncovered[87], and isolate sepulchres have been unearthed at Agga[88], Melitta, and Borğ al-Kantara.

In the 3rd century B.C., the hinterlands of Bourgou and of Meninx were occupied by large villas and small farms. This is the period when a Roman fleet commanded by the consuls reached Djerba in 253 B.C. and when the island was plundered in 217 B.C. by another Roman expedition[89]. These Roman interventions were occasioned by the Carthaginian presence on the island. According to Polybius[90], the Romans experienced, in 253 B.C., the very low water around the island and the exceptional amplitude of the tide (1.20 m), which characterizes Djerba in the Mediterranean and makes its waters particularly favourable for fishing. In Roman times, Djerba had a considerable reputation for the manufacture of purple woollen tissues interwoven with silk[91], and its purple industry, centred on Meninx, was certainly going back to pre-Roman times.

7. Gigthis/Epichos

Sailing for half a day from Djerba, according to Pseudo-Scylax, one arrives to a city called Epichos. This Greek toponym seems to be related to the verb ἐπιχέω, "to flow over", and to imply an allusion to the high tides in the Djerba region. The place has been identified with Gigthis or Gitti[92], the present-day Sidi Salem Bū Ġrara, near the inner recess of the

[87] A. DRINE, *Le sanctuaire de Tala (Ile de Jerba)*, in *REPPAL* 12 (2002), p. 29-37. An inscription from Djerba, found in the early 19th century, was analyzed more recently by JONGELING, *Names*, p. 10-12.

[88] J. AKKARI-WERIEMMI, *Note préliminaire sur deux tombes phénico-puniques à Agga, au nord-ouest de Djerba, Tunisie*, in *Africa* 13 (1995), p. 77-82; H. BEN YOUNÈS, *art. cit.* (n. 85), p. 10-12.

[89] Respectively, POLYBIUS, *History* I, 39, 2, and LIVY, *Roman History* XXII, 31, 1-2.

[90] POLYBIUS, *History* I, 39, 3-4.

[91] E. FENTRESS, *art. cit.* (n. 84), p. 77, 79, 81, 83-84; A. DRINE, *Les fouilles de Meninx. Résultats des campagnes de 1997 et 1998*, in *L'Africa romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 87-94 and Figs. 1-15; S. FONTANA, *Un "immondezzaio" di VI secolo de Meninx: la fine della produzione di porpora e la cultura materiale a Gerba nella prima età bizantina*, in *L'Africa romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 95-114. Literature concerning Meninx is given by DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 430-438, and A. BESCHAOUCH, *Comment l'île de Meninx est devenue l'île de Girba*, in *CRAI* 1986, p. 538-545.

[92] C. MÜLLER, *GGM* I, p. 87. *Gitti* is attested in the *Itinerarium maritimum* (O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* [n. 54], p. 83: 518, 5), the *Itinerarium Antonini* (*ibid.*, p. 9: 60, 1). *Gittit* occurs in the *Cosmography of Ravenna* V, 5, but *Githi* in III, 5 (J. SCHNETZ, *op. cit.* [n. 67], p. 37: 41 and 89: 7). This work, apparently based on a Roman road map, contains numerous misspellings: L. DILLEMANN - Y. JANVIER, *La Cosmographie du Ravennate* (Coll. Latomus 235), Bruxelles 1997. The ethnic qualification *Gittensis* is used in the *Proceedings of the Carthage Conference* I, 133, cf. S. LANCEL, *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411, II. Texte et traduction de la Capitulation et des Actes de la première séance*, Paris 1972. PTOLEMY, *Geography*, IV, 3, 3 (p. 626) calls the city Γιχθίς.

large bay separating Djerba from the mainland. Since the *Itinerarium maritimum* estimates at some 90 stadia or 17 km the distance from *Girba* (Djerba) to *Gitti*[93], this identification is practically certain, for half a day of sailing normally represents 100-120 stadia[94]. Pseudo-Scylax must refer to the sailing from Meninx to Gigthis through the strait of El-Kantara, that is practicable nowadays for sole flat-bottomed barges and barks. The situation must have been different in Antiquity, at least during the high tides, when the water level raises by 1.20 m. Still careful rowing was required to sail through the strait, as suggested by the name of Γιδάφθα, a settlement located by Ptolemy half-way between Ζεῖθα ἄκρα and Γιχθίς[95]. This name certainly derives from a Phoenician-Punic verb *gdp* having the same meaning as Arabic *ǧadafa*, "to row". The name *gdpt* is likely to have designated a "place of oaring" or possibly a "rowboat". It should be located in the vicinity of El-Kantara.

Gigthis was an important city at the time of the Roman empire, but it certainly had a Phoenician-Punic past, as indicated by its name. Its original form *Ginti* still appears in the qualification *Cinithii* of the local population which joined the anti-Roman revolt of Tacfarinas in A.D. 17-24[96]. The place name *Ginti, Gimti, Gitti*[97], with the ethnic *Gittī*[98], often appears in ancient Canaan. In biblical Hebrew, the word means "trampling area"[99] and, specifically, "wine-press" or "oil-press"[100], a name fit in particular for places where juice of olives was pressed. Now, Gigthis was still in Late Roman times a very active centre of an olive-producing region[101]. This confirms the interpretation of the toponym.

No Phoenician-Punic structures have been uncovered so far at Gigthis under the conspicuous remains of the Roman period[102], when the city

[93] O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 83: 518, 5.

[94] The doubts expressed by DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 101, seem to result from the exaggerated estimation of the average distance sailed over in one day by a merchant ship in Antiquity.

[95] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 3 (p. 626).

[96] TACITUS, *Annals* II, 52; cf. PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 30; PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 6 (p. 638); *CIL* VIII, 4807; 10500; 22729; 27869; 28002. See also DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 338-339; M. CHRISTOL, *Rome et les tribus indigènes en Maurétanie Tingitane*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa romana* V, Sassari 1988, p. 305-337 (see p. 315-319).

[97] *EA* 250, 12.46; 288, 26; 289, 18-19; 290, 9.28; 319, 5.

[98] Josh. 13, 3; II Sam. 6, 10.11; 15, 18.19.22; 18, 2; 21, 19; I Chron. 13, 13; 20, 5.

[99] Judg. 6, 11.

[100] Is. 63, 12; Jl 4, 13; Neh. 13, 15.

[101] See H. CAMPS-FABRER, *L'olivier et l'huile dans l'Afrique romaine*, Alger 1953, p. 26 and second map.

[102] The first description of the site was made by V. GUÉRIN, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis* I, Paris 1862, p. 224-230. Reports on the excavations of the

was a Latin *municipium*[103]. However, the persistence of Semitic influences[104] is evidenced by bilingual inscriptions in Latin and Neo-Punic[105] and by underground tombs with access shaft and sepulchral chamber, where incineration and inhumation coexisted[106]. These tombs are quite similar to the Punic hypogea of Byzacium, especially those at Lepcis Minus (Lemta), but the earliest Gigthis tombs in Punic style do not seem to antedate the 3rd century B.C.

After the mention of Epichos, there is an obvious lacuna in the text of Pseudo-Scylax. Leaving Gigthis, a ship sailing northwards has to reach the narrow strait of Ağim, opening into the Gulf of Gabes, the ancient Lesser Syrtis. This north-western channel connecting the bay of Bū Ġrara with the Gulf of Gabes lies about 20 km from Gigthis. The *Nautical instructions* report "that one finds food supplies at Ağim. Also good water is there in supply: a cistern close to the bordj always contains thirty to forty tons of it"[107]. This coastal settlement of Djerba is thus an ideal place for putting in, the more so because "one can anchor in front of this coast by all winds, except the violent winds from the northeast and west"[108]. The source of Pseudo-Scylax should have mentioned this anchorage, although also Ptolemy names Τακάπη (Gabes) immediately after Γιχθίς.

8. Gabes / Tacapes

About 60 km separate Ağim from Gabes if one sails directly through the gulf instead of coasting. This represents a long day of sailing, that the advantages of the harbour and of the large oasis of Gabes, copiously watered by the Wādī Gabes and situated "midst sands"[109], may have justified. Pseudo-Scylax does not mention this port, although its ancient

early 20th century have been published by L.A. Constans, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique à Bou-Ghara (Gigthis), 1914-1915* (Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires XXI/14), Paris 1916; Id., *Gigthis. Étude d'histoire et d'archéologie sur un* emporium *de la Petite Syrte*, Paris 1916. A short presentation of archaeological excavations and surveys is given in *PECS*, p. 353-354.

[103] J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique Proconsulaire, de Trajan à Septime-Sévère*, Rome 1972, p. 137-142; Cl. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas Empire* II. *Notices d'histoire municipale*, Paris 1981, p. 368-371.

[104] L.A. Constans, *Rapport..., op. cit.* (n. 102), p. 12 and 19, has already pointed at vestiges of Punic and Greek presence at Gigthis.

[105] Z.B. Ben Abdallah, *op. cit.* (n. 79), p. 9-10, Nos. 15 and 18.

[106] G. Feuille, *Sépultures punico-romaines de Gigthi*, in *Revue Tunisienne* 37 (1939), p. 1-62.

[107] *Instructions nautiques*, Paris (19th century), No. 801, p. 336.

[108] *Instructions nautiques*, Paris (19th century), No. 778, p. 353.

[109] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XVIII, 188.

name *Tacapes* is Libyco-Berber and reveals the pre-Roman origins of the settlement. Probably quoting Artemidorus (*ca.* 100 B.C.), Strabo locates "a very large market"[110] there, the tradition of which may go back to the 5th century B.C. if Attic vessels, among them *lekythoi* with black *palmettes*, have really been found near Gabes[111]. They may have belonged to the furniture of some graves discovered near a Phoenician-Punic settlement, the only late remains of which is a Neo-Punic inscription[112] and funerary vessels with painted Neo-Punic letters[113].

9. As-Sẖira / Eskhidon

About 40 km north of Gabes, as the crow flies, there is the harbour of as-Sẖira that probably corresponds to the ''Εσχιδῶν (genitive) of Pseudo-Scylax. In fact, sailors heading northwards from ''Εσχιδῶν pass off a deserted island, which can only be Kneiss, some 20 km northeast of as-Sẖira. It is the largest and most conspicuous of a series of islets and rocks that extend over 24 km off the shore between as-Sẖira and Mahres. Aerial photographs and surveys reveal the existence of a large antique settlement near the seashore at as-Sẖira, but only Christian monuments of the site have been studied so far[114]. It was suggested that the name of the site was Lariscus in the Byzantine period (6th-7th centuries)[115], but this remains uncertain as yet.

10. Macomades

The name of the next harbour is missing, but it was very likely Macomades/Neapolis[116], mentioned by the *Stadiasmus* §107[117]. A Roman

[110] Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 17.

[111] The discovery was mentioned by F. von Duhn, *Strena Helbigiana*, Leipzig 1900, p. 61. The 5th century B.C. is taken in any case as the beginning of the history of Gabes by E.M. Ruprechtsberger, *Gabès - römisches Tacape, die Partnerstadt von Linz in der Antike*, Linz 1983.

[112] Grenville T. Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean*, London 1835, p. 133, 321, No. 78.

[113] References are given by Gsell, *HAAN* II, p. 126, n. 1.

[114] M. Fendri, *Basiliques chrétiennes de la Skhira*, Paris 1961; P.-A. Février, *À propos des basiliques chrétiennes de la Skhira*, in *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 37 (1961), p. 305-309; N. Duval, *Deux basiliques chrétiennes de la Tunisie méridionale*, in *Cahiers archéologiques* 13 (1962), p. 269-287; M. Fendri, *Cités antiques et villas romaines de la région sfaxienne*, in *Africa* 9 (1985), p. 151-208 (see p. 162-163 and 206-207).

[115] M. Fendri, *art. cit.* (n. 114), p. 163.

[116] M. Fora, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 222-226.

[117] Neapolis is a simple translation of the Phoenician-Punic place name. The source of

milestone allows identifying it with *Iunci*, present-day Borğ Yunga, 12 km southwest of Mahres, at the sea[118]. This site, where many vestiges of the ancient town can still be seen[119], was most likely a Phoenician-Punic settlement, as suggested by its name *Māqōm ḥadaš*, "New town", but only excavations could lead here to the discovery of pre-Roman remains.

11. Kerkenna

Thereafter, Pseudo-Scylax mentions the island and the city of 'Ακακινίτης, which certainly corresponds to Kerkenna, distant some 60 km from Yunga. The spelling 'Ακακινίτης appears to reproduce a Punic form of the toponym with the article *h-/'-*, like in *'-Lpqy* or *'-Gdr*, while the *r* is probably lost. The correct name should then be 'Ακαρκινίτης. The *Periplus* does not specify here that the distance represents a day-long sailing and it is likely that normal coasting implied an intermediate putting in at Thyna, the Roman *Thaenae* and the Punic *T'ynt*[120], facing the Kerkenna archipelago. Important Roman remains are visible at the site[121], also a necropolis[122], but the city had a Punic past as well and Pliny records that it marked the southern border of the Carthaginian territory before the Third Punic War[123]. It is not possible so far to date the origins of the city and the location of its harbour is as yet uncertain. However, the discovery of worked pine beams on the seashore, along the southern section of the city walls, may furnish a clue[124].

The Kerkenna archipelago consists of two main islands, Gharbi ("Western") and Shergi ("Eastern") or Great Kerkenna, connected by a 600 metres long maritime road, the foundations of which go back to Roman times. Diodorus, probably quoting Timaeus (4th-3th centuries

Pseudo-Scylax probably mentioned Νεάπολις as well, and this seems to have created a confusion with Neapolis/Nabeul, as shown by the erroneus insertion of a passage referring to the Lesser Syrtis after Hadrumetum. See here below, p. 370-371.

[118] M.L. Poinssot, *Macomades-Iunci*, in *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 81 (1944), p. 133-169, in particular p. 133-137. See also Desanges, *Pline*, p. 236. The name *Iunca* is attested in sources of the 6th century, especially those dealing with the Council of the African Church held at Iunca in 523 and attended, among others, by bishop Quodvultdeus and St. Fulgentius.

[119] See *PECS*, p. 539-540; M. Fendri, *art. cit.* (n. 114), p. 162 and 204-205.

[120] This name appears on the coins mentioned by Jongeling, *Names*, p. 211-212 with further literature. One should add M. Amandry, *Note sur le monnayage de A. Vibius Habitus*, in *Gazette Numismatique Suisse* 132 (1983), p. 80-81.

[121] *PECS*, p. 898-899; M. Fendri, *art. cit.* (n. 114), p. 159-162 and 184-203; Desanges, *Pline*, p. 235-236.

[122] G.L. Feuille, *La nécropole de Thina*, in *Revue Tunisienne* 1939-40, p. 641-649.

[123] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 25.

[124] M. Fendri, *art. cit.* (n. 114), p. 160.

B.C.), states that Kerkenna had an insignificant town but good harbours, fit to shelter merchantmen and warships[125]. There was certainly a port facing the continent near the site of the present-day landing place at Sidi Youssef, on the south-western side of Gharbi, but the main harbour is usually located on the south-western shore of Great Kerkenna, at Borğ al-Hisar (Borğ Lahsar)[126]. Already Herodotus, in the 5th century, collected some information of Carthaginian origin about Great Kerkenna, that he calls Κύραυιν[127], and recent investigations on the island seem to have uncovered Punic vestiges going back to the 5th century B.C.[128] The island certainly belonged to the Carthaginian sphere of influence at the time of the Punic Wars. Thus a Roman consul landed there in 217 B.C. and ransomed the inhabitants[129]. Hannibal, leaving Africa in 195 B.C. on his way to Tyre, found Phoenician merchantmen in the harbour of Kerkenna[130]. The latter served as warehousing port of ships which were conveniently loaded there with grain and olive oil from Byzacium[131]. It was fulfilling the same purpose for the Pompeian party during the Roman Civil War; this is why Caesar ordered Sallust in 46 B.C. to occupy Great Kerkenna in order to seize the provisions stocked there by his adversaries[132].

12. Thapsus Minor

According to Pseudo-Scylax the sailing from Aka(r)kinitis to Thapsus Minor is a day and a half. The qualification "Minor" distinguishes this place, situated on the promontory known presently as Rās Dimas, from the homonymous Sicilian city and from a "city and harbour" mentioned in §111 and called Thapsus by Livy[133]. The Punic name of the city was

[125] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* V, 12, 4. See also Plutarch, *Dion* 25. Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 16 mentions a small island named Kerkinitis, which is next to a large island that he calls Kerkinna. He obviously knew that there were two major islands and gave a different dialectal form of the name to each of them.

[126] This was proposed by Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1888, Vol. I, p. 187. Ancient remains have been discovered in this area by F. Chelbi. Cf. L. Rahmouni, *art. cit.* (n. 64), p. 106-108.

[127] Herodotus, *History* IV, 195. Probably an ancient scribal error for Κύρακιν.

[128] F. Chelbi, reported by M. Fantar, *De l'agriculture à Carthage*, in *L'Africa romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 113-121 (see p. 116).

[129] Polybius, *History* III, 96, 12; Livy, *Roman History* XXII, 31, 2.

[130] Livy, *Roman History* XXXIII, 48, 3.

[131] J. Kolendo, *Le rôle économique des îles Kerkenna au premier siècle avant notre ère*, in *BAC*, n.s., 17B (1981), p. 241-249.

[132] (Caesar), *African War* 34.

[133] Livy, *Roman History* XXIV, 30, 5; cf. also Vibius Sequester, *Flumina* 151, in *GLM*, p. 151; R. Gelsomino (ed.), *Vibius Sequester* (Bibl. Teubneriana), Leipzig 1967,

probably *Ṭpsr*[134], appearing on coins issued at Thapsus rather than Thysdrus (El-Djem)[135]. This toponym seems to be Libyco-Berber[136], but it was identified by the Greeks with the name of Thapsus in Sicily[137].

The distance from the north-western tip of the Great Kerkenna, near Sidi Tebeni, to Rās Dimas amounts to about 90 km as the crow flies. This may correspond in fact to a sailing of a day and a half, first on high sea, then off the Kabudia Cape and the Africa Cape, without putting in along the coast of Byzacium. This was probably the road taken into account by Pseudo-Scylax. Although Pseudo-Scylax qualifies the Tunisian city as "Minor", the latter had a certain importance already in the second part of the 4th century B.C., since Diodorus explicitly reports its occupation, in 310 B.C., by Agathocles, tyrant and king of Syracuse[138]. Remains of the 4th-century city have not been discovered so far[139] and the Roman harbour facilities, especially the huge mole or jetty, still measuring 300 metres in the 19th century[140], may not correspond to the aspect of the Punic port in the 4th century B.C. Instead, excavations conducted from the end of the 19th century on have uncovered various sections of the cemetery, extending for 2 km behind the city. The best dated sector, at El-Faca, goes back to the 4th century B.C., thus to the time of Pseudo-Scylax. Sepulchral chambers excavated in consolidated sand dunes and accessible by shafts reflect the Phoenician-Punic tradition[141]. Cippi were erected over several tombs and some chambers were decorated with wall paintings. Coffins of a coffer-type, widely attested in Byzacium, as well as a kind of wooden catafalque on four feet, have been found in these tombs[142]. The pottery was either locally made or imported, like the Rhodian amphorae, while the ancient custom of sprinkling red ochre over the body of the dead points to a "Libyphoenician" population of African Phoenicians mixed with Libyco-Berbers.

p. 27: *Thapsus, Africae, iuxta Rusiccade*. STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 16, calls it Thapsa like Pseudo-Scylax. The hypothesis consisting in adding Lepcis to the text in order to obtain "Lepcis Minor" is baseless, although there was a harbour there in Roman times: N. BEN LAZAREG - D.J. MATTINGLY (eds.), *Leptiminus (Lamta). A Roman Port City in Tunisia - Report No. 1*, Ann Arbor 1992.

[134] G. (W.) GESENIUS, *op. cit.* (n. 49), Pl. 44, XXVI, D, E; *NAA* II, p. 58-59, Nos. 34, 35, 36; G. MACDONALD, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 584. The readings *tpṣr* and *tpšr*, proposed by L. MÜLLER (*NAA*), are less probable; cf. JONGELING, *Names*, p. 169.

[135] Thysdrus is accepted by JONGELING, *Names*, p. 169, but the consonants do not correspond, while the elision of the final *r* in Greek Θάψος does not create any particular problem.

[136] M.H. FANTAR, *Régulus en Afrique*, in H. DEVIJVER - E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Punic Wars* (Studia Phoenicia X; OLA 33), Leuven 1989, p. 75-84 (see p. 79). At any rate, the initial *ṭ*/θ suggests a Libyco-Berber origin of the toponym.

[137] The city has erroneously been regarded as a Phoenician colony; cf. G. FALSONE, *Thapsos*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 447. See also G. VOZA, *Thapsos*, in *Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale*, Napoli 1973, p. 30-52.

[138] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XX, 17, 6.

[139] The archaeological remains of the Roman period are indicated in *AATun*, fol. 66 (Moknine), Nos. 75-78. See also DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 234-236.

[140] A. DAUX, *Recherches sur l'origine et l'emplacement des emporia phéniciens dans le Zeugis et le Byzacium (Afrique septentrionale)*, Paris 1863, p. 169-171 and 277. Cf. P. CINTAS, *Manuel d'archéologie punique* II. *La civilisation carthaginoise*, Paris 1976, p. 234-236.

13. Sūsa / Hadrumetum

After Thapsus, Pseudo-Scylax mentions Dronitis, that cannot be anything but Hadrumetum, the present-day Sūsa, the more so because the sailors enter then in a large gulf that is obviously the Gulf of Hammamet. If the text does not specify here that the sailing from Thapsus to Dronitis is one day, the reason is most likely that a large section of another source was inserted after the mention of the gulf. The distance amounts in fact to about 40 km, when sailing off the large promontory of Ruspina with the city of Monastir. No intermediary putting in is required here and the hypothetical mention of Lepcis Minus between Thapsus and Dronitis is unlikely.

The form Δρονίτις of the name of Hadrumetum is very interesting, because it shows that the usual spelling of the place name contains the article *ha-/'a-*, like in the name of Gades, *h-Gdr/'-Gdr*, and of Lepcis Major, *'-Lpqy*[143]. The *-n-* of Δρονίτις is instead a secondary phonetic feature witnessing the change *m* > *n*, which often occurs in Semitic languages, also in Punic, especially when *m* is followed by the vowel *i*[144]. As for the first *u* of *Hadrumetum*, it results from the

[141] C. EPINAT - D. NOVAK, *Notes sur la nécropole punique de Thapsus*, in *BAC* 1900, p. 154-162; M.H. FANTAR, *La cité punique de Thapsus*, in *Actes du IIe Congrès international d'Étude des cultures de la Méditerranée occidentale* II, Alger 1978, p. 59-70; H. BEN YOUNÈS, *La présence punique au Sahel d'après les données littéraires et archéologiques*, Ph. D. Univ. of Tunis 1981, p. 208-251; ID., *El Gaala, site periphérique de la ville de Thapsus (Ras Dimas) à l'époque préromaine. Note préliminaire*, in *REPPAL* 12 (2002), p. 9-15.

[142] One should mention, in particular, the well preserved coffin from Ksour Essaf, as well as the one from Gigthis: S. LANCEL, *Gigthis* and *Ksour Essaf*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 190 and 251-252. A good photograph of the second one can be found in G. PICARD, *Le monde de Carthage*, Paris 1956, Pl. 70.

[143] The form Δρονίτις has not been used in the study of the toponym by M.H. FANTAR, *À propos du toponyme "Hadrumetum"*, in *REPPAL* 2 (1986), p. 267-275.

[144] This change appears, for example, in the proper names spelt *Ḥnlkt* (*Ḥinilkot*) for *Ḥmlkt*, *Bdnlqrt* (*Bodnilqart*) for *Bdmlqrt*, *'bdnlqrt* (*'Abdnilqart*) for *'bdmlqrt*, *Ntnb'l* (*Nittinba'l*) for *Mtnb'l*, *Niscar* (*CIL* VIII, 11050) for *Miscar/Mescar*. The spelling *dārōn* instaed of *dārōm* occurs in Palestinian Aramaic and in Mishnaic Hebrew.

loss of phonemic distinction between *o* and *u* in Neo-Punic and from the concomitant changes *o* > *u*[145]. The original vowel is instead preserved in Δρονίτις. Taking these observations into account, we can safely reconstruct the Punic form of the name Hadrumetum, which is not attested epigraphically so far, as *(h-)Drmt* or *('-)Drmt*, "the Southern one". In fact, "South" is called in biblical Hebrew *ha-Dārōm*[146] and in Aramaic *Dārōmā*[147]. The adjectival derivative is used as well in the sense "Southern", thus masculine *Dərōmī* and feminine *Dərōmīt*[148].

This word certainly existed also in Phoenician-Punic and thus designated the main Phoenician colony south of Carthage as "the Southern one"[149]. In fact, Hadrumetum/Sūsa is situated about 120 km south of Carthage, as the crow flies. The nominal form ends in *-īt,* since most West Semitic city names are feminine, and the final *-t* of the toponym was preserved in this case thanks to the ethnic name **Dərōmītī*, on which Δρονίτις is based.

The word *Dārōm*, "South", was used also in the Middle East to designate southern places. Thus *Kefar Dārōm* is the name given in the Talmud to Dayr al-Balaḥ[150], 14 km southwest of Gaza. The place was called *Darūm* or *Darūn* by Arabs[151] and, in Crusader times, it was a fortress known as *Darum*[152]. Local population was explaining its name as Dayr ar-Rūm, "Convent of the Greeks"[153]. In Talmudic literature, another

[145] The lack of a clear distinction between phonemics and phonetics dims the discussion of the problem in J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Roma 1999, p. 40-42, §78-79.

[146] Ez. 40, 24.27.28.44.45; 42, 12.13.18, but *dārōm* without article occurs as well.

[147] K. BEYER, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Göttingen 1984, p. 558; M. SOKOLOFF, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, Ramat-Gan 1990, p. 155b.

[148] JASTROW, p. 322a.

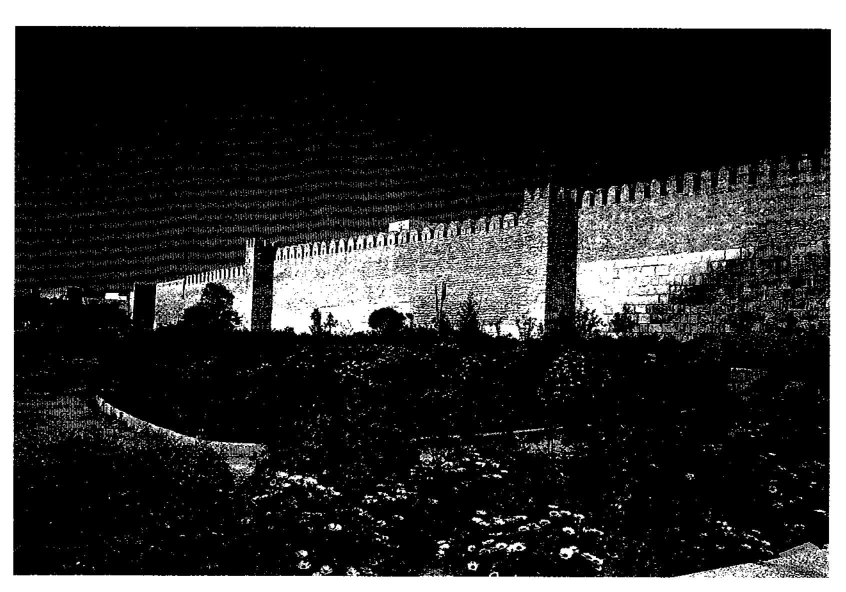
[149] Former, non-Semitic explanations of the name *Hadrumetum* are summarized by L. FOUCHER, *Hadrumetum*, Paris 1964, p. 14-15. See also M.H. FANTAR, *art. cit.* (n. 143).

[150] Babylonian Talmud, *Soṭa* 20b. Cf. A. NEUBAUER, *La géographie du Talmud*, Paris 1868, p. 64 and 68; F.-M. ABEL, *Les confins de la Palestine et de l'Égypte sous les Ptolémées*, in *RB* 48 (1939), p. 207-236, 530-548; 49 (1940), p. 55-75, 224-239 (see p. 67-70); G. REEG, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur* (BTAVO B/51), Wiesbaden 1989, p. 212-215.

[151] F.-M. ABEL, *art. cit.* (n. 150), p. 67-68.

[152] See, especially, WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XVI, 29, 12; XX, 19; 20, 58; 21, 3; 27, 18; XXI, 19, 16; XXII, 18, 16.25.51; XXIII, 1, 46, ed. by R.B.C. HUYGENS, *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique* (CCCM 63-63A), Turnhout 1986, p. 756, 936-937, 939, 951, 987, 1033, 1034, 1063.

[153] WILLIAM OF TYRE, *Chronicon* XX, 19, 45-48, in *op. cit.* (n. 152), p. 937. Cf. F.-M. ABEL, *art. cit.* (n. 150), p. 69.



Sūsa: the city wall built in the 9th century A.D.

place is often called *Drwm*[154], in Greek Δαρωμάς[155]. Authors identify it either with the Negev[156] or, in particular, with the town of Lōd[157].

The Phoenician-Punic origin of the toponym *Hadrumetum* confirms the tradition reporting that the city was a Phoenician[158] or Tyrian[159] foundation, which can simply mean that it was a Carthaginian colony. Represented by modern Sūsa, Hadrumetum lay on the eastern side of the great Tunisian projection, near the southern extremity of a large bay which looks to the east and is presently known as the Gulf of Hammamet. Its position was upon the coast at the edge of the vast plain called at present the "Sahel of Sūsa", which is sandy, but immensely productive of olive oil and cereals[160]. Its close links with Carthage explain its involvement on the side of the African Metropolis in various

[154] G. REEG, *op. cit.* (n. 150), p. 212-214.

[155] E. KLOSTERMANN (ed.), *Eusebius: Werke* III/1. *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen* (GCS 11/1), Leipzig 1904, p. 26: 10; 68: 19; 70: 11; 130: 12, and index on p. 196a.

[156] M. AVI-YONAH, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (Qedem 5), Jerusalem 1976, p. 51.

[157] Grid ref. 140/151. Cf. G. REEG, *op. cit.* (n. 150), p. 212-214.

[158] SALLUST, *Jugurtha* 19, 1.

[159] SOLINUS, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXVII, 9.

[160] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 24; XVII, 41; XVIII, 94.

Mediterranean conflicts. Thus it was besieged by Agathocles in 310 B.C. and was forced to surrender to him[161]. It served Hannibal as his base of operation at the end of the Second Punic War, before his campaign against Scipio and after the defeat of Zama/Naraggara[162]. However, Hadrumetum provided supplies for the Roman army in the beginning of the Third Punic War, in 149 B.C., and it was made a *civitas libera et immunis*, thus managing to preserve its autonomy and its territory[163].

The old town or medina is built on the side of a hill sloping seaward and is surrounded by a crenelated wall, strengthened by towers. However, the Punic rampart has not been discovered so far and the extension of the ancient town could not be established therefore. Archaeological findings are in any case scarse, since the site was continuously inhabited. Even the exact location of the Punic harbour could not be traced, although it was probably close to the Bāb al-Baḥr (Gate of the Sea) and to the northern quarter of the medina, where a *tophet* was found on the grounds of a church built at the end of the 19th century. Excavations distinguished five layers of urns, dating from the end of the 7th century to the 1st century B.C., and they uncovered several decorated steles from the 5th-4th centuries B.C. Besides, a large necropolis was discovered to the northwest of the kasba or citadel, built on the highest point within the town. Many sepulchral chambers have been found, excavated in the chalk, closely resembling the Phoenician ones in their arrangement, though the oldest part of the necropolis, so far uncovered, hardly antedates the 4th century B.C. Both the *tophet* and the necropolis yielded Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions[164]. There is no doubt therefore that Hadrumetum or Dronitis was an important Phoenician-Punic city at the time of the sources of Pseudo-Scylax. Its harbour must have been quite large, at least in a later period, when the fifty-five vessels of the Varus' fleet managed to shelter there in 46 B.C., during Caesar's campaign in Africa[165]. Its disadvantage was that it could easily silt up and the *Stadi-*

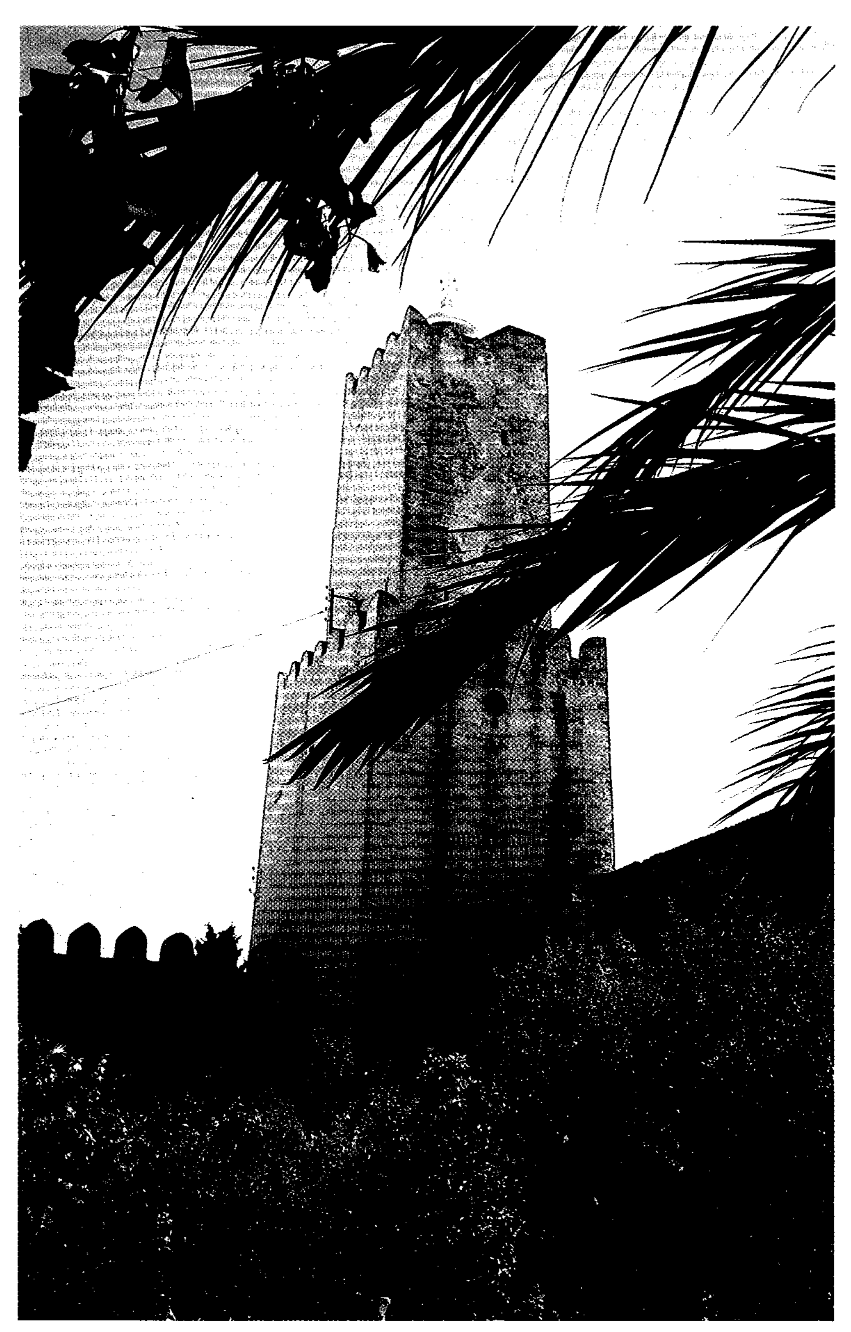
[161] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XX, 17, 1.5.

[162] POLYBIUS, *History* XV, 5, 3; 15, 3; cf. LIVY, *Roman History* XXX, 29, 1; 35, 4; CORNELIUS NEPOS, *Hannibal* 6, 3.4; APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 33, 47.

[163] Beside APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 94 (cf. 135), see the *Lex agraria Thoria* from 111 B.C.: K. JOHANNSEN, *Die* lex agraria *des Jahres 111 v. Chr. Text und Kommentar*, Ph. D. Univ. of München 1971.

[164] See, in general, L. FOUCHER, *op. cit.* (n. 149), p. 22-96; S. LANCEL - E. LIPIŃSKI, *Hadrumète*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 203-204. For the inscriptions add: M.H. FANTAR, *Stèles épigraphes du Tophet de Sousse*, in *REPPAL* 9 (1995), p. 25-47; LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 275-276, 441-442.

[165] (CAESAR), *African War* 62, 2.



Sūsa: the Khalet Tower of the Kasr ar-Ribat, erected in 821 A.D. on ancient foundations.

asmus reports already that Hadrumetum had no harbour[166]. The modern port was completed in 1901 and does not cover the area of the ancient one.

14. Lesser Syrtis

Pseudo-Scylax refers to the Gulf of Hammamet immediately after his mention of Dronitis, but he confounds it with the Lesser Syrtis, probably because both gulfs terminate northwards near a harbour called Neapolis in Greek: Nabeul at the northern edge of the Gulf of Hammamet and Borğ Yunga (Macomades), north of the Lesser Syrtis. This whole section on the Lesser Syrtis, also surnamed Karkinitis in the text, must derive from another source. According to its author, Lesser Syrtis included Djerba, called Tritonis, and the Bay of Bū Ġrara, regarded as a lake. He thus attributes a perimeter of 2,000 stadia to the Lesser Syrtis, while Eratosthenes estimated it at 1,600 stadia, but excluding Djerba and the Bay of Bū Ġrara[167]. These dimensions refer to the indentation of the coastline from Kerkenna in the north to the southern or northern tip of Djerba, and do not consider the large eastern opening of the gulf on the high sea. Like Herodotus IV, 178-180, the author also mentions a Triton River with a sanctuary of Athena. This river was supposed to fall into the Lake Tritonis[168], i.e. the Bay of Bū Ġrara. The only place fitting this indication is the Sebḫa al-Mayder which borders the Bay of Bū Ġrara on the south and receives the Wad Bū Aḥmed. The mention of Athena's sanctuary is followed by a small passage which reveals a good knowledge of the Bay of Bū Ġrara, though it attributes a too large perimeter to it — 1,000 instead of some 400 stadia. This passage does not belong to the original text of the interpolation dealing with the Lesser Syrtis, as shown by the immediately following verb περιέπω, "to honour", which can only refer here to the sanctuary of Athena Tritonis, revered by all the Libyans. As a matter of fact, these are called neither Gyzantes nor Byzantes in the preserved text of the manuscript[169]. The description of the "blond" Libyans is a generalization of a human type which is well represented among Berbers, though the frequency of blue-eyed blonds among them has been considerably overstated. The admiration expressed

[166] *Stadiasmus maris magni* §116-117 (*GGM* I, p. 470).

[167] STRABO, *Geography* II, 5, 20.

[168] The question of the Lake Tritonis and related problems have been often discussed, more recently by J. PEYRAS - P. TROUSSET, *Le lac* Tritonis *et les noms anciens du Chott el Jérid*, in *AntAfr* 24 (1988), p. 149-204.

[169] These baseless emendations can be safely dismissed.

for the productivity of their soil and their cattle can be explained by the high quality of Punic agriculture and husbandry, as probably seen in the area of Gightis in the 4th century B.C. The city name itself points to an olive growing region and the enigmatic "city below, on the side of the sun setting", seems in fact to be Gightis, as suggested by the description of its location in the Bay of Bū Ġrara. As for the sanctuary of Athena, already referred to by Herodotus IV, 180, neither its eventual location nor the indigenous name of its goddess are known so far[170].

15. Nabeul

After the interpolated passage on the Lesser Syrtis, the basic source of Pseudo-Scylax continues by mentioning Neapolis on the northern edge of the Gulf of Hammamet. However, its phraseology is influenced here by another, possibly somewhat later source, which refers to 'Αδρύμητος (genitive) instead of Δρονίτις and estimates the distance from Hadrumetum to Neapolis at 370 stadia (not "days") or about 67 km, instead of adding, as usual, that "the sailing is one day and a half". Since the distance οτ′ (370 stadia) is correct if the ship sails straight on, without coasting, this figure cannot be regarded as a scribal error.

The city known under the name of Neapolis in Greek and Roman sources is qualified by Thucydides, at the end of the 5th century B.C., as a "Carthaginian factory", used by Greek sailors from Cyrene on their way to Sicily, from which it is distant "less than two days and one night of navigation" (about 215 km)[171]. Its Punic name is unknown, but one may assume that it was *Qart ḥadašt* or *Māqōm ḥadaš*. In any case, authors agree that this is the present-day Nabeul, where the excavations undertaken in 1965 did not reach, however, the Punic levels[172].

16. Hermaia

The next city is Hermaia, "promontory and city", distant one day and a half from Neapolis. Cape Hermes is often mentioned by Greek authors[173] and it is called Cape Mercury by Latin writers[174]. It is the

[170] Cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 404-405.

[171] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* VII, 50, 2.

[172] They concern a small sector of the Roman city, where important mosaics have been discovered. See J.-P. DARMON, *Nympharum domus*, Leiden 1980, followed by several studies. Cf. also *AATun*, fol. 30 (Nabeul), No. 183.

[173] PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE, *On Marvellous Things Heard* 134 (quotation from Timaeus, 4th -3rd centuries B.C.); POLYBIUS, *History* I, 29, 2; 36, 11; etc.

[174] LIVY, *Roman History* XXIX, 27, 8; PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 24

actual Rās Addar (alt. 393 m), at the northern tip of the peninsula of Cape Bon. This name appears to be a Libyco-Berber adaptation of an ancient Punic toponym *R(')š 'dr*, "Cape of the Almighty"[175].

The text of Pseudo-Scylax mentions the city after the promontory, thus suggesting that the town occupied a site southwest of Rās Addar. Kerkouane, on the eastern side of Cape Bon, is thus excluded, although archaeological data indicate that it was destroyed only at the time of the campaign of Attilius Regulus, in 256 B.C.[176] Neither Rās ad-Drek, situated to the southeast of Rās Addar, can be taken into account, because it is not the site of a town or harbour[177]. We should thus assume that Hermaia was the Punic city occupying the site of present-day El-Haouaria[178], between Rās Addar and Rās al-Aḥmar. It had a harbour, where Agathocles landed in 310 B.C. The *Latomiae*, where Diodorus locates the landing of Agathocles' army[179], are in fact the large quarries of El-Haouaria, exploited as early as the mid-7th century B.C. to provide the masons with the stone blocks that were shipped across the Bay of Tunis to Carthage[180]. These quarries imply a strong Carthaginian implantation in this area, and a large Punic necropolis was in fact discovered fortuitously at the nearby sites of El-Bania and Sidi Abdessalem. The two rock-cut tombs examined there so far can be dated provisionally from the 3rd century B.C.[181] Strabo records that Hermaia was ruined in the Third Punic War[182].

Sailing from Nabeul to El-Haouaria means covering a distance of about 100 km, which represented one day and a half of coastal navigation according to Pseudo-Scylax. We may assume a putting in at Kelibia (about 65 km), called Aspis by Greek authors and Clupea by the

(extending the name to the entire Cape Bon); etc.

[175] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Vestiges puniques chez al-Bakrî*, in *Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 283-287 (see p. 283-284).

[176] This opinion was expressed first by J.-P. MOREL, *Kerkouane, ville punique du Cap Bon: remarques archéologiques et historiques,* in *MÉFR* 81 (1969), p. 473-518. It was confirmed by further excavations: M.H. FANTAR, *Kerkouane* I, Tunis 1984, p. 79.

[177] F. BARRECA - M.H. FANTAR, *Prospezione archeologica al Capo Bon - II*, Roma 1983, p. 17-28, 41-63; M.H. FANTAR, *Kerkouane* III, Tunis 1986, p. 40-51.

[178] S. AOUNALLAH, *Le fait urbain dans le Cap Bon antique (Tunisie du nord-est)*, in A. MASTINO - P. RUGGERI (eds.), *L'Africa Romana* X, Sassari 1994, p. 617-625 (see p. 618, n. 13).

[179] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XX, 6, 3.

[180] F. RAKOB, *Die antiken Steinbrüche bei El Haouaria auf dem Cap Bon*, in *MDAIR* 91 (1984), p. 15-22. For the location, see *AATun*, fol. 9 (Cap Bon), Nos. 1 and 2.

[181] H. BEN YOUNÈS - M. GHAKI, *El Bania - Sidi Abdessalam*, in *REPPAL* 3 (1987), p. 265-266 and 273.

[182] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 16.

Romans. The origins of this fortress can be dated to the 5th century B.C.[183] and there was a harbour, since the Roman fleet put in at Kelibia in 254 B.C. in order to evacuate the garrison left by Regulus[184]. Pseudo-Scylax does not mention it, but there was no need, as it seems, to sail in the night around Rās Addar, since sailors could cast anchor at nightfall in the harbour of Kelibia.

The next passage was probably borrowed from the source estimating the distance from Hadrumetum to Neapolis/Nabeul at 370 stadia. In fact, it again expresses the distance in stadia, but this time by inland route from Nabeul to the Bay of Tunis, near Borğ Cedria. However, the estimate of 180 stadia is not correct, since the real distance by road amounts to 42 km or about 230 stadia. The Bay of Tunis is indicated by the phrase "the other sea, the one in front of Carthage", and the text mentions a river, certainly the Wad Miliane, the mouth of which is said to be at a half-day sailing from Carthage. The distance in a straight line amounts in reality to only 10 km.

After this interpolation, Pseudo-Scylax goes back to his basic text and estimates at half a day the sailing from Hermaia to Carthage. The 65 km separating the two places cannot reasonably be considered a half-day sailing across the gulf. A place name is most likely missing in the text, possibly Carpis, i.e. Henchir Mraïssa, near Sidi Raïs and Korbous. From its important harbour[185] Carthage could indeed be reached by boat in half a day. A full day of creeping along the shore was required instead to sail from Hermaia to Carpis. As so often happens, it was geographical environment which caused the harbour of Hermaia to become a significant crossing point where several sea routes were meeting, viz. to Carthage, to some small islands off the coast of Cape Bon, to the Maltese archipelago, and to Sicily. The strategic importance of the site is confirmed by the fact that Agathocles' army landed precisely at Hermaia in 310 B.C.

[183] For the archaeological remains, see *AATun*, fol. 16 (Kélibia), No. 67; *PECS*, p. 228-229; F. BARRECA - M.H. FANTAR, *op. cit.* (n. 177), p. 29-38; M.H. FANTAR, *L'archéologie punique au Cap Bon: découvertes récentes*, in *RSF* 13 (1985), p. 211-221; H. BEN-YOUNÈS, in *30 ans au service du Patrimoine*, Tunis 1986, Nos. II 27, 45-48, 52-66, 68.

[184] POLYBIUS, *History* I, 36, 12; DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XXIII, 18, 1. Cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 222-224, 443-444.

[185] S. AOUNALLAH, *art. cit.* (n. 178), p. 621. The distance from Carpis to Carthage is estimated at 150 stadia (27 km) in the *Itinerarium maritimum*: O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 77: 493, 3.

17. Zembra and Pantelleria

After Carthage, Pseudo-Scylax first refers to the islands of Pontia, "the Maritime one", and Cossyra, now Pantelleria. Pontia can by no means be identified with the Pontine Islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea, which bear the same name[186]. It is probably the Zembra island, 12 km off Rās al-Aḥmar. Zembra preserves its ancient Punic name *'y-gmr, "Isle of the Buck"[187], without the generic element 'y[188]: its initial *z* originates from *ǧ* < *g*, like in *Zarzis* < *Gergis*, while *mb* witnesses the widespread insertion of *b* after *m*[189]. The name was transcribed in Greek as Αἴγιμο(ύ)ρος[190] and, in Latin, as *Aegimurus*[191]. It is a rocky island, the highest point of which is 432 metres above sea level. It looks like a natural fortress, provided with a small bay on its southern side, where traces of an antique harbour have been recognized[192].

Pantelleria, called in Punic *'yrnm*, "Island of *Rnm*"[193], was an ancient Phoenician colony in close relationship with Carthage[194]. It lay about midway in the strait which separates Cape Bon from Sicily, but it is

[186] They are called Ποντία by STRABO, *Geography* II, 5, 19.

[187] In Ugaritic literature (*KTU* 1.6, VI, 16), *gmr* seems to designate an animal capable of fighting ferociously and it is used in poetic parallelism with *r'um*, "buffalo" (*KTU* 1.6, VI, 18). The translation "buck" aims at avoiding a precise identification of the kind of animal, the name of which might be used in Ṣafaitic as an anthroponym (HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 167, s.v. *JMR*), later vocalized *Ǧimār* (W. CASKEL, *Ǧamharat an-Nasab, das genealogische Werk des Hišam ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi* II, Leiden 1966, p. 262b). This vocalization corresponds to an expected Punic form **gimur*, which is attested by the Greek and Latin transcriptions of the place name (see below).

[188] The generic element is interpreted as αἰγ-, "goat", by C. ALFARO GINER, *Lo spazio destinato al pascolo sulle coste del Mediterraneo: il caso delle "isole delle capre"*, in *L'Africa Romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 863-877 (see p. 875). However, the second element -μο(ύ)ρ- remains then without explanation. Besides, Zembra is an island and *'ay-* was understood in Antiquity as the generic element "island", omitted in **Gimra* > *Zembra*. For the same reason, Αἴγουσα may be interpreted as *'y-gš*, in Punic "Island of Gūš".

[189] LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §11.9.

[190] STRABO, *Geography* II, 5, 19; VI, 2, 11; ZONARAS, *Epitome of Histories* IX, 27.

[191] FLORUS, *Epitome* I, 18, 30-32. Cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 445-446 with further references.

[192] *AATun*, fol. 8 (Sidi Daoud), No. 1 of the map.

[193] Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 48.

[194] For the history and the economy of the island, see A. VERGER, *Pantelleria nella antichità*, in *Oriens Antiquus* 5 (1966), p. 249-275; A. MOSCA, *Cossyra fra Africa e Sicilia. Aspetti della sua economia*, in *L'Africa Romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 1469-1478, Pls. I-IV; A. MONTI, *Ricognizioni e GIS a Pantelleria*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 935-941; S. MASSA, *Pantelleria, ibid.*, p. 943-951; R. BALDASSARI - S. FONTANA, *Anfore a Pantelleria, ibid.*, p. 953-989; S. SANTÖRO, *Pantellerian Ware, ibid.*, p. 991-1004. A bibliography is given by W. HUSS, *Geschichte der Karthager*, München 1985, p. 17.

nearer to the African coast: it is distant from Kelibia about 75 km. The island is a mass of igneous rock, which was once a volcano, and which still abounds in hot springs and in jets of steam. The sole harbour, fit only for small vessels, is on the northwest and the acropolis, occupying the twin hills of San Marco and Santa Teresa, lay about 2 km south of the port. The strategic situation of the island in the narrow passage dividing the eastern and western Mediterranean explains its relative wealth. The island had its own popular assembly[195], minted its own coins with a Punic legend[196], and was officially independent from Carthage until the 3rd century B.C., as suggested by the double triumph celebrated by the Romans in 253 B.C. *de Cossurensibus et Poeneis*[197]. Roman occupation was then short-lived: the island was soon liberated by the Carthaginians[198] and the Romans re-conquered it only in 217 B.C.[199] Pseudo-Scylax, whose sources go back at least to the first part of the 4th century B.C., just states that the island is distant a day-long sailing from Hermaia. The actual distance amounts to about 85 km and certainly required a day-long journey beyond the nightfall.

18. Malta, Gaulos, and Lampedusa

Pseudo-Scylax then mentions three islands situated to the east of Hermaia and inhabited by Carthaginians. The first one is Melita, i.e. Malta, which lies about 230 km southeast of Pantelleria, 93 km south of Sicily, and 262 km from the African coast. Pseudo-Scylax does not indicate the distances, but specifies that there is "a city and a harbour" on the island. One wonders whether this was a reference to Valletta, which possesses one of the best harbours, or rather two of the best harbours in the

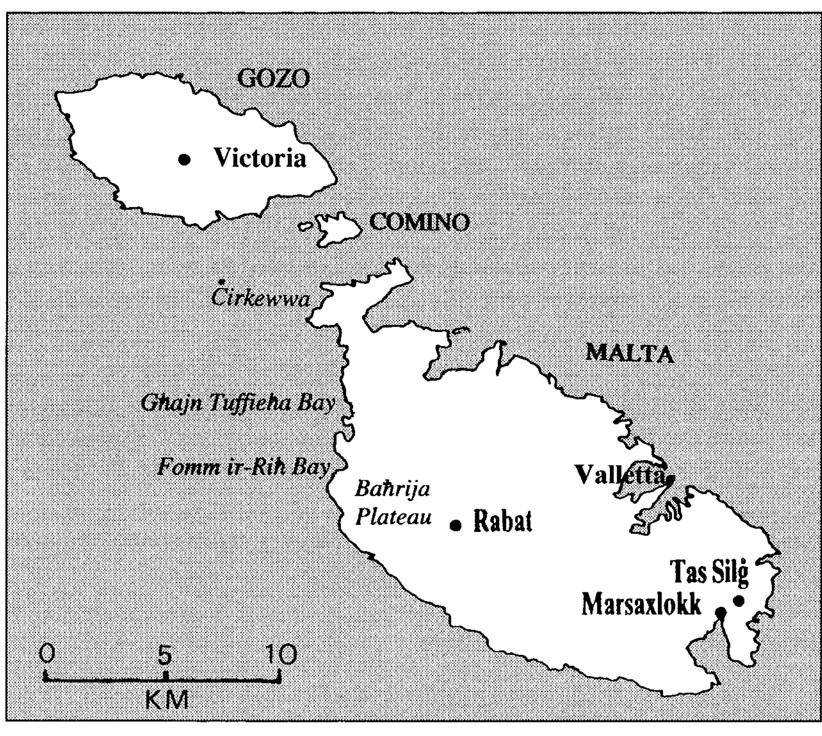
[195] *CIS* I, 265. Cf. M. SZNYCER, *L'"Assemblée du peuple" dans les cités puniques d'après les témoignages épigraphiques*, in *Semitica* 25 (1975), p. 47-68 (see p. 60).

[196] G. MACDONALD, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 603; G.K. JENKINS, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum. Syrtica. Mauretania*, Copenhagen 1969, Nos. 447-450; A.M. BISI, *Le monete con leggenda punica e neopunica del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, in *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 16-17 (1969-70), p. 55-107 (see No. 1); E.A. ARSLAN, *La moneta della Sicilia antica. Catalogo delle Civiche raccolte numismatiche di Milano*, Milano 1976, Nos. 1381-1387; E. ACQUARO - E. BUFFI NERI, *Le monete puniche e neopuniche del Museo Civico di Bologna*, in *RSF* 8 (1980), p. 195-223, Pls. LIV-LXXIII (see No. 74); E. BUFFI NERI - C. LANZONI, *Le monete puniche del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Parma*, in *RSF* 9 (1981), *Supplemento*, p. 99-121, Pls. XVII-XXVI (see Nos. 80-81).

[197] The full text is given in *CIL* I², 47.

[198] According to ZONARAS, *Epitome of Histories* VIII, 14, "the Carthaginians seized Cossyra".

[199] POLYBIUS, *History* III, 96, 11-13; LIVY, *Roman History* XXII, 31, 1-5; ZONARAS, *Epitome of Histories* VIII, 26.



Malta and Gozo.

Mediterranean. But this is not evident. A ship sailing from Cape Bon through Pantelleria first reached the shelters of the Comino strait or of Ċirkewwa, unless it sailed until the Għajn Tuffieħa Bay or Fomm ir-Riħ, respectively 6 km and 8 km further south. Considering the distribution of tombs and architectural remains in the area of Għajn Tuffieħa[200], there was a Punic settlement there dating back at least to the 5th-4th century, possibly to the 7th century B.C.[201] Remains of a Late Punic building on the Ras ir-Raħeb[202], a headland bordering the Fomm ir-Riħ Bay on the south, and Punic tombs discovered inland, at San Martin and on the

[200] C. SAGONA, *The Archaeology of Punic Malta* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Suppl. 9), Louvain 2002, p. 686-687, 813-818, 1107 (Ta' Lippija).

[201] *Ibid.*, p. 815-816 [110]. Item 2, an early open pot of Form I: 1b (*ibid.*, p. 201-202), could serve as the dating criterion for the group of chambers 108-112 (*ibid.*, p. 748) themselves, as they all display a similar form and dimension (*ibid.*, p. 347, Fig. 27).

[202] *Ibid.*, p. 273, 288, 289, 657 (Fig. 337: 4 and 5). The Etruscan ivory boar from the site is dated to the 5th century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 289).



Malta: Mellieħa Bay.

Baħrija Plateau[203], indicate the presence of a Punic settlement also in this region. The landing place in the Għajn Tuffieħa Bay lies only at 8 km of distance, as the crow flies, from the ancient Phoenician centre of the island, corresponding to Rabat-Mdina, to which it was connected by an ancient road track[204]. The distance from Fomm ir-Riħ to Rabat-Mdina is even smaller and there was an ancient connection by road as well[205].

Rabat-Mdina is the site where steles from the 7th century B.C. were discovered with dedications to Baal Ḥamon on the occasion of *molk* sacrifices[206]. In the same area lay Għajn Qajjied[207] and Mtarfa, where Phoenician pottery of a 8th-century type was found together with local

[203] *Ibid.*, p. 761-763, 1091 (?).

[204] *Ibid.*, p. 270 and 681, Map 12.

[205] *Ibid.*, p. 681, Map 12, Nos. 76, 77, 78.

[206] The inscriptions, as well as the previous literature, can be found in *TSSI* III, 21-22. An excellent photograph of No. 21 is published in C. SAGONA, *op. cit.* (n. 200), p. 658, Fig. 338: 7 (erroneous 4).

[207] The Proto-Corinthian skyphos discovered in one of the tombs suggests dating it from the second part of the 8th century B.C.: J.G. BALDACCHINO - T.J. DUNBABIN, *Rock Tomb at Ghajn Qajjet, near Rabat, Malta*, in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 21 (1953), p. 32-41. See now C. SAGONA, *op. cit.* (n. 200), p. 39-50, 64-65, 120-122, 282-284, 802-813, and the general index on p. 1156.

ware[208]. The city of Μελίτη is mentioned also by Ptolemy[209], who certainly had Rabat-Mdina in mind, and this was probably the case of Pseudo-Scylax as well, while the harbour must have been one of the closest anchorages. However, ancient Phoenician remains have been discovered also at Tas-Silġ[210], near the large bay of Marsaxlokk (Marsa Scirocco), on the south-eastern side of the island. Besides, Ptolemy mentions a city of Χερσονήσος[211], "peninsula", which is most likely the old town of Valletta, built on a precipitous promontory, about 1.5 km long, pointing northeast and running like a tongue into the middle of a bay which is thus divided into two harbours, Grand Harbour to the east and Marsamxett to the west. The Phoenician name of Malta was apparently *'nn*, a name written in Punic letters on Maltese coins[212]. According to Pseudo-Scylax, Malta was inhabited in his days by Carthaginians. It is likely, in fact, that the island was dependent from Carthage in the 4th century B.C., but its Phoenician civilization always had its own distinct characteristics.

Gaulos (now Għawdex) forms, together with Malta and some islets, an insular group. Its colonization by the Phoenicians, asserted by Diodorus[213], and its dependence from Carthage, stated by Pseudo-Scy-

[208] C. Sagona, *op. cit.* (n. 200), p. 29-40, 46-52, 60, 63, 79, 83, 94, 98, 118, 120, 156, 170, 202, 205, 209, 216, 226, 243-246, 249, 688-689, 876-893. The Punic double-nozzled lamp, found at the lowest level of Pit No. 1 (*ibid.*, p. 388, Fig. 68: 8-9, and p. 890, Mtarfa [295], P43), cannot be dated before the 8th century B.C. (cf. C. Gómez Bellard, *Lampes*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 253-254, with further literature; cf., in particular, P. Cintas, *Manuel d'archéologie punique* II, Paris 1976, Pl. LXXXIX, 4). It dates the grave to the 8th century, excluding an earlier date of the pit. The situation in other "Archaic" sites is the same. The alleged "Archaic Phase of Punic Malta", *ca.* 1000-800 B.C. (C. Sagona, *op. cit.*, p. 24, 29-39), is not attested and apparently did not exist. Cf. A.M. Bisi, *La ceramica punica. Aspetti e problemi*, Napoli 1970, p. 164-165; A. Ciasca, *Insediamenti e cultura dei Fenici a Malta*, in H.G. Niemeyer (ed.), *Phönizier im Westen*, Mainz a/R 1982, p. 133-154 (see p. 137-139). A bibliography concerning the Phoenician presence on Malta can be found in W. Huss, *op. cit.* (n. 194), p. 17.

[209] Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 3, 13 (p. 663).

[210] A. Ciasca - M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, *Tas Silġ*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 442 with bibliography. See also C. Sagona, *op. cit.* (n. 200), the general index on p. 1163.

[211] Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 3, 13 (p. 663).

[212] G. MacDonald, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 604; C. Seltman, *The Ancient Coinage of Malta*, in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 6th ser., 6 (1946), p. 81-90; A.M. Bisi, *art. cit.* (n. 196), Nos. 30-35; E. Coleiro, *Maltese Coins of the Roman Period*, in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 7th ser., 11 (1971), p. 67-91 (see Nos. 2-2a, 5, 7-7a); E. Acquaro, *Le monete puniche del Museo Nazionale do Cagliari, Catalogo*, Roma 1974, No. 1681; E.A. Arslan, *op. cit.* (n. 196), Nos. 1394-1406; E. Acquaro - E. Buffi Neri, *art. cit.* (n. 196), Nos. 64, 70-73; E. Buffi Neri - C. Lanzoni, *art. cit.* (n. 196), Nos. 68-70, 76-79. — One does no longer need to deal with a discussion of this monetary legend by H.A. Hamaker, *Miscellanea Phoenicia*, Leiden 1828, p. 46-47, who read it *'ēlon*.

[213] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* V, 12.

lax, are entirely borne out by the archaeological remains, which include a Punic inscription of some length[214] and buildings, believed to be temples, which have Phoenician characteristics. Pseudo-Scylax mentions a city, which lay probably on the site of present-day Victoria[215], but he does not refer to a port, despite Diodorus' assertion that the island was provided with good harbours[216]. As a matter of fact, Gaulos has no good natural shelters and the anchorage, which was reckoned sufficiently commodious, lay probably towards the southeast of the island, in the Bay of Mġarr, where nowadays the ferryboat from Malta comes alongside.

Phoenician settlement on the island of Gaulos is probably as old as the one in Malta, although no archaeological remains earlier than the 7th century B.C. have been recovered so far. In particular, one should mention the sanctuaries, like that of Ras il-Wardija[217], and remind that three of them are referred to in the commemorative Punic inscription from the 2nd century B.C., found on the island[218]. The name of Gaulos seems even to be Phoenician, since γαῦλος is a Phoenician merchant ship of a broad, round make[219]. The Phoenician material culture of Gaulos presents no particular differences from that of Malta.

The third island mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax is Lampedusa (Λαμπάς), called Λοπαδοῦσσα by Strabo[220]. It is situated 145 km east of the

[214] *CIS* I, 132 = *KAI* 62. The Punic sites of the island are indicated by C. Sagona, *op. cit.* (n. 200), p. 681, Map 12.

[215] The bibliography given by W. Huss, *op. cit.* (n. 194), p. 17, often concerns Malta and Gaulos. See also Desanges, *Pline*, p. 440-442; C. Sagona, *op. cit.* (n. 200), p. 33, 199, 284, 700, 1119-1124. The tumulus found at Victoria (*ibid.*, p. 1122-1123 [699]) cannot be dated to the 9th century B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 33). The fragments of Punic pottery, collected in this burial place, were provisionally assigned by W. Zamnit to the 5th century B.C., while comparable tumuli at Andalouses (Algeria) can be dated on basis of Punic pottery to the 6th century B.C.: G. Vuillemot, *Reconnaissances aux échelles puniques d'Oranie*, Autun 1965, p. 259-282; cf. S. Lancel (- E. Lipiński), *Les Andalouses*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 30-31.

[216] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* V, 12.

[217] C. Caprino et al., *Missione archeologica italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1964*, Roma 1965, p. 167-176; ... *1965*, Roma 1966, p. 125-155; ... *1966*, Roma 1967, p. 81-111; ... *1967*, Roma 1968, p. 87-94. For a summary, see A. Ciasca, *Ras il-Wardija*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 371.

[218] *CIS* I, 132. Cf. L. Díez Merino, *Gwl-Gozo, un topónimo fenicio-castellano*, in *Aula Orientalis* 1 (1983), p. 276-280 (see p. 277-278). The names of two sanctuaries are lost.

[219] For the questionable interpretation of the name Gaulos, proposed by L. Díez Merino, *art. cit.* (n. 218), see E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, Paris 1967, p. 39-42.

[220] Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 16. Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 3, 12 (p. 661), calls it Λοπάδουσα.

Byzacium and 165 km southwest of Malta. Lampedusa's greatest length is about 10 km, its greatest width about 3 km. The harbour, which is close to Punic tombs and Roman buildings, is on the south of the small island, near the only village. Pseudo-Scylax refers to "two or three towers", probably visible from the sea or from the harbour. They belonged very likely to agricultural installations, since the island was covered in the past with olive trees and has fairly fertile valleys[221].

19. Lilybaeum

Pseudo-Scylax indicates then that there is a day-long sea journey from Cossyra to the promontory of Lilybaeum, in Sicily. Pantelleria was apparently used as an intermediate port on the way from Cape Bon to Sicily[222], from which it is distant 106 km, a journey implying more than a day-long sailing. The journey to the promontory of Lilybaeum, the present-day Marsala, was even somewhat longer, about 115 km. The source of Pseudo-Scylax was thus referring to a sail protracted in the night, until the dawn. Lilybaeum was one of the main Punic seaports of Sicily in the 4th century B.C.[223] It was a fortified city and a naval basis, important from a commercial and a strategic points of view. It was founded by Himilco after the abandonment of Motya[224], destroyed in 397 B.C. by Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse[225]. It is surprising, however, that Pseudo-Scylax refers to the promontory of Lilybaeum without mentioning the city and the harbour that lay on the northeast. Hence one might conclude that his source was older than the destruction of Motya, situated 8 km to the north of the promontory, and that it dated therefore from the 5th century B.C. Unfortunately, Motya is not mentioned and Pseudo-Scylax turns his attention then back to Carthage.

[221] See also PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 42. Cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 439-440.

[222] This is confirmed by STRABO, *Geography* VI, 2, 11, who exaggerates the distance involved. A similar error occurs *ibid.*, VI, 2, 1, where he estimates the shortest distance from Sicily to Libya, i.e. between Lilybaeum and the area of Carthage, at 1,500 stadia or 270 km. In fact, the distance is smaller: there are 140 km until Cape Bon and about 215 km until Carthage.

[223] The bibliography collected by W. HUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 194), p. 14, should be complemented, among others, by the collective work *Lilibeo. Testimonianze archeologiche dal IV sec. a. C. al V sec. d. C.*, Marsala 1984.

[224] K. GEUS, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager* (Studia Phoenicia XIII; OLA 59), Leuven 1994, p. 159-166, especially p. 163.

[225] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIV, 47-53.

20. Utica

He continues his journey along the African coast by indicating that there is a day-long sail from Carthage to Utica: the distance by sea amounts to about 30 km. Utica was situated a little to the west of Carthage, at the mouth of the Medjerda or Bagradas River. It stood on a rocky promontory, which ran out into the sea eastward and partially protected its harbour. Utica was important as a commercial centre and was the second largest city of "Libya" after Carthage[226]. At present, the site of the town is covered with low-lying marshlands and it is distant from the sea about 12 km. The deposits of the Medjerda have indeed blocked up the whole of its ancient port, and the eminence upon which the city stood looks down upon a broad alluvial plain, through which the Medjerda pursues a tortuous course to the Bay of Tunis.

Although the first Phoenician colony planted in North Africa is said to have been Utica[227], no archaeological vestiges prior to the 7th century B.C. have been uncovered so far and no remains of the Punic monuments mentioned in literary texts have been unearthed[228]. Nevertheless, the importance of the city is well documented by the discoveries made in its necropolis[229], on the southern edge of the agglomeration. Given that Greek *upsilon* often transcribes Phoenician *i*[230], the city name, transcribed Ἰτύκη in Greek and *Utica* or *Utika* in Latin, was probably *'Utiq*, "transit place". The verbal root *'tq*, "to transit", is attested in most Semitic languages[231] and the nominal pattern *qutl* > *qutil* is common in Semitic. Such a name should go back to the earliest phase of Phoenician navigations to the West, in search of precious metals. The city was

[226] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 13; cf. POLYBIUS, *History* III, 24, 2; VII, 9, 5. See also DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 214-216.

[227] Utica was said to have been founded 287 years before Carthage: PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE, *On Marvellous Things Heard* 146.

[228] A bibliography is given by W. HUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 187), p. 34. One should note in particular: G. VILLE, *Utica*, in *PW, Supppl.* IX, Stuttgart 1962, col. 1869-1894; A. LÉZINE, *Carthage. Utique. Étude d'architecture et d'urbanisme*, Paris 1968, p. 81-155; P. CINTAS, *Manuel d'archéologie punique* I. *Histoire et archéologie comparées*, Paris 1970, p. 294-308; A. LÉZINE, *Utique*, Tunis 1970; ID., *Utique. Note d'archéologie punique*, in *AntAfr* 5 (1971), p. 87-93; G. MAASS-LINDEMANN, *Toscanos*, Berlin 1982, p. 143-149; F. CHELBI, *Prospection archéologique dans la région de Bizerte (année 1986)*, in *REPPAL* 3 (1987), p. 71-115 (see p. 79).

[229] P. CINTAS, *Deux campagnes de fouilles à Utique*, in *Karthago* 2 (1951), p. 5-79; ID., *Nouvelles recherches à Utique*, in *Karthago* 5 (1954), p. 89-154.

[230] See here below, p. 412, n. 454.

[231] Especially noticeable is the extensive use of Akkadian *etēqu*: *AHw*, p. 260-263; *CAD*, E, p. 384-395.





Utica: Punic cemetery from the 6th-4th centuries B.C. with monolithic lidded coffins and shallow graves.

important as a trade centre, and is mentioned in the commercial treaty of 348 B.C. between Rome and Carthage as an equal partner. The text preserved by Polybius[232] is very significant in this respect. The treaty dates approximately from the period in which Pseudo-Scylax was compiled, but the source used by the redactor was certainly older. In a later period, the initial laryngeal *'ayn* was no longer pronounced, while *q* — still distinct from *k* — could possibly be perceived as a voiced velar. This can explain the spelling *'tg* of the name of Utica on local coins, minted in the 2nd century B.C.[233], almost certainly under Roman occupation, as shown by their iconography with Castor and Pollux. One can surmise therefore that the coins were engraved and struck by a Roman or Romanized minter and that the letters *'tg* reflect his acoustic perception of the city name[234], not its spelling in a Punic document.

From Utica to the Pillars of Heracles, Pseudo-Scylax does not indicate the length of the voyage. This may imply the use of another source, lacking the accuracy of the one followed by him from Egypt up to Utica.

21. Bizerta

Further to the west lay the settlement of Hippo Diarrhytus, the name of which still lingers in the modern Bizerta (Banzart). Hippo was built on the banks of a natural channel, which united with the sea a considerable lagoon or salt lake, lying south of the town. The channel was kept open in the past by an irregular flux and reflux, the water of the lake after the rainy season flowing off into the sea, and that of the sea, correspondingly, in the dry season passing into the lake[235]. The city owes its by-name Διάρρυτος, "traversed by running water", to this natural channel which was widened and deepened in modern times.

The Greek name Ἵππου ἄκρα, used by Pseudo-Scylax[236], originally designated "Hippo's Promontory", either Cape Bizerta, which terminates Ğebel Ḫara some 6 km north of the city, or Cape Blanc, the *Promunto-*

[232] POLYBIUS, *History* III, 24, 3.

[233] References in LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 394-400, n. 351 and 352.

[234] He would not have engraved Semitic *q*, as this letter was used in Latin alphabet only with a following *u*.

[235] The same phenomenon occurs nowadays in the Wad Tinğa (see below), which has not been widened and deepened in modern times.

[236] See also PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE, *On Marvellous Things Heard* 134 (following Timaeus); DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XX, 55, 3; 57, 6; STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Ἱπποῦακρα.

rium Candidum[237], which is situated about 1.5 km further north. The ancient port lay north of the town and was protected from the northeast wind by a spacious pier, rendering it one of the safest and finest harbours on this coast.

The Phoenician-Punic name given to the promontory and, later on, to the nearby town was probably *'Appō'*, "Nose"[238], with the frequent afformative *-a'* > *-ō'* of proper names. This toponym perfectly fits a promontory and it appears on Sidonian coins as the name of a Phoenician colony[239]. It was used already in the Late Bronze age, when it designated some settlement in the kingdom of Ugarit[240]. The Greeks have reinterpreted the place name as Ἵππω, "Horse", which can be understood only as a secondary development, based on sheer assonance.

The importance of the seaport of Bizerta in the 5th century B.C., at the time of the wars in Sicily, is illustrated by the coin hoard hidden there about 420 B.C. and containing coins from Agrigentum, Gela, Messina, Syracuse, and Athens[241]. The city is then mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax and, half a century later, in 308 B.C., Agathocles seizes it[242] in order to build there a stronghold and a harbour for warships[243]. In fact, the city was heavily fortified and resisted the assaults of Matho's mercenaries in 240 B.C.[244], and of the Roman armies commanded by Laetius in 203[245] and by Calpurnius Piso in 148 B.C.[246].

[237] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 23; POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 34.

[238] W. HUSS, *Die punischen Namen der nordafrikanischen Städte Hippon Diarrhytos und Hippo Regius*, in *Semitica* 38 (1988 [1990]), p. 171-174. There is no reason why the abridged name '', attested by a few coins (MAZARD, *Corpus*, p. 152-153), should be related to Hippo Diarrhytus or Hippo Regius. For example, one could take *'lpt'* into consideration; cf. *NAA* II, p. 42, No. 5.

[239] Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 68.

[240] P. BORDREUIL, *Les récentes découvertes épigraphiques à Ras Shamra et à Ras Ibn Hani*, in G.D. YOUNG (ed.), *Ugarit in Retrospect. Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic*, Winona Lake 1981, p. 43-48 (see p. 48); P. BORDREUIL et al., *Les découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques de Ras Ibn Hani (Syrie) en 1983: un lot d'archives administratives*, in *CRAI* 1984, p. 398-438 (see p. 435).

[241] M. THOMPSON - O. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, New York 1973, No. 2259.

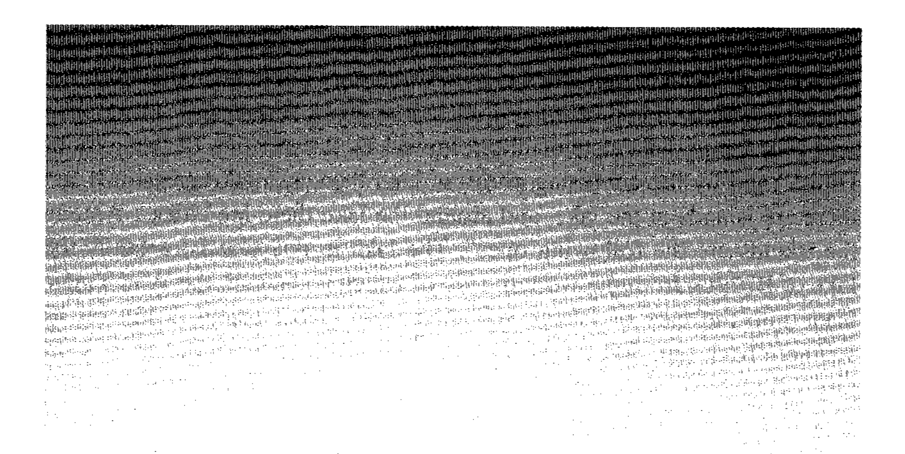
[242] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XX, 55, 3.

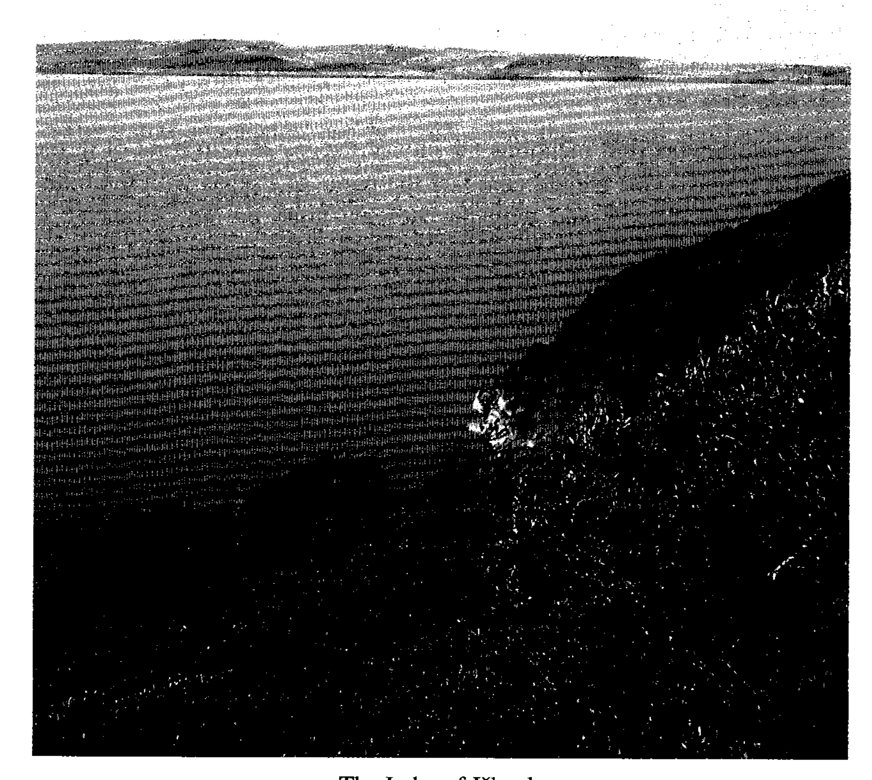
[243] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 110.

[244] POLYBIUS, *History* I, 70, 9; 73, 3; 77, 1.

[245] LIVY, *Roman History* XXIX, 3, 7. The *Hipponem Regium* of Livy's text must be a mistake for *Hippo Diarrhytus*; cf. Ph. J. SMITH, *Scipio Africanus & Rome's Invasion of Africa*, Amsterdam 1993, p. 20. The qualification *Regius* was anachronistic in 205 B.C. and no Livy's source, contemporary of the events, could use it. In other words, the qualification results from an erroneous historiographic interpretation of the sources.

[246] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 30, 110.





The Lake of Iškeul.
seen from the Ǧebel Iškeul.

Something is missing from the notice of Pseudo-Scylax that originally stated the distance "from Utica to the Promontory of Hippo". However, the distance, which should be a day-long sail or about 350 stadia[247], has fallen out. This incomplete statement is followed by the mention of "the city of Hippo" and by the confusing phrases: "and there is a lake next to it, and there are islands in the lake, and around the lake there are cities... Among the islands are the following ones". The lake in question is certainly the lake of Bizerta, from the western side of which a channel, the Wad Tinğa, leads into the lake of Iškeul, so-called from Ğebel Iškeul, a hill on its southern bank (alt. 508 m). Several Punic settlements from the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. have been identified in this area[248], but it is doubtful whether they were listed in the source of Pseudo-Scylax. Besides, his source most likely did not distinguish the two lakes and its author assumed that the narrow isthmus between them, the hill of El-Ksiba, and the Ğebel Iškeul were islands in the lake. The αἵδε, "the following ones", refers in an incomplete text not to the assumed islets of the lake but to some small islands in the Mediterranean, namely the Cani and La Galite archipelagos.

22. Rās Ben-Sekka / Psegas

Pseudo-Scylax first mentions the city of Psegas and, in front of it, the Naxian Islands. One should compare the name of Psegas with the biblical toponym Pisga[249] and with the Hebrew noun *pəsīgā*, "branch". It would seem therefore that Psegas is a Semitic place name, thus Phoenician-Punic. Biblical Pisga is a mountain with a panoramic view, from which Moses viewed the Promised Land before his death, while Pseudo-Scylax does not say that Psegas had a harbour. One could thus identify the site with Rās Ben-Sekka[250], in which the name of Psegas still seems to linger. This place, marked by a modern lighthouse, is situated northwest of Bizerta, 17 km by road. It is the northernmost continental point of Tunisia and one can say indeed that "the numerous Naxian Islands are in front of it", at least if these are the islets of the Cani archipelago[251],

[247] The distance by sea from Utica to Bizerta amounted to more than 60 km, as the ships have to turn around Rās Sidi Ali al-Mekki and Rās Zebib before reaching Bizerta.

[248] F. CHELBI, *art. cit.* (n. 228), p. 80-81 and 103-115 (Pls. XX-XXXIII); P. TROUSSET, *La région côtière de Bizerte* (Hippo Diarrhytus) *et son complexe lacustre*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 491-502.

[249] Numb. 21, 20; 23, 14; Deut. 3, 17.27; 4, 49; 34, 1; Josh. 12, 3; 13, 20.

[250] *AATun*, fol. 2 (Bizerte), No. 5.

[251] This archipelago should not be confounded with the island Le Chien which belongs to the archipelago of La Galite. The largest of the Cani Islands, situated 23 km northeast of Bizerta, yielded a hoard consisting of armbands, ingots, and about 150 silver coins, including 18 Carthaginian tetradrachms: M. THOMPSON - O. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *op. cit.* (n. 241), No. 2301. Judging from the most recent coins, the hoard was burried on the island shortly before the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.

lying northeast of Bizerta. Remains of ancient buildings with fragments of columns and capitals have been seen towards the end of the 19th century on the Rās Ben-Sekka and on the sea front to the southeast of the promontory[252]. At least a sounding would be required to see whether pre-Roman vestiges can be found in the concerned area.

23. Naxian Islands

The name Ναξικαί implies a connection with Naxos, believed to be the earliest Greek colony in Sicily[253], founded in about 734 B.C. near Taormina (*Tauromenium*) and probably mentioned in a Punic inscription from Carthage[254]. These Naxian Islands off Rās Zebib and Hecataeus' statement that Hippo, either Bizerta or 'Annāba, was a Ionian city[255] may attest early Euboean-Naxian exploration of this area. Since it must belong to the period before *ca.* 520 B.C.[256], the source used here by Pseudo-Scylax and mentioning the Naxian Islands should go back at least to the early 5th century B.C., when such a name was still in use[257].

24. Tabarka / Pithekoussai

The same conclusion can be reached in the case of the harbour of Pithekoussai, located by Pseudo-Scylax in front of an island and of a city, apparently called Euboea. One should refer here to the harbour of Πιθήκων κόλπος, located by Stephen of Byzantium not far from Carthage[258]. It was suggested to identify this "Bay of Monkeys" either with a bay close to Cape Serrat, dominated by hills and fit to be used as

[252] *AATun*, fol. 2 (Bizerte), Nos. 5-11.

[253] N.M. KONTOLEON, *Zur Gründung von Naxos und Megara in Sizilien*, in W.C. BRICE (ed.), *Europa. Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der frühen Ægæis. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*, Berlin 1967, p. 180-190. See also the collective works: *Contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Naples 1975, and *Nouvelle contribution à l'étude de la société et de la colonisation eubéennes*, Naples 1982, as well as *Gli Eubei in Occidente*, Taranto 1979.

[254] *CIS* I, 5510, line 11, where *b'l nws* should be read *b'l nks*, "citizens of Naxos"; cf. Ph.C. SCHMITZ, *The Name* Agrigentum *in a Punic Inscription (CIS I 5510, 10)*, in *JNES* 53 (1994), p. 1-13 (see p. 12-13). For the Phoenician transcription *ks* of Greek ξ, see above p. 81.

[255] *FGH* I A, §1, Frg. 343, p. 44.

[256] H. TREIDLER, *Eine alte ionische Kolonisation im numidischen Afrika - Ihre historische und geographische Grundlage*, in *Historia* 8 (1959), p. 257-283 (see p. 265-269).

[257] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 275-277.

[258] STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v.; cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 104-105.

anchorage, or with the bay of Tabarka, protected by an islet and surrounded by the wooded sandstone mountains of the Khmir or Kroumirie country. The first site is distant from Bizerta about 70 km by sea, the second one, about 120 km. Juvenal alludes to the monkeys living in the forests around Tabarka[259] and thus seems to favour the second identification, already proposed by St. Gsell, who locates Euboea on the islet of Tabarka[260], now joined to the continent by harbour works. This islet was situated 400 metres from the shore and is occupied by the ruins of a fort which was used by the Genoese in the 16th-18th centuries. Its purpose was obviously controlling the coral fisheries exploited by Europeans at Tabarka already in the 15th century[261]. However, it has also been suggested that Euboea was the island La Galite[262], situated about 35 km northwest of Cape Serrat. Ptolemy calls it Καλάθη[263] and Latin authors *Galata*[264]. The *Itinerarium maritimum* connects it explicitly with Tabarka[265], apparently enhancing the latter identification despite the distance of 60 km. There is a fourth possibility, namely that Euboea was no "city on the island" opposite Pithekoussai, but the next seaport or anchorage, mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax without the qualification "city" or "city and harbour". This interpretation is supported by the usual phraseology encountered in this section of the *Periplus*, where the phrase "a city and a harbour" follows the place name instead of preceding it, like it is apparently the case of Euboea.

Both Pithekoussai and Euboea should belong to the early Naxian trading outposts[266], but the proposed identifications still need to be supported by some archaeological findings. These are so far missing, although Tabarka is unquestionably an ancient site. Its name is Libyco-Berber, as shown by the initial *t* and final *n* of the original toponym *Tabrakan*, written *Tbrk'n* or *Tbrkn* in the Neo-Punic legend of the local

[259] JUVENAL, *Satires* X, 194-195.

[260] GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 148-149. This hypothesis is considered too easily as "fragile" by M. LONGERSTAY, *Nouvelles fouilles à Tabarka (antique Thabraca)*, in *Africa* 10 (1988), p. 220-253 (see p. 222).

[261] Ph. GOURDIN, *La première intervention européenne dans l'exploitation du corail maghrébin: Les Catalans et les Siciliens à Tabarca (1446-1448)*, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 49/173 (1996), p. 121-143.

[262] DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 105.

[263] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 12 (p. 660).

[264] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* III, 92; V, 42; XXXV, 202; POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* II, 120.

[265] O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 78: 495, 1 (300 stadia).

[266] H. TREIDLER, *art. cit.* (n. 256), p. 269-281.

coinage[267]. The final *n* is attested also by the ethnic adjective Ταβαθρῆνος, as given by Stephen of Byzantium[268], and by the epigraphic Latin *Thabracenorum*[269]. As for La Galite, only traces of Punic and Roman occupation, like tombs hewn in the rock and Carthaginian coins, have been found so far on the island[270].

25. 'Annāba / Hippo Regius

'Annāba's exceptional situation on a coast poorly supplied with natural harbours[271], on a large semicircular bay between Cape Garde and Cape Rosa and protected by Mount Edough from the west and northwest winds[272], should have attracted the earliest sailors. It seems certain that in the 6th or early 5th century B.C. the Naxians or the Phoenicians used this bay as a port of call[273]. It is uncertain instead whether the Carthaginians founded a trading port there, which later became Hippo Regius, the chosen residence of the kings of Numidia[274]. The name Hippo-Hippon, that still lingered in Bône/Bona, goes probably back to Punic *'p'* or Libyco-Berber *'pwn*, "nose", with an afformative *-ō'* or *-ōn*[275]. This toponym originally designated Cape Garde, as still shown by Ptolemy's mention of a Ἵππου ἄκρα west of Ἵππων Βασιλικός[276].

'Annāba is distant from Tabarka about 90 km by sea, but it is not mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax unless Εὔβοια was no "city on the island" opposite Pithekoussai, but the next following seaport, referred to without any qualification. At any rate, the source used by Pseudo-Scylax after Bizerta does not indicate the distances any more, making the identification of the sites more difficult. Only a general statement is provided at

[267] *NAA* III, p. 52, No. 62; cf. *Suppl.*, p. 65-66. The reading *Tbrs* in MAZARD, *Corpus*, p. 151, should be corrected into *Tbrkn*.

[268] STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, ed. A. MEINEKE, *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, Berlin 1849, p. 598.

[269] *ILAlg* I, 109. See also M. LONGERSTAY, *art. cit.* (n. 260), p. 222 with n. 7.

[270] *AATun*, fol. 4 (Cap Négro), Nos. 4-6; cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 442-444. No ancient site is reported in the area by *AATun*, fol. 5 (Oued Sedjenan).

[271] On 'Annāba in general, see H.P.V. DENNIS, *Hippo Regius*, Princeton 1924; E. MAREC, *Hippone la Royale*, 2nd ed., Alger 1954; S. DAHMANI, *Hippo Regius*, Alger 1973; *PECS*, p. 394-396; DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 201-203.

[272] For the site, see *AAAlg*, fol. 9 (Bône), No. 59.

[273] See now Kh. MANSOURI, *Réflexions sur les activités portuaires d'*Hippo Regius *(Hippone-Annaba) pendant l'Antiquité*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 509-524.

[274] SILIUS ITALICUS, *Punica* III, 259, in *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 63; STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 13.

[275] Compare here above, p. 384.

[276] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 2 (p. 615).

the end of the section: “From Carthage to the Pillars of Heracles, under the best sailing conditions such a coasting lasts seven days and seven nights”. This optimistic estimation hardly corresponds to actual coasting conditions in Antiquity.

The earliest archaeological sign of an occupation of Hippo is a fragment of an Attic crater with a nice black glaze, going back at least to the earlier part of the 5^{th} century B.C.[277] It could possibly be dated about 520 B.C. as well. The question is whether this unique piece of evidence witnesses a Carthaginian expansion in this area or is one of the latest manifestations of the Euboean-Naxian exploration of the North-African coast between Bizerta and ‘Annāba. The absence of any other pottery from the site datable before the end of the 3^{rd} or the beginning of the 2^{nd} century B.C.[278] seems to favour the second explanation and to cast a doubt on the very existence of a Carthaginian trading port at Hippo. Most likely the city belonged *ca.* 200 B.C. to the Numidian kingdom of Massinissa I (203-148 B.C.)[279], who built Hippo as a royal city and established a seaport there, which was open to international traffic. The beautiful blocks with deeply bevelled edges, reused in massive walls of the early or mid-1^{st} century B.C., come probably from buildings erected by Massinissa. These walls, once regarded as Punic, in fact supported a sea front datable to the final period of the Numidian kingdom or to the first years of the Roman occupation[280], which started in 46 B.C.[281] The Libyco-Berber form *’pwn* of the toponym Hippo, with a final *-n* like in *Krṭn*, “Cirta”, *Sbrtn* or *Sbrt‘n*, “Sabratha”, *Tbrkn* or *Tbrk‘n*, “Tabarka”, *Šyg‘n*, “Siga”, *Gngn*, “Gunugu”, appears on coins from the 1^{st} century B.C., the other side of which bears the name of *Ṭp‘tn*, most likely Tipasa in Numidia, as proposed by L. Müller in 1861[282]. Such a link between a seaport and an inland city, situated 100 km to the south, is an interesting

[277] J.-P. MOREL, *Recherches stratigraphiques à Hippone*, in *BAA* 3 (1968), p. 35-84 (see p. 81).

[278] J.-P. MOREL, *Céramiques d’Hippone*, in *BAA* 1 (1962-65), p. 107-139; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 277), p. 81.

[279] J.-P. MOREL, *art. cit.* (n. 277), p. 81-82. T. KOTULA, *Masynissa*, Warszawa 1976, p. 113-114, suggests a date about 182 B.C.

[280] J.-P. MOREL, *art. cit.* (n. 277), p. 36-54.

[281] This is the year in which Sittius captured the fleet of the Pompeians in the harbour of Hippo: (CAESAR), *African War* 96; LIVY, *Roman History*, per. CXIV.

[282] *NAA* III, p. 53-57, and *Suppl.*, p. 66. The name *’pwn* might stand theoretically for the Greek personal name Ἵππων, but this anthroponym hardly occurs in North Africa. Libyco-Berber *Afun* is attested only by CORIPPUS, *Iohannis* VIII, 603; see I. DIGGLE - F.R.D. GOODYEAR (eds.), *Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos libri VIII*, Cambridge 1970.

factor that must correspond to some institutional regulations of the Numidian kingdom.

The hypothetical existence of a pre-Numidian, Punic settlement at Hippo is questionable despite the findings on the Hill of St. Augustine, which dominated the Roman city of Hippo Regius. This hill is the site of a sanctuary where numerous steles were found, surmounting vessels which contained cremated bones[283]. Remains of a building identified as a temple of African Saturnus have also been discovered there in the 19^{th} century[284]. The temple was obviously built on the site of a Punic *tophet*, as suggested by the scattered Neo-Punic votive offerings found in this area, especially one typically Punic stele[285]. This material goes back to the 2^{nd}-1^{st} centuries B.C. and it is followed by a series of steles, which date from the 1^{st} century B.C. through the 3^{rd} century A.D.[286]. These data indicate that the site was dedicated from about 200 B.C. to Baal Ḥamon[287], whose worship continued until the 3^{rd} century A.D. in the temple of Saturnus and in the surrounding area. However, no vestiges anterior to *ca.* 200 B.C. have been discovered so far. Therefore, the existence of a Carthaginian settlement or harbour of trade is at least in doubt. Considering that Hippo probably became a city and a seaport of the kingdom of Massinissa I as early as about 200 B. C. and that the Numidian kingdom was imbued to a considerable extent with Carthaginian civilization, as shown for instance at El-Hofra[288], one may assume that the traces of a cultural influence of Carthage at Hippo result from the urban policy of Massinissa I and from the immigration, after 146 B.C., of populations living in the former Carthaginian territory. This would explain why Punic was still spoken at Hippo Regius and in its surroundings at

[283] For these discoveries, see P. GAUCKLER, in *BAC* 1905, p. CLXXIX-CLXXXI; Chanoine LEROY, *Le temple de Baal-Saturne à Hippone*, in *Bulletin de l’Académie d’Hippone* 32 (1912), p. 47-58; A. MAITROT DE LA MOTTE-CAPRON, *Le Musée d’Hippone, Catalogue des antiquités*, in *Bulletin de l’Académie d’Hippone* 33 (1913), p. 144-199 (see p. 148 and 158-163).

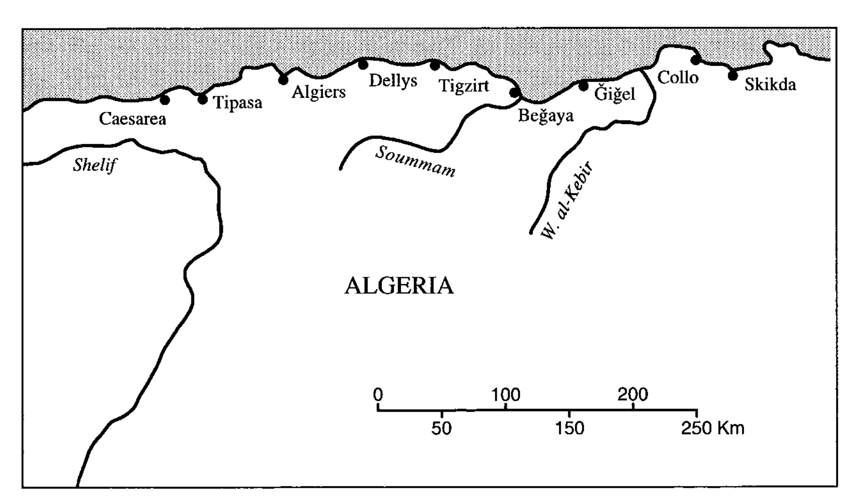
[284] M. LEGLAY, *Saturne Africain. Monuments* I, Paris 1961, p. 431-451.

[285] Stele F 35 in the Museum of ‘Annāba bears, on top, the inversed crescent symbol and shows a ram, which is the typical substitution animal of Semitic sacrifices, with a palm tree in front of the animal. Cf. M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 284), p. 434, n. 6.

[286] *Ibid.*, p. 434-451. A stele probably going back to the 1^{st} century B.C. represents a female figure, which was regarded as a goddess: Ph. BERGER, *Stèle punique représentant une déesse*, in *BAC* 1896, p. 221-222; GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 151, n. 3.

[287] One should note however that the stele dedicated to Tannit and Baal Ḥamon, mentioned by M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 284), p. 434-435, n. 7, comes in reality from Ġwalma: *AAAlg*, fol. 9 (Bône), p. 5.

[288] One should refer in particular to the 850 steles from the sanctuary; see the bibliography collected by Fr. BERTRANDY, *Constantine*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 117-118.



From Skikda to Caesarea.

the time of St. Augustine[289]. An anchorage with a watering place near the Promontory of Hippo could of course have been known to sailors long before 200 B.C.

26. Skikda / Thapsus

The next place mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax is "Thapsa, a city and a harbour". There is little doubt that this is *Thapsus* referred to by Livy in the context of the Second Punic War[290] and that its name was preserved by Wad Safsaf, close to modern Skikda, which the Roman geographer Vibius Sequester calls *Thapsus Africae, iuxta Rusiccade*[291]. Already St. Gsell identified the city with Skikda, ancient Rusicade[292], a name borne first by the promontory which dominates Skikda and is still called Rās Skikda by the local population. This name is Punic and probably means

[289] F. VATTIONI, *S. Agostino e la civiltà punica*, in *Augustinianum* 8 (1968), p. 444-467; I. OPELT, *Augustins Epistula 20 (Divjak), ein Zeugnis für lebendiges Punisch im 5. Jhd. n. Chr.*, in *Augustinianum* 25 (1985), p. 121-132; M.G. COX, *Augustine, Jerome, Tyconius and the "lingua Punica"*, in *Studia Orientalia* 64 (1988), p. 83-105; Cl. LEPELLEY, *Un témoignage augustinien sur les langues parlées à Hippone et à Sitifis au début du Ve siècle*, in *BAC*, n.s., 20-21 (1984-85 [1989]), p. 154-157.

[290] LIVY, *Roman History* XXIX, 30, 5.

[291] VIBIUS SEQUESTER, *Flumina* 151, s.v. Thapsus, in *GLM*, p. 151.; R. GELSOMINO (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 133), p. 27.

[292] *AAAlg*, fol. 8 (Philippeville), No. 196. Cf. GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 98, n. 4, and p. 152; *HAAN* III, p. 191.

"Cape of the Fire" or the like[293], while Thapsa was certainly a Libyco-Berber toponym. The ancient name of the city was later replaced by Rusicade, the name of the cape, although the local vestiges of Punic influence are not anterior to the time of the Numidian kingdoms and of the Roman occupation. One can mention a hypogeum[294], a head sculptured in sandstone[295], a capital of Ionic order, dating from the time of Numidian kings[296], two Neo-Punic steles, one decorated with the "Sign of Tannit" and a caduceus, the other, with the "Sign of Tannit" flanked by the so-called "cake-crown" and a palm tree[297]. Punic influence persisted at least until the end of the 1st century A.D., as shown by numerous anepigraphic steles devoted to African Saturnus[298].

Carthaginian sailors certainly knew Cape Rusicade and most likely have used the bay as anchorage or port of call, but the city and harbour of Thapsa, mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax, does not seem to have been a Carthaginian colony. It should rather be connected with the Numidian inland centre of Cirta (Constantine), situated 87 km south of Skikda. Cirta was one of Syphax' residences at the end of the 3rd century B.C. and the settlement certainly existed before that date. Thapsa was its natural seaport and outlet on the Mediterranean.

The distance from 'Annāba to Skikda corresponds to three days of coasting and one may expect to find some intermediate anchorages or ports of call. The Cosmography of Ravenna mentions a *Monumentum Anibal* near Cape de Fer[299], but the origin of this appellation is unknown. The Bay of Ghetaibi, 45 km west of 'Annāba, may have served as a port of call, possibly corresponding to the Κόλλοψ Μικρός of Ptolemy[300], while the next anchorage could be placed at Sidi Bou Merouem[301], southeast of the Cape de Fer. However, there is a lack of archaeological information concerning these sites.

[293] The toponym consists of the nouns *Rus-* (*r'š*), "cape", and *-ikada* (*yqd*), "burning", "fire", perhaps "signal fire" or the like, since the Hebrew word *yəqōd* has this connotation in the Babylonian Talmud, *Rosh ha-shānā* 22b.

[294] *AAAlg*, fol. 8 (Philippeville), No. 25. Cf. A.H.A. DELAMARE, *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie pendant les années 1840-1845*, Paris 1850, Pl. 32, Figs. 10-20.

[295] St. GSELL - L. BERTRAND, *Musée de Philippeville*, Paris 1898, p. 67-68, Pl. X, 3.

[296] *Ibid.*, p. 72, Pl. XI, 4.

[297] M. LEGLAY, *Saturne Africain. Monuments* II, Paris 1966, p. 13-14, n. 3.

[298] *Ibid.*, p. 13-18.

[299] J. SCHNETZ, *op. cit.* (n. 67), p. 88: 24, cf. p. 132: 34-35.

[300] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 2 (p. 615).

[301] *AAAlg*, fol. 2 (Herbillon), No. 2.

27. Ğiğel / Kaukakis and Collo / Chullu

Thapsa is followed by "Kaukakis, a city and a harbour". The name is not attested in other sources, but one might refer to the similar name Καύκασα or Καύκασον of a harbour on the island Chios[302] and assume that Kaukakis is a toponym still going back to the Naxian tradition[303]. One can also point at the occasional Greek rendering of *g* by *k*, like in Ptolemy's Κανουκίς[304], that seems to correspond to Gunugu[305], but such a phonological consideration is not very helpful in the present case. Instead, geographic position, archaeological findings, and toponymy may lead to the hypothetical identification of Kaukakis with *-Gilgil*, ancient Igilgili and modern Ğiğel. This city occupies a low peninsula[306], where tombs of a Punic type with rock-cut cists and access shafts were found in the 19th century[307], but could not be dated because they have been robbed and emptied. Other tombs have been excavated later by J. and P. Alquier[308], then by M. Astruc[309]. Sepultures with access shafts and rectangular chambers contained funeral offerings from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. and provided evidence for cremation and multiple inhumation. Besides, inhumation burials in shallow, rock-cut graves yielded, in 1935, Punic pottery that M. Astruc dated between the 6th and the 4th century B.C. However, the uncovered material rather dates from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C., since even the shape of the black glazed chalice, found in one of the tombs, and the rose impressed on its bottom are identical with those of the chalices dating to the 3rd century B.C.[310] No object found in the Ğiğel tombs and witnessing Punic manufacture dates therefore from a period prior to the 3rd century B.C. Now, this is precisely the time when Ğiğel enters into history. Polybius mentions it among the "cities called Metagonic", where Hannibal levied 4,000 foot-soldiers in 219/8 to reinforce the defences of Carthage[311]. Its later his-

[302] HERODOTUS, *History* V, 33.
[303] See here above, p. 387, 388, 390. The ending -ακις is Greek, e.g. παλλακίς.
[304] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 596).
[305] DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 106.
[306] *AAAlg*, fol. 7 (Bougie), No. 77.
[307] A.H.L. DELAMARE, *op. cit.* (n. 294), Pls. XII, 4-6 and XIII; St. GSELL, *Fouilles de Gouraya*, Paris 1903, p. 47-49. See also *PECS*, p. 405-406.
[308] J. & P. ALQUIER, *Tombes phéniciennes à Djidjeli (Algérie)*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 5th ser., 31 (1930), p. 1-17.
[309] M. ASTRUC, *Nouvelles fouilles de Djidjeli*, in *Revue Africaine* 80 (1937), p. 197-253.
[310] P. CINTAS, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 11-12, n. 28 = *Revue Africaine* 92 (1948), p. 273-274, n. 28.
[311] POLYBIUS, *History* III, 33, 12-13.

tory is not known until the foundation of a colony by Augustus[312]. The worship of African Saturnus probably continued the cult of Baal Ḥamon there[313], but the same question raises again, namely: Was Igilgili a Carthaginian foundation or a Numidian town with settlers brought from Carthaginian territory in order to enhance the economy and trade of a Numidian princedom?

The first element *I-* of the name Igilgili is certainly the Phoenician-Punic noun *'iy*, "isle" or "peninsula", but the element *gilgili* can go back to Semitic[314] as well as to Libyco-Berber, especially if its original pronunciation was close to *-kəlkəl*[315], as the Greek adaptation Καυκακίς might suggest[316].

There were at least two intermediary anchorages or ports of call between Skikda and Ğiğel. The first one was probably Collo, ancient Chullu, the name of which has also been compared with Καυκακίς[317]. Chullu/Collo is situated on the eastern side of a large promontory ending in the north at Cape Bougaroun[318], the ancient *Promuntorium Metagonium*[319]. The site of the harbour offers a convenient anchorage, but the place is not mentioned before Roman times, and Ptolemy gives it a double name: Κόλλοψ Μέγας ἢ Χούλλου[320]. Since Semitic *k* is often transcribed in Greek by χ[321], both names may have the same origin, but it is uncertain whether the city name is Phoenician-Punic or Libyco-Berber. It seems to be related to the toponyms *A-cholla/A-chulla*[322], *civitas Chul*[323], *municipium Chullitanum*[324]. The Phoenician origin of the settle-

[312] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 21; cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 174
[313] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 294.
[314] The noun may mean "skull", like Hebrew *gulgolet* and Akkadian *gulgull(at)u*, or "circle" of dressed stones, like Hebrew *gilgāl* (place name). A word *glgl* occurs also in Punic, but its meaning is uncertain; cf. Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 139.
[315] For this Tuareg word and related nouns, cf. Cl. GOUFFÉ, *Contacts de vocabulaire entre le haoussa et le touareg*, in A. CAQUOT - D. COHEN (eds.), *Actes du Premier Congrès International de Linguistique sémitique et chamito-sémitique*, The Hague 1974, p. 359-380 (see p. 362).
[316] In some ancient Libyco-Berber dialects, *al* can alternate with *au* in certain conditions; cf. JONGELING, *Names*, p. 90-91.
[317] GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 154, n. 1, notices however that there is a big difference between the two names.
[318] *AAAlg*, fol. 8 (Philippeville), No. 29.
[319] POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 33. Cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 191-194.
[320] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 2 (p. 614).
[321] J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 145), p. 19-21, §37.
[322] S.M. CECCHINI, *Acholla*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 4.
[323] Henchir Mdeina: *CNSA*, fol. 22 (Menzel Bou Zelfa), No. 273.
[324] *CIL* VI, 1684; cf. Cl. LEPELLEY, *op. cit.* (n. 103), p. 282-283.

ment is proved neither by the purple dyeing industry, mentioned by Solinus[325], nor by the necropolis of Chullu with typically Punic tombs[326].

One of the tombs, for instance, has a sloping *dromos* that leads to a suite of two sepulchral chambers, as found at Lemta (Lepcis Minus) and other sites of Byzacium. Funeral offerings consist of late Punic pottery, like ewers with trefoil mouth, and of imported Hellenistic ware: varnished black vessels, Greek lamps, hemispheric cups with moulded vegetal ornaments. The burials of the necropolis were predominantly cremations, but secondary interments of non-cremated, piled up bones have been found as well. Carthaginian and other Punic coins from the graves allow dating these burials between the second part of the 3rd and the beginning of the 1st century B.C., i.e. from the period of the Numidian kings. Chullu may thus have been a foundation of a Numidian ruler, trying to develop the economy of his country by calling on Carthage and her culture for the advancement of his kingdom.

A second intermediate anchorage for coastal sailing between Skikda and Ǧiǧel may be located either at the mouth of Wad Zhour[327] or at the mouth of Wad al-Kebir[328], the ancient *Ampsaga*, 15 km further to the west.

28. Beǧaya / Sida

"Sida, a city and a harbour", mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax after Kaukakis, raises similar questions, because it does not occur in other texts, except for a *Syda* located inland on the Peutinger Table, where it occupies the site of Bida[329]. St. Gsell suggested nevertheless to identify Sida with Beǧaya (Bougie), ancient Salda[330], where the presence of *d* would support the hypothesis of a Libyco-Berber dialectal alternation of *al* and *au*[331], thus *Salda* > **Sauda* > *Sūda*(?). On the other hand,

[325] Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXVI, 1: *Chulli purpurario fuco Tyriis velleribus comparata.*

[326] Capitaine Hélo, *Notice sur la nécropole liby-phénicienne de Collo*, in *BAC* 1895, p. 343-368 and Pls. XII-XIV; St. Gsell, *op. cit.* (n. 307), p. 42-46.

[327] *AAAlg*, fol. 8 (Philippeville), No. 22.

[328] *AAAlg*, fol. 8 (Philippeville), No. 5. Possible vestiges of a wharf up the river, on the left bank, are indicated by P. Morizot, *Une dédicace inédite à Antonin le Pieux en provenance de Tucca*, in A. Mastino (ed.), *L'Afrique Romaine* VIII, Sassari 1991, p. 283-298 and Pls. I-XVI (see Pl. II, No. 10). The construction of a large artificial harbour at the mouth of Wad al-Kebir started some years ago (see *ibid.*, p. 284, Fig. 1).

[329] Cf. *AAAlg*, fol. 6 (Fort National), No. 104 (p. 13, col. 2). In fact, it might be the name of a seaport deserving the area of Bida, modern Ǧema' Saharič.

[330] Gsell, *HAAN* II, p. 152.

[331] Jongeling, *Names*, p. 90-91.

Σάλδα/*Saldae* is attested only in Greek and Latin — not before Strabo — and the true nature of the phonemes transcribed as *s* and *ld* are unknown. Therefore, the δ of Σίδα might just be an older indication of the phoneme known later as *ld*[332].

At any rate, Salda provided a very well protected shelter for vessels, not far from the mouth of the Wad Soummam. Although Strabo regarded it as "a large harbour"[333], that early sailors should have known, Phoenician-Punic remains are slim there and somewhat uncertain. In the mid-19th century reference was made to Punic steles at Beǧaya (Bougie), which represented a figure with upright arms, surmounted by carved sun and moon symbols; besides, some steles had a short Phoenician or Punic inscription[334]. This short description indicates that the steles were decorated with the humanized "Sign of Tannit", surmounted by a disk and crescent. No trace of these steles was found later, but most likely they were Punic or Neo-Punic votive offerings, that could not witness an early Carthaginian influence in the region. The hoard of Punic coins found at Beǧaya in 1927 consists of Carthaginian issues from the final quarter of the 3rd century B.C.[335] and therefore does not witness a Punic presence at Salda before the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.).

There was at least one port of call between Ǧiǧel and Beǧaya, probably at Ziama, that corresponds to ancient Choba[336].

29. Iomnium-Rusippisir

Pseudo-Scylax mentions Ἰουλίου ἄκρα immediately after Sida, adding that there was "a city and a harbour". The usual identification of the site with Shershel/Iol[337], modern Ašrašāl, is not convincing because of the qualification ἄκρα, "promontory", that hardly suits Shershel/Iol[338]. One wonders whether the promontory in question is not Cape

[332] Compare Lipiński, *Semitic*, §16.8 and §17.7.

[333] Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 12.

[334] Ch. Texier, *Antiquités de Bougie*, in *Revue Archéologique* 8 (1851-52), p. 574-576 (see p. 574).

[335] J.-P. Laporte, *Saldae (Bougie): un trésor de monnaies puniques enfoui vers la fin de la seconde guerre punique*, in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1998, p. 211-224; A. Soltani, *À propos du trésor monétaire punique de Bougie (Algérie)*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 1779-1782. The hoard contained 2671 coins.

[336] J.-P. Laporte, *Ziama, antique* Choba municipium, in *Actes du Colloque international sur l'histoire de Sétif* (BAA, Suppl. 7), Alger 1993, p. 45-82.

[337] Gsell, *HAAN* II, p. 160; Desanges, *Recherches*, p. 106, followed by E. Lipiński, *art. cit.* (n. 3), in *REPPAL* 7-8 (1992-93), p. 301.

[338] *AAAlg*, fol. 4 (Cherchel), No. 16.

Tedless, where lies the acropolis of Taksebt, ancient Rusippisir, while the harbour would correspond to Tigzirt, ancient Iomnium, 3 km to the west[339]. The *Itinerarium Antonini* only mentions *Iomnium*, the harbour site[340], and Pseudo-Scylax might have done the same, at least if 'Ιουλίου stands for *'Ιομνίου. One should reckon here with a scribal error, possibly occasioned by the resemblance of the place name to a Greek word. Since Pseudo-Scylax generally uses Greek or Graecized forms of place names, 'Ιουλίου may have been inspired by ἰουλίς, as a red sea fish was called. The new identification has wide-ranging consequences, since the location of the following seven places, from Hebdomos to Mes, should be changed accordingly. The resulting identifications fit better the provided scanty information, as we shall see, and thus seem to confirm the equation 'Ιουλίου = *'Ιομνίου.

Iomnium occupied a small peninsula, which provided a convenient shelter for vessels. It was a harbour, as still suggested by the present-day name of Tigzirt, related to Berber *iġẓeṛ*, "stream"[341], while Taksebt derives from Kasbah, "citadel". The ancient names, attested in Roman times, were Phoenician-Punic. The initial *I-* of Iomnium usually stands for *'iy*, "island" or "peninsula", while the second element is a derivative of *'mn*, expressing the idea of fastness. As for Rusippisir, it very likely means "Cape of Rosemary"[342]. Both places are mentioned in the Peutinger Table, which created some confusion in the past. It locates Rusippisir 23 miles west of Rusazus, present-day Azeffoun, what corresponds to the 30 km separating the two places, but it indicates 42 miles, instead of 2 miles, as distance between Rusippisir and Iomnium.

Punic influence is demonstrated at Taksebt by at least five Neo-Punic steles from the 1st century B.C., as well as by later steles from the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., some of which still surmounted urns with cremated remains of animals[343]. This circumstance shows that there was a *tophet* at the site, dedicated to Baal Ḥamon, later named Saturnus. In fact, a Latin inscription found at Tigzirt mentions the "temple of the invincible god Frugifer" and the "portico for the performance of sacred ceremonies"[344]. These are most likely references to a temple of African Saturnus. However, archaeological researches did not manage to establish so far how old was the Punic influence at Tigzirt-Taksebt[345].

If 'Ιουλίου really corresponds to ancient Rusippisir-Iomnium and Σίδα to Salda, Pseudo-Scylax did not mention any port of call all along a coast line of about 100 km. At least two harbours have to be located there, the first one at the mouth of Wad Da'as, where ruins indicated the presence of an ancient settlement[346], and at Azeffoun, which corresponds to Rusazus, attested in Greek[347] and Latin[348]. This is obviously a Phoenician-Punic name meaning "Cape of the Strong one" (*r'š 'z*) and referring first to Cape Corbelin, and then to the settlement[349]. The ancient Libyco-Berber name *A-zeffoun* of the town seems at first sight to recover another Punic toponym, apparently *Ṣapōn*, attested in the Levant (Jos. 13, 27). However, no topographic explanation of such a place name at the site of Azeffoun is on hand and a sheer assonance is possible.

30. Dellys / Rusuccuru

The next "city and harbour" mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax is called Ἕβδομος, "Seventh" in Greek. This is neither a real African place name nor a descriptive designation of a site, but it can be a translation of Phoenician *šb'*, "seven". "Seven" would be a convenient popular etymology of the name borne by Wad Sebaou, that may have preserved its old name like other North-African rivers. The writer had previously linked Ἕβδομος with Wad Damous, 15 km west of Gunugu/Gouraya[350]. However, if 'Ιουλίου is Iomnium-Rusippisir instead of being Shershel/Iol, a better solution is provided by the name of Wad Sebaou, the final section of which is also called Addima. Its mouth is situated 4

[339] *AAAlg*, fol. 6 (Fort National), Nos. 34 and 35.

[340] O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 2: 17, 1.

[341] For example, M.G. KOSSMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 473.

[342] P. SWIGGERS, *Vestiges toponymiques de la présence phénico-punique en Sardaigne*, in H. DEVIJVER - E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Punic Wars* (Studia Phoenicia X; OLA 33), Leuven 1989, p. 25-35 (see p. 34-35).

[343] P. GAVAULT, *Études sur les ruines romaines de Tigzirt*, Paris 1897, p. 123-124, Fig. 22, Nos. 1-4; St. GSELL, in *BAC* 1901, p. CLI-CLII; M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 301-302.

[344] *CIL* VIII, 20711; cf. M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 301.

[345] P. GAVAULT, *Les fouilles de Tigzirt*, in *BAC* 1894, p. 278-280; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 343); M. EUZENNAT, *Inscriptions nouvelles de Tigzirt*, in *Libyca* 3 (1955), p. 299-306; ID., *Histoire municipale de Tigzirt, Rusuccuru colonia et municipium*, in *MÉFR* 67 (1955), p. 127-148; ID., *Le premier établissement romain de Tigzirt*, in *MÉFR* 69 (1957), p. 75-80; ID. - G. HALLIER, *Le mausolée de Taksebt (Algérie)*, in *CRAI* 1992, p. 235-248. See also the archaeological chronicles in *Libyca* and *PECS*, p. 414.

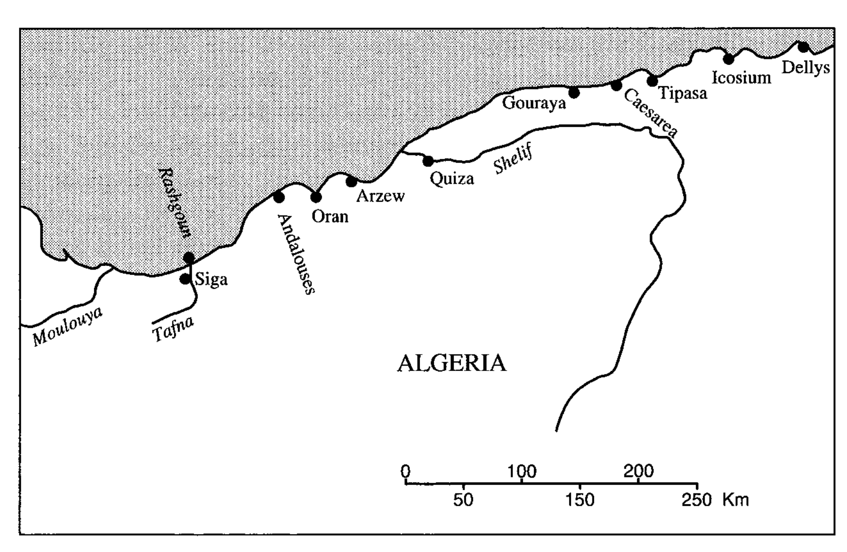
[346] *AAAlg*, fol. 6 (Fort National), No. 87.

[347] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 598): Ρουσαζοῦς.

[348] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 20; *CIL* VIII, 8929; 8933; 8937 = 20681; also 8991; cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 172-173.

[349] *AAAlg*, fol. 6 (Fort National), Nos. 70 and 74 (cf. addit. to No. 87). See also *PW* IA, col. 1234.

[350] E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 3), in *REPPAL* 7-8 (1992-93), p. 303.



From Dellys to Siga.

km west of Cape Bengut, which was called *Rusuccuru* in Latin[351], Ρουσουκκόρου in Greek[352]. The cape gave its name to the city — present-day Dellys — and to its harbour, located on the eastern side of the promontory. The latter thus protected the ships from the dangerous western winds, while an alternative anchorage near the mouth of Wad Sebaou may have served as a shelter against eastern winds. The Libyco-Berber name of the site — without the Phoenician-Punic element *Rūš* — is provided by the *oppidum A-scur-um*[353], where *-scur-* corresponds to Berber *-sekkur-*, "patridge"[354]. The Phoenician-Punic name had the same meaning, since **Rūš-qōrē* means "Cape of the Patridge"[355].

Punic remains so far discovered at the site are not prior to the 3rd century B.C. A Carthaginian gold coin is one of the oldest Punic pieces of

[351] For *Rusuccuru* in Latin epigraphic sources, see J.-P. LAPORTE, *Le statut municipal de Rusuccuru,* in A. MASTINO - P. RUGGERI (eds.), *L'Africa Romana* X, Sassari 1994, p. 419-437.

[352] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 598).

[353] (CAESAR), *African War* 23, 1. The context, dealing with events in 47 B.C., decidedly supports this identification.

[354] For instance: M.G. KOSSMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 526.

[355] For *qōrē*, "patridge", see JASTROW, p. 1341. The cautious reference to the root *'qr* in E. LIPIŃSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 3), in *REPPAL* 7-8 (1992-93), p. 293-297, assumes that the second *u* in *Rusuccuru* hides an *'ayn*, but this is rather a paragogic vowel, like in *Rusubbicari.*

evidence found at Dellys[356] and it is followed by three Neo-Punic steles from the 2nd or 1st century B.C. A humanized "Sign of Tannit" surmounted by the disk and crescent symbol is carved on the first one[357], while the "Sign of Tannit" is represented on the tympanum of the second one, with the crescent and the "cake-crown" symbols beneath[358]. The third stele bears a Neo-Punic funerary inscription[359]. The steles with the "Sign of Tannit" imply the presence of a *tophet* and of a sanctuary of Baal Ḥamon, followed by Saturnus in the Roman period, as suggested by a few anepigraphic steles from the early 2nd century A.D.[360] Archaeological documentation is thus poor and does not prove the existence of an early Punic settlement.

Some 15 km west of the mouth of Wad Sebaou, the site of the ancient town and harbour of Cissi presents a similar situation. The city, called Κισσή by Ptolemy[361], was situated east of Cape Djinet and, on higher ground, to the southwest of the promontory[362]. A Latin inscription helped identifying the town[363], the ruins of which yielded also a Neo-Punic inscription[364]. The latter was dedicated by a certain Derku Adonibaal, "man of Kissi" (*hš Kšy*), who was a member of the local town council (*'š [b]-'m l-Kš*). This inscription witnesses the strong Punic

[356] P. SALAMA, *Huit siècles de circulation monétaire sur les sites côtiers de Maurétanie centrale et orientale (IIIe siècle av. J.-C. - Ve siècle ap. J.-C.),* in *Symposium numismático de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1979, Vol. II, p. 109-146 (see p. 137, No. 120a). The coin belongs to Type III or Type IV according to G.K. JENKINS - R.B. LEWIS, *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins*, London 1963, p. 29 and Pl. 6, Nos. 136-173 (Type III, *ca.* 360-320 B.C.), or p. 31 and Pl. 9, Nos. 242-244 (Type IV, *ca.* 320-310 B.C.). These dates seem to be too high, since L. MILDENBERG, *Punic Coinage on the Eve of the First War against Rome. A Reconsideration*, in H. DEVIJVER-E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Punic Wars* (Studia Phoenicia X; OLA 33), Leuven 1989, p. 5-14, considers that "no coins have been issued in Carthage proper earlier than around the turn from the fourth to the third century" (p. 10).

[357] P. WUILLEUMIER, *Musée d'Alger. Supplément*, Paris 1928, p. 22 and Pl. II, 4; H.G. HORN - C.B. RÜGER (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 572-573, Pl. 103, 1, where the dating in the 3rd century B.C. is too high.

[358] G. DOUBLET, *Musée d'Alger*, Paris 1890, p. 67-68 and Pl. IV, 5; M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 303 and Pl. XXXIX, 4.

[359] Museum of Algiers, Inv. No. 1128. Cf. J. CARCOPINO, in *BAC* 1915, p. XCI; R. DUSSAUD, *Inscriptions néopuniques d'Algérie et de Tunisie I. Inscription néopunique trouvée à Dellys*, in *BAC* 1917, p. 161-163.

[360] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 303-304 and Pl. XXXIX, 5-6.

[361] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 598).

[362] *AAAlg*, fol. 5 (Alger), No. 57.

[363] J.-P. LAPORTE, *Cap Djinet: une dédicace des Cissiani à Sévère Alexandre*, in *BAC*, n.s., 9B (1973), p. 25-37.

[364] J.G. FÉVRIER, *La deuxième stèle punique du Cap Djinet*, in *RA* 48 (1954), p. 86-88; *KAI* 170.

influence in the region, but the name of Derku is certainly Libyco-Berber[365]. As for the hoard of coins of Juba II (25 B.C. - 23 A.D.), found on Cape Djinet, it brings us only to the early 1st century A.D.[366]

A similar situation occurs at Rusubbicari[367], localized at Mers al-Ḥağeğe[368], 17 km west of Cape Djinet. The name of this small promontory consists of the Phoenician-Punic word *Rūš-*, "Cape", and of a second element that seems to be Libyco-Berber[369]. The remains of the ancient settlement on the hill have never been excavated.

31. Algiers / Icosium

It is hard to believe that Pseudo-Scylax did not mention any harbour in the Bay of Algiers, well protected from eastern winds by Cape Tamadfus (Matifou)[370], which bore a Phoenician-Punic name in Antiquity: Ρουσγόνιον in Greek[371], *Rusguniae* in Latin[372], probably *Rūš-gūnī*, "Cape of the Francolin"[373]. The worship of Saturnus in the ancient settlement on the headland is illustrated by the unique extant stele[374] from a group of about one hundred votive steles reused in a Christian cemetery[375], and by an inscription from Shershel, dated in 29/30 A.D. and recording an offer made to Saturnus by a priestess assisted by a woman native from Rusguniae[376]. We can assume that the worship of Baal Ḥamon had preceded that of Saturnus in a town bearing a Punic name,

[365] *DRKU* in *RIL* 1098 (cf. JONGELING, *Names*, p. 164 and 218) and *Derci* (genitive) in CORIPPUS, *Iohannis* VIII, 566, in *op. cit.* (n. 282).

[366] M. THOMPSON - O. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *op. cit.* (n. 241), No. 2308.

[367] *Rusubbicari* occurs in the *Itinerarium Antonini* (O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* [n. 54], p. 2: 16, 2), while the Peutinger Table mentions *Rusubricari*, and PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 597), Ρουσίβικαρ; the Cosmography of Ravenna lists *Rusuvicaris* (J. SCHNETZ, *op. cit.* [n. 67], p. 88: 14, cf. p. 132: 24).

[368] *AAAlg*, fol. 5 (Alger), No. 51. Cf. also *PW* IA, col. 1237.

[369] This word seems to be related to *bkr*, "fig"; cf. M.G. KOSSMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 396. It is possibly a "fig-tree".

[370] *AAAlg*, fol. 5 (Alger), No. 36. Cf. also *PW* IA, col. 1236-1237; DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 169-170.

[371] PTOLEMY, *Geography*, IV, 2, 2 (p. 597).

[372] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 20; *CIL* VIII, 9045; 9047; 9247; 9250.

[373] Cf. Arabic *ğūnī* and Hebrew *gūnī*. — A history of the town is presented by P. SALAMA, *Chronique d'une ville disparue: "Rusguniae" de Maurétanie Césarienne*, in *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1996, p. 129-143.

[374] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 305.

[375] V. WAILLE, *Découverte archéologique au Cap Matifou*, in *Revue Africaine* 41 (1897), p. 286-288, thought that these were funerary steles. In fact, they have been reused in a cemetery, as noticed by St. GSELL, in *MÉFR* 18 (1899), p. 133-134; ID., *Notes d'archéologie algérienne VII*, in *BAC* 1899, p. 459-464 (see p. 464).

[376] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 315-317.

but further archaeological information is wanting, also concerning the ancient harbour of the city.

On the opposite side of the bay, about 15 km to the west, lay an island called Peñon by the Spaniards and in Arabic al-Ǧazā'ir (the islets)[377], corrupted to Algiers. This island was occupied by Phoenician-Punic settlers at least from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C. on[378]. They called it *'yksm*[379], probably "the Owls' island"[380], a name transcribed Ἰκόσιον in Greek[381] and *Icosium* in Latin[382]. We can assume that this is "the island of Akion, a city and a harbour", mentioned after Hebdomos by Pseudo-Scylax whose source either adapted **'Iy-kōsīm* to the name of a city on the east coast of Sicily, close to Naxos and called *Acium* in Roman times[383], or simply called it by the name given to the site by Naxian sailors in the 6th century B.C.

There is no evidence that a Phoenician-Punic settlement existed there at that time. We do not know how old is the Greek etiological legend ascribing the foundation of Icosium to twenty — Greek εἴκοσι — companions of Heracles[384], and only one Neo-Punic stele was found in Algiers[385], followed by a stele dedicated in the 2nd-3rd century A.D. to African Saturnus[386]. In other words, there is no evidence bringing us higher than the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C., corresponding to the early period of the Numidian kings.

32. Tipasa and Shershel / Iol

If there is no evidence supporting the hypothesis of a Phoenician-Punic presence at Icosium in the 6th century B.C., the existence of such

[377] *AAAlg*, fol. 5 (Alger), No. 12. Cf. also DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 166-169.

[378] The date is provided by the pottery discovered in a *favissa* excavated in the harbour quarter of Algiers: M. LEGLAY, *À la recherche d'Icosium*, in *AntAfr* 2 (1968), p. 7-52.

[379] This legend appears on the obverse of local coins belonging to a hoard of 158 Punic lead and copper coins from the period 150-50 B.C.: J. CANTINEAU - L. LESCHI, *Monnaies puniques d'Alger*, in *CRAI* 1941, p. 263-272; M. THOMPSON - O. MØRKHOLM - C.M. KRAAY, *op. cit.* (n. 241), No. 2303.

[380] Since *kōs* is a night-bird, one wonders which is the basis of the often encountered translation "gull's island".

[381] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 597).

[382] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* III, 19; V, 20; SOLINUS, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXV, 17.

[383] *Itinerarium Antonini*: O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 12: 87, 3.

[384] SOLINUS, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXV, 17.

[385] G. DOUBLET, *op. cit.* (n. 358), p. 28 and 67-68, Pl. IV, 5.

[386] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 306.

early settlements is proved by archaeological findings at Tipasa[387], 63 km west of Algiers, and at Shershel/Iol[388], 90 km west of the capital. Nothing is known instead about the probable port of call between Algiers and Tipasa, very likely near Zeralda, at the mouth of Wad Mazafran[389].

The site of Tipasa offers an excellent anchorage for ancient coastal sailing and the Phoenician-Punic presence is attested there as early as the 6th century B.C.[390] The toponym is nevertheless Libyco-Berber, like all the Maghribine place names in *Thi-/Ti-* or *Tha-/Ta-*, and it was probably written *Ṭp'tn*, like the name of Tipasa in Numidia[391]. The city has extended under Roman occupation far outside the rocky Promontory of the Forum, lying west of the harbour, and new buildings covered the earlier Phoenician-Punic settlement. Archaeological findings in the cemeteries located east and west of the city provided abundant evidence of the maritime connections of Punic Tipasa with the Iberian Peninsula, the Greek world, and Italy. There is a rich material from the 4th-3rd centuries B.C. and the earliest tombs contained Ionian and Attic pottery from the 6th century B.C.[392] Besides, on the Koudiat Zarour, east of the city and of the Basilica of St. Salsa, J. Baradez discovered a small sacrificial area with anepigraphic steles, offering tables, and urns containing cremated remains of sacrificed victims. Pottery allows dating this Neo-Punic sanctuary to the 1st-2nd century A.D. Also tombs in Punic style were then built in the cemetery situated east of the harbour, certainly before 146/7 A.D., when the new city wall was erected. Special attention was paid by archaeologists to the 150 objects — many of a ritual character — constituting the funeral offerings of a priest sacrificer, active in the 1st century

[387] *AAAlg*, fol. 4 (Cherchel), No. 38. Cf. Desanges, *Pline*, p. 165-166.

[388] *AAAlg*, fol. 4 (Cherchel), No. 16. Cf. Desanges, *Pline*, p. 162-164.

[389] *AAAlg*, fol. 5 (Alger), between Nos. 2 and 3.

[390] P. Cintas, *Fouilles puniques à Tipasa*, Alger 1949 = *Revue Africaine* 92 (1948), p. 263-323; J. Baradez, *Tipasa, ville antique de Maurétanie*, Alger 1952; Id., *Nouvelles fouilles à Tipasa*, in *Libyca* 2 (1954), p. 89-146; 5 (1957), p. 159-276; 9 (1961), p. 7-199; Id., *Quatorze années de recherches archéologiques à Tipasa (1948-1961)*, in *Revue Africaine* 105 (1961), p. 215-250; S. Lancel, *Tipasitana*, in *BAA* 1 (1962-65), p. 41-74; 2 (1966-67), p. 251-259; 3 (1968), p. 85-166; 4 (1970), p. 149-206; M. Bouchenaki, *Tipasa de Maurétanie*, Alger 1971; S. Lancel, *Tipasa de Maurétanie*, in *ANRW* II/10, 2, Berlin-New York 1982, p. 739-754, with literature; M.M. Morciano, *Tipasa d'Algeria: un esempio di pianificazione antica,* in A. Mastino - P. Ruggeri (eds.), *L'Africa Romana* X, Sassari 1994, p. 403-418; S. Lancel, *Modalités de l'inhumation privilégiée dans la nécropole de Sainte-Salsa à Tipasa (Algérie)*, in *CRAI* 1997, p. 791-801.

[391] See here above, p. 390 with n. 282.

[392] S. Lancel, *art. cit.* (n. 390), in *BAA* 1 (1962-63), p. 54-55, 69; 3 (1968), p. 127, 130-131, 139, 159; *ANRW* II/10, 23, p. 746 with earlier literature.

A.D. and probably attached to a shrine of Baal Ḥamon[393]. This cult was usually continued by the worship of Saturnus, so far represented at Tipasa by a single monument[394]. It is somewhat surprising that no Punic inscription — either votive or funerary — was ever discovered at Tipasa and that Pseudo-Scylax does not provide any indication pointing at this seaport.

Instead, Neo-Punic inscriptions were found at Shershel/Iol[395], 27 km west of Tipasa, and Pseudo-Scylax' reference to "the island of Psamathos", i.e. "Sand Island", suggests its identification with the islet of Joinville at Shershel/Iol[396]. In fact, Phoenician-Punic **'Iy-ḥōl* > *Iol* precisely means "Island of Sand". The qualification "a city and the harbour" does not mean that the city was restricted to the island, while the following phrase "and a bay, and in the bay the island of Bartas and a harbour" refers to another site.

The oldest Punic pottery found on the islet of Joinville dates according to J. Lassus from the 5th century B.C. Some wares discovered in the course of Algerian-British excavations under the pavement of the forum, in particular a Punic lamp, go even back to the 6th century B.C.[397] We do not know the circumstances in which Iol became a Numidian royal city. At any rate, the Punic inscription in honour of king Micipsa (148-118 B.C.) indicates that the city had a sanctuary dedicated to the Massylian ruler[398]. Thereafter Iol was the capital city of Bocchus II of Mauretania (49-33 B.C.)[399], who took Caesar's part in the civil wars, and had his ter-

[393] J. Baradez, *Nouvelles fouilles de Tipasa: Survivance du culte de Baal et de Tanit au Ier siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, in *Libyca* 5 (1957), p. 221-276.

[394] M. Leglay, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 313.

[395] *NP* 130; *BAC* 1924, p. cxlvi; *KAI* 161.

[396] *AAAlg*, fol. 4 (Cherchel), No. 16. Cf. also Desanges, *Pline*, p. 162-164. The island is mentioned explicitly by Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 12. For Shershel, in general, see J. Lassus, *L'archéologie algérienne en 1959*, in *Libyca* 8/2 (1960 [1965]), p. 19-62; N. Benseddik - S. Ferdi - P. Leveau, *Cherchel*, Alger 1983; P. Leveau, *Caesarea de Maurétanie*, Rome 1984, p. 9-13; Id., *Fouilles sur la nécropole de la gare routière de Cherchell, Algérie (1992-1993)*, in *AntAfr* 35 (1999), p. 77-133; also H.G. Horn - C.B. Rüger (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 111-116, 227-242, 488-545.

[397] N. Benseddik, *De Caesarea à Shershel. Premiers résultats de la fouille du forum*, in *BAC*, n.s., 19B (1983 [1985]), p. 451-456; T.W. Potter, *Models of Urban Growth. The Cherchel Excavations 1977-1981*, in *BAC*, n.s., 19B (1983 [1985]), p. 457-468; N. Benseddik - T.W. Potter, *Rapport préliminaire sur la fouille du forum de Cherchel* (BAA, Suppl. 4), Alger 1986; Id. - Id., *Fouilles du forum de Cherchel (1977-1981)*, 2 vols. (BAA, Suppl. 6), Alger 1993.

[398] *KAI* 161; H.P. Roschinski, *Die Mikiwsan-Inschrift aus Cherchel*, in H.G. Horn - C.B. Rüger (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 111-116 and 574-575.

[399] Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 12; Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* XXV, 16.

ritory enlarged by him. In 25 B.C. Augustus gave the kingdom to Juba II (25 B.C-23 A.D.)[400], who changed the name of his capital Iol into Caesarea (hence Shershel) in honour of Augustus. He was succeeded by his son Ptolemy (23-40 A.D.). Already under Ptolemy's reign, the worship of Saturnus served at Shershel as a substitute for the cult of Baal Ḥamon[401], still attested in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. by a Neo-Punic stele found near the Tenes Gate[402], in the western part of the city. Steles from Roman times, dedicated to Saturnus, were uncovered in the same area[403], showing the continuity of the Punic cult in a sanctuary that certainly comprised a *tophet*.

33. Gunugu

After the "Sand Island", Pseudo-Scylax mentions a gulf with an island. Since the first gulf occurring west of Shershel/Iol and deserving this qualification is the semicircular Gulf of Arzew, no port of call is mentioned all along a sailing distance of about 250 km. Yet, an antique port existed at Gunugu[404], 33 km west of Shershel/Iol. The ancient site was identified with the Qubba of Sidi Brahim, near Gouraya, where the excavations of a cemetery have uncovered pre-Roman remains, mainly from the 6th-4th centuries B.C. [405], comprising also Attic ware going back at least to the 5th century B.C.[406] and painted ostrich-egg shells with designs similar to shells' from tombs at Villaricos (Spain)[407] and inspired by Levantine iconography, datable to the 8th-7th centuries B.C.[408] The

[400] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 20; STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 12; POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 30.

[401] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 315-317, Pl. XL, 1.

[402] *NP* 130: P. GAUCKLER, *Musée de Cherchel*, Paris 1895, p. 88-90, Pl. II, 4; G.A. COOKE, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, No. 56; J.G. FÉVRIER, *L'inscription néopunique de Cherchel I*, in *RHR* 141 (1952), p. 19-25.

[403] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 314-321.

[404] *AAAlg*, fol. 4 (Cherchel), No. 3. Cf. also DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 161-162.

[405] St. GSELL, *Les fouilles de Gouraya*, Paris 1903; P. GAUCKLER, *Nécropoles puniques de Carthage* II, Paris 1915, Pls. CCLII-CCCXL; F. MISSONNIER, *Fouilles dans la nécropole de Gouraya*, in *MÉFR* 50 (1933), p. 87-119. Their dating from the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C., proposed by Gsell and Gauckler, was raised by M. ASTRUC, *Supplément aux fouilles de Gouraya*, in *Libyca* 2 (1954), p. 9-48.

[406] F. VILLARD, *Vases antiques du Ve siècle av. J.-C. à Gouraya*, in *Libyca* 7 (1959), p. 7-13.

[407] M. ASTRUC, *art. cit.* (n. 405). In general, A. CAUBET, *Oeufs d'autruche*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 329-330 with bibliography.

[408] A. CAUBET, *Documents puniques: les oeufs d'autruche de Gouraya*, in *Actes du IIIe Congrès international des Études phéniciennes et puniques*, Tunis 1995, Vol. I, p. 253-259.

findings reflect the maritime connections of Gunugu with the Near East, Greek Sicily, and the Iberian Peninsula before the settlement entered the Carthaginian sphere of influence around the 5th century B.C. An Etruscan inscription, engraved on a bronze disk, was found at Sidi Brahim: it must date from the 3rd century B.C., but nothing can be said about the circumstances of its presence at the site[409]. The strength of the Punic cultural influence is illustrated later by at least 22 Neo-Punic inscriptions[410]. A few steles from Roman times, dating to the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., seem to witness the permanence of the cult of Baal Ḥamon under the traits of Saturnus whose name does nevertheless not appear on the steles[411].

The name of Gunugu is most likely Libyco-Berber. The Latin form Gunugu[412] is paralleled by Ptolemy's Κανουκίς[413], while the Neo-Punic legend of a coin found at Sidi Brahim shows a final *n: Gngn*[414]. This toponym is obviously related to the proper names *Gnwkn*[415] and *KNKN*[416] with the characteristic Libyco-Berber ending *-kn*[417]. The place name thus suggests a "Libyco-Phoenician" origin of the settlement.

About 15 km west of Gunugu/Gouraya, the mouth of Wad Damous would mark the site of the city called *Cartili* in Roman times[418]. The latter has been regarded as a Phoenician foundation[419], possibly named "City of God", **Qart-'ili*[420]. One should notice nevertheless that *Qrtly* occurring in a Neo-Punic inscription from Tunisia[421] is the Latin name *Cartilius*[422], and the toponym might have the same origin. A similar

[409] Y. LIEBERT, *Une inscription étrusque d'Algérie*, in *Revue des Études Latines* 74 (1996), p. 38-46. One should read: *(p)unieum Larthal.*

[410] *RÉS* 1979-2000.

[411] M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 322-323.

[412] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 5, 20; *CIL* VIII, 9071; 9423; *Itinerarium Antonini* (O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* [n. 54], p. 2: 15, 1). The Latin inscriptions from Gunugu have been published by F. MISSONNIER, *Stèles et inscriptions de Gouraya*, in *Revue Africaine* 74 (1933), p. 54-74; cf. also P. LEVEAU - N. BENSEDDIK - F. ROUMANE, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Cherchel*, in *BAA* 5 (1971-74), p. 173-193 (see p. 179, No. 8).

[413] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 5 (p. 596).

[414] L. CHARRIER, *Description des monnaies de la Numidie et de la Maurétanie*, Mâcon 1912, p. 50 and Pl. VIII; MAZARD, *Corpus*, p. 172-173.

[415] *CIS* I, 1443, 3; cf. *Gmkn* in *CIS* I, 2919, 2.3.

[416] *RIL* 627.

[417] JONGELING, *Names*, p. 60-61; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. XVII-XVIII.

[418] *AAAlg*, fol. 4 (Cherchel), No. 1.

[419] GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 162-163.

[420] Compare F. VATTIONI, *Per una ricerca sull'antroponimia fenicio-punica*, in *Studi Magrebini* 11 (1979), p. 42-123 (see p. 66).

[421] *NP* 114: J.-B. CHABOT, *Punica* XVII, 5, in *Journal Asiatique*, 11th ser., 10 (1917-2).

[422] Also the feminine form *Cartilia* is attested in North Africa: *CIL* VIII, 5682; 21022 (genitive). Cf. K. JONGELING, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 32.

question is raised by the name of *Cartennae*, present-day Tenes[423], situated 38 km further to the west. However, the ending *-tn* appearing in city names like *Krṭn*, "Cirta", *Sbrtn* or *Sbrt'n*, "Sabratha", *Ṭp'tn*, "Tipasa", rather suggests considering this toponym as Libyco-Berber[424]. This does not mean of course that *Cartennae* could not be used as a port of call by Punic or other vessels[425].

34. Quiza / Sidi Bel-Aḏar

About 150 km separate Tenes from Arzew. No natural seaport occurs in between, but some harbour activity may be assumed at the mouth of the Shelif (Chélif), ancient Χυλιμάθ[426]. The river has an outflow varying from 30,000 to 15,000 litres during the rains, but only a few hundred litres in the dry season. Anchorage was thus possible in certain periods of the year near the site of Sour Kelmitou, the "Wall of Chulimath", 7 km from the mouth of the river[427]. This place lies just below the ancient town of Quiza[428], Ptolemy's Κουίζα[429], where Gallish *terra sigillata* from the 1st century A.D. was found[430], implying some maritime connections. However, no systematic excavations have investigated the remote past of Quiza, despite its important ruins from Roman times. Quiza or a site below on the Χυλιμάθ river may correspond to Χάλκα πόλις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax immediately after a gulf with an island, probably the Gulf of Arzew.

[423] *AAAlg*, fol. 12 (Orléansville), No. 20.
[424] See also JONGELING, *Names*, p. 57-60; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. XV-XVI.
[425] Cf. G. VUILLEMOT, *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 15-16.
[426] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 594). Cf. J. DESANGES, *Deux études de toponymie de l'Afrique romaine*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Saumagne (= Cahiers de Tunisie* 15 [1967]), Tunis 1968, p. 103-111; G. CAMPS, *Remarques sur la toponymie de la Maurétanie césarienne occidentale*, in Y. LE BOHEC (ed.), *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay* (Coll. Latomus 226), Bruxelles 1994, p. 81-94 (see p. 82-85). The mouth of Χιναλάφ, often identified with the Shelif following E. CAT, *Essai sur la province romaine de Maurétanie césarienne*, Paris 1891, p. 19, is located by PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 596), cf. IV, 2, 5 (p. 603), between Caesarea (Shershel) and Gunugu (Sidi Brahim).
[427] *AAAlg*, fol. 11 (Bosquet), No. 3, gives the wrong transcription "Sourk el-Mitou"; cf. G. CAMPS, *art. cit.* (n. 426), p. 85.
[428] *AAAlg*, fol. 11 (Bosquet), No. 2, now Sidi Bel-Aḏar (Pont-du-Chélif). PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 19, calls it *Quiza Cenitana, oppidum peregrinorum*. For the qualification *Cenitana*, see J. DESANGES, *art. cit.* (n. 426).
[429] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 594).
[430] P. CADENAT, *Quiza et Mina: tessons de vases sigillés*, in *Libyca* 2 (1954), p. 243-248.

This identification would signify that Pseudo-Scylax or his source have inverted the order of the ports and went here back over a distance of some 30 km. The inversion may have been caused by the addition of a river port to the series of seaports. The main reason why the proposed identification should be considered seriously is the absence of any river with a nearby settlement between the Gulf of Arzew and the Tafna River, which is referred to by Pseudo-Scylax in the next line. The mouth of the Macta River, at the southern edge of the Gulf of Arzew, was indeed a swampy area, where no archaeological remains have been recorded[431]. As for the ravine of Rās al-ʿAyn at Oran, it is no river that might arose the interest of sailors.

The name Χάλκα, probably designating the same town as the African Χάλκη of Stephen of Byzantium[432], was possibly suggested by a certain assonance between Χυλιμάθ and Χαλκίς, the chief town of the island of Euboea[433]. The toponymy of the source used in this section by Pseudo-Scylax was in fact Euboean-Naxian, as we saw it above.

35. Portus Magnus / Arzew

In the *Periplus*, the "Sand Island" is followed immediately by a gulf with an island called Βαρτάς. This name appears to be the same as the one of the island of Barda, mentioned in the Italian *Compasso da navegare* from the mid-13th century[434], and therefore should be regarded as Libyco-Berber[435]. Barda is identified with present-day Burda in the Gulf of Bomba, in eastern Cyrenaica, where Pseudo-Scylax §108 locates the islands Ἀηδωνία and Πλατεῖαι. The gulf with the island Βαρτάς must be the Gulf of Arzew, protected by the Ǧebel Orouss from western winds. It was the site of the Roman *Portus Magnus*[436], identified with

[431] GSELL, *HAAN* I, p. 6; *AAAlg*, fol. 21 (Mostaganem), No. 6.
[432] STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Χάλκη, without naming his source, possibly Hecataeus; cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 107.
[433] The African town has nothing to do with copper mines, as some authors have assumed (cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 107 with n. 142), and a Phoenician toponym meaning "plot of land", like Hebrew *ḥelqā*, is too general to designate a town.
[434] The manuscript of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, was published by B.R. MOTZO, *Lo compasso da navegare. Opera italiana della metà del secolo XIII*, in *Archivio Storico Sardo* 1936-47, in particular 1936, p. 65-66, fol. 52. Cf. A. LARONDE - Ph. RIGAUD, *Les côtes de la Libye d'après un portulan du XIIIème siècle*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana* IX, Sassari 1992, p. 743-756 (see p. 747, 749, 751).
[435] M.G. KOSSMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 399, records the word *a-berda*, "sand" of an oasis.
[436] *AAAlg*, fol. 21 (Mostaganem), No. 6. Portus Magnus is already mentioned by PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 19, 2, then by POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I,

the ruins of Saint-Leu or Old Arzew that cover some 30 hectares, but are 2 km distant from the sea. Besides, the rectilinear coast line in front of Saint-Leu does not offer any shelter to ships, and the initial seaport had thus to be located elsewhere, most likely on an island that disappeared in the meantime, after having given its name to the continental settlement[437]. This island was still partly visible in the earlier decades of the 19th century, when Lieutenant A. Bérard briefly described the coast line from the mouth of the Macta River to the warehouses of Arzew[438]: "The coast is formed first by rocks over a distance of about 3 miles, next it only offers beaches as far as the warehouses of the bay of Arzew. Before reaching there, however, one encounters a small flat island, a bare rock, very close to the beach, called Island Tujisme". We assume that this was the remnant of the island of Bartas, mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax[439], and that its name Βαρτάς became *Portus* in Latin, with the qualification *Magnus* referring to the gulf. Only underwater research may confirm this hypothesis which implies that the name of the island was used until the Roman occupation of the area. It is uncertain, instead, whether the continental settlement bore the same name at the time of the Mauretanian kings.

In fact, the earliest remains discovered so far at Saint-Leu are pre-Roman, but do not seem to be older than the 2nd century B.C.: a Carthaginian coin[440], a monumental Punic inscription, possibly from the reign of Micipsa[441], late Campanian pottery datable to the end of the 2nd century B.C., found in shallow inhumation burials[442]. Several graves were surmounted by steles, sometimes with traces of a Neo-Punic

29. Cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 153-154. For a survey of earlier research, see J. LASSUS, *Le site de Saint-Leu, Portus Magnus*, in *CRAI* 1956, p. 285-293.

437 G. VUILLEMOT, *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 22; A. PERETTI, *Il Periplo di Scilace*, Pisa 1979, p. 361-362 with n. 394.

438 A. BÉRARD, *Description nautique des côtes de l'Algérie*, Paris 1839, p. 166.

439 See already DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 106-107. One should notice that the Berber name *Tu-ǧisme* of the island seems to be based on the Arabic qualification *ǧismī*, "massive", that might be a translation of *Magnus*.

440 L. DEMAEGHT, *Notice sur les fouilles exécutées dans les ruines de Saint-Leu*, in *BSGAO* 1899, p. 485-496 (see p. 495), provides information about the excavations conducted in 1897 by Georges Simon.

441 G. VUILLEMOT, *Inscription punique de Saint-Leu,* in *Libyca* 8/1 (1960 [1965]), p. 187-190; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 21, Fig. 2; J.-G. FÉVRIER, *L'inscription punique de Saint-Leu,* in *BAC* 1963-64 (1966), p. 152.

442 M.-M. VINCENT, *Portus Magnus (Saint-Leu). Sépultures punico-romaines,* in *Revue Africaine* 77 (1935), p. 35-71. The results of the researches by Mrs Malva-Maurice Vincent at Portus Magnus (1935-1960) are not published, except for the article indicated below in n. 446 and for J. DROUOT, *Les marques de potiers italiques et gallo-romains sur vases à vernis rouge, au Musée d'Oran,* in *BAA* 1 (1962-63), p. 141-157 (see p. 144-154).

inscription. Besides, a sacral area in the open air was uncovered to the north of the town[443]. The findings pointed to a sanctuary of the *tophet* type, as indicated by Neo-Punic and Latin steles, decorated with a crescent and a humanized "Sign of Tannit" or a nude figure in a niche, and by urns placed in hollows made in a tuff bank, some of them still containing cremated remains of sacrificed small mammals or birds. Since one of the Neo-Punic steles mentions Baal[444] and one Latin stele bears the name of Saturnus[445], the sanctuary was dedicated to Baal Ḥamon/Saturnus. It can be dated to the 1st century B.C. and, in consequence, does not witness very old Punic influences. The town had nevertheless connections with Carthage, also with Italy and the Iberian Peninsula. Iberian connections are illustrated, among others, by a vessel from the cemetery[446] and by a relief showing a male figure between two horses[447].

The gulf with the island of Βαρτάς is followed in the *Periplus* by the city of Chalka on a river. We have seen that Pseudo-Scylax or his source are probably going here back and that a site close to Sidi Bel-Aḏar seems to correspond best to this port of call, which was not accessible during the dry season[448]. Next comes the city of Arylon.

36. Oran and Mers al-Kebir / Portus Divini

The Algerian coast from Arzew to Oran (Wahrān) is shored and the *Itinerarium Antonini* here indicates a long journey over 36 miles from *Portus Magnus* to *Portus Divini*, the "Port of God", which is commonly identified with Oran or Mers al-Kebir[449]. The latter could provide a better shelter and a larger roadstead, which sailors would probably have preferred and chosen initially.

One can assume that Phoenician sailors have settled at the head of the Gulf of Oran or at its western side, at the point when Algeria is closest to the Iberian Peninsula. The site was an ideal place for commercial operations with the African interior and could be used as a port of call

443 St. GSELL, *Notes d'archéologie algérienne VII. Le champ de stèles de Saint-Leu (Portus Magnus),* in *BAC* 1899, p. 459-464; L. DEMAEGHT, *art. cit.* (n. 440); M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 324-330.

444 *NP* 78. At least one other stele has a Neo-Punic inscription: *NP* 79.

445 M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 325.

446 M.-M. VINCENT, *Vase ibérique du cimetière est de Portus Magnus - Saint-Leu (départ. d'Oran),* in *Libyca* 1 (1953), p. 13-22.

447 M. LEGLAY, *op. cit.* (n. 297), p. 324, n. 2. See also G. VUILLEMOT, *Les sculptures primitives de Saint-Leu (Portus Magnus), Oran,* in *AEArq* 36 (1963), p. 155-162.

448 See here above, p. 480-409.

449 *AAAlg,* fol. 20 (Oran), No.12.

for ships sailing from Carthage to Tangier and Gades (Cádiz). It is hard to believe that Pseudo-Scylax would not refer either to the site of present-day Oran or to the nearby seaport of Mers al-Kebir.

If the island of Βαρτάς and its harbour correspond to the *Portus Magnus* of the Romans in the Gulf of Arzew, while Chalka is ancient Quiza, Arylon should be identified with a site in the Gulf of Oran. One may think either of the downtown of Oran, near the sea, on the west bank of the ravine Rās al-ʻAyn which is now for the most part covered by buildings and boulevards, or of the site of Mers al-Kebir. The toponym 'Αρύλων is not Greek: it is a transcription of Phoenician *ʻAr-'ilōn*, "Precinct of God". The first element of the name is not *har*, "mountain", since it would not fit a seaport, but *ʻar*, "precinct", a noun attested in a Phoenician inscription from Citium (Cyprus), where it designates the "precinct" of a temple[450]. This is the same word as the one used in the Transjordanian place names ʻAr-Moab[451] and ʻAri-Gilead[452], thus different from Hebrew *ʻīr*, "town"[453], which corresponds to Phoenician *qart*. As for the second element of Arylon, it is the singular *'ilōn* of the Punic noun meaning "God"[454].

Such a place name can fit not only the area of the downtown of Oran, near the harbour, but also the highest part of the old city of Oran, the Kasbah which surrounds the old castle, or a site at Mers al-Kebir. At any rate, the toponym survived down to Roman times, when it was translated in Greek by Θεῶν λιμήν[455], "Harbour of Gods", and in Latin by *Portus Divini*, "Port of God". Only further research and deep excavations could

[450] M.G. GUZZO AMADASI - V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Fouilles de Kition* III. *Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977, C1, A6 (=7), see the discussion p. 111. However, the translation "citadel" does not fit the context of the Citium inscription, while "quartier du temple" or "temple" is not adequate either in our case or in the Transjordanian place names mentioned here (references below, n. 451 and 452).

[451] Numb. 21, 15.28; Deut. 2, 9.18.29; Is. 15, 1.

[452] Judg. 12, 7.

[453] The distinction is missing in *DNWSI*, p. 883-884, and in Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 386. The word *ʻr* does not occur on the Neo-Punic ostracon reedited by G. LEVI DELLA VIDA - M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *op. cit.* (n. 17), No. 86 (51), 4: *Hgwʻr* is probably a place name **Hagwār*, comparable with the two towns *Aggar* in Latin texts from North Africa, with *hāgār*, "town", *mahǧar*, "settlement", etc.

[454] J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 145), p. 162, §240, 4, and p. 169, §241, 4. Greek *upsilon* often transcribes Phoenician-Punic *i*, possibly articulated *ə*: υσ, "man", βυν, "son", λυ-, preposition, Βαιτυλ-, "house of God". Σαδυκος in DAMASCIUS (*The Life of Isidorus* 302) and Συδυκ by Philo of Byblos (EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Praeparatio evangelica* I, 10, 13.25.38) stand for *ṣaddīq*, "just", Αβδαλωνυμος for *ʻAbd-'ªlōnīm*, Ασθαρυμος for *ʻAštar(t)-'im(m)*, "Astarte is a mother" (JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Against Apion* I, 18, §123).

[455] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 9; PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 2, 2 (p. 595).

retrieve some traces of the Phoenician past of this area and possibly localize the site of the pre-Roman city.

37. Les Andalouses / Castra Puerum

The *Itinerarium Antonini* mentions a settlement called *Castra Puerum* or *Castra Puerorum*, "Children's Camp", XVIII miles (26.640 km) west of *Portus Divini*[456]. This distance leads us approximately to the site named "Les Andalouses" in archaeological publications. It occupies a line of coastal hills at the head of a bay protected by Cape Falcon to the east, Cape Lindles to the west, and the Plane Island to the north. It is surrounded by a fertile plain and, being 30 km distant from Oran, constitutes an excellent port of call for the coastal navigation. Archaeological excavations at the site uncovered two cemeteries and, in between, a city dating back to pre-Roman times[457]. In the eastern necropolis, the mixture of burial rites and funerary structures indicates a mixed origin of the population. The objects deposited with the interments were often of Iberian origin and can be dated in general from the end of the 4th through the 2nd century B.C. The tumuli of the western necropolis, in the Ǧebel Lindles, contained some Punic material that may go back to the 6th century B.C. Between the two cemeteries, the ruins of the pre-Roman city cover an area of about 3 hectares, on a hill dominating the shore. The dwellings, rectangular in shape, were built in tuff perpends bonded by earth, without foundations. The floors in beaten earth rested on a sand layer and there were windows, at least in some houses. We may assume that many inhabitants belonged to the indigenous population, notwithstanding the fact that the site yielded Iberian pottery and Carthaginian wheel-made wares. Even the offerer of the sculptured stele found most likely in Les Andalouses bears the Libyco-Berber name "Masop, son of Negasen", engraved in Neo-Punic characters[458]. Purple dyeing factories were active in Les Andalouses, as shown by the shells of the murex from which the dye was made. Although the shells were found also in the excavations, the dyeing industry can hardly be dated. The site has yielded Hispano-Phoenician, Numidian, and Mauretanian coins, espe-

[456] O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 2: 13, 6-7. The variant XIII may also be an error for XIX (28.120 km).

[457] G. VUILLEMOT, *Vestiges puniques aux Andalouses*, in *BSGAO* 1951, p. 55-72; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 24-26, 156-308, 337-443.

[458] G. VUILLEMOT, *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 220-222. The stele is housed in the Museum of Oran and is atributed to Siga by H.G. HORN - C.B. RÜGER (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 546-547, with a good photograph.

cially one of Vermina with a Punic legend, as well as graffiti, in particular a Neo-Punic one scratched on a vessel of the Campanian B type. Summing up, one can say that the findings witness wide-ranging maritime connections of the pre-Roman city. It may thus be identified with "Mes, a city and a harbour", mentioned by Pseudo-Scylax between Arylon and Sige[459]. This identification might even be confirmed by the meaning of Μῆς, at least in a popular Punic etymology. If one understands Μῆς as *mēṣ*, the active participle of *myṣ*, "to suck", Μῆς πόλις may designate the "City of the Sucking" child[460], an unusual toponym translated accordingly in Latin by *Castra Puerum*. It is more difficult to determine the original etymology of such a monosyllabic name like Mes, that is very likely Libyco-Berber[461].

Another ancient site, occupied at least in the 6th century B.C., was discovered at Mersa Madakh, less than 20 km southwest of Les Andalouses. The borough was built on an upland, bordered by a nice sand beach and dominating the mouth of Wad Madakh. A part of the settlement has fallen down into the sea and its cemetery has not been found. It is not possible therefore to have a better idea of the size and importance of the settlement. The uncovered pottery indicates rather weak contacts with Carthage, but close links with Hispano-Phoenician sites and with Atlantic sites in Morocco[462].

A further ancient settlement is located at Mersa Bou Zedjar[463], 11 km southwest of Mersa Madakh. It occupied the foreland of Sidi Moul Baḥar that separates the beach of Mersa Bou Zedjar from a further beach, extending westwards as far as Cape Figalo. The shelter provided by the site, close to a source of drink water, could not be unknown to sailors ready to coast Cape Figalo. In fact, a large quantity of fragments of Punic and Italic amphorae of Campanian ware, of ovoid jars and other pottery, datable back at least to the 3rd century B.C., was found at the site[464]. Besides, a stele representing a ritual scene and bearing a Libyan

[459] The previously proposed identifications (E. Lipiński, *art. cit.* [n. 3], in *REPPAL* 7-8 [1992-93], p. 307-308), dictated by the location of 'Ιουλίου, have to be abandoned.

[460] The verb is attested in Hebrew and in Aramaic. Most likely it existed in Phoenician-Punic as well. The connotation "sucking child" of the participle appears in Jewish Aramaic, when the text refers to "an infant that does not suck"; cf. Jastrow, p. 746.

[461] One should point here at the name of *Iulia Mese* in *ILAlg* I, 3296 = *CIL* VIII, 27886.

[462] G. Vuillemot, *Fouilles puniques à Mersa Madakh,* in *Libyca* 2 (1954), p. 299-342; Id., *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 27-28, 131-155.

[463] *AAAlg,* fol. 20 (Oran), No. 5.

[464] G. Vuillemot, *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 29-32.

inscription was discovered at a distance of 1.5 km from the ancient settlement[465]. The latter possibly corresponds to the city of *Silua*, placed by the *Itinerarium Antonini* at 26 miles from *Castra Puerum*[466]. This distance brings un in fact to Mersa Bou Zedjar. *Silua* is probably the town called *'šlbn* in the Punic legend of coins dated from the 2nd century B.C.[467] The city name is written there with a prosthetic *aleph* or the Neo-Punic article '- < *h-* and with the ending *-n*, like in *Krṭn*, *Sbrtn*, etc. The late forms of the name witness the Libyco-Berber change *b* > *w* (*Silua*) and probably the disappearance of this phoneme[468], if *Āslan*, an ancient city mentioned by al-Bakrī between Oran (Wahrān) and Rashgoun (Arǧikūk)[469], is the same place.

There is finally the Roman borough of *Camarata*, which occupied the site of a Moslem citadel erected at the mouth of Wad Ghazer[470], 35 km southwest of Cape Figalo. The discovery of the handle of a Punic amphora in an erosion slope seems to indicate that a pre-Roman trade centre existed at this site[471], although the attribution of coins with the Neo-Punic legend *Km'* to *Camarata*[472] remains very uncertain. To conclude this section, Les Andalouses have a much better chance of being Mes than the last mentioned sites.

38. Takembrit / Siga

We are on more solid ground when Pseudo-Scylax refers to "Sigi, a city and a river". Siga, the name of which appears as *Šyg'n* in the Neo-

[465] *Ibid.*, p. 30-31; *RIL* 877 and Pl. XI, 2.

[466] O. Cuntz, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 2: 13, 5. The reading *Silua* rather than *Gilua* is preferred by O. Cuntz — rightly, as we believe. Another proposed location is the promontory between Mersa Ali Bou Nuwar and Mersa Madar: *AAAlg,* fol. 20 (Oran), No. 5.

[467] *NAA* III, p. 67-69, Nos. 80-81; *Suppl.*, p. 68; Mazard, *Corpus*, p. 161, Nos. 538-539; G.K. Jenkins, *op. cit.* (n. 196), Nos. 746-747; F. Chaves Tristán - E. García Vargas - E. Ferrer Albelda, *Sertorio: de África a Hispania*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 1463-1486 (see p. 1481-1482, Nos. 13 and 17). Cf. Id., *Datos relativos a la pervivencia del denominado "Círculo del Estrecho" en época republicana,* in *L'Africa Romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 1307-1320 (see p. 1315-1316). The reading is decidedly *'šlbn*, not *'šldn*, as proposed by Mazard, who follows L. Charrier, *op. cit.* (n. 414), p. 82.

[468] Cf. S. Chaker, *Linguistique berbère*, Paris 1995, p. 221.

[469] G. Cornu, *Atlas du monde arabo-islamique à l'époque classique: IXe-Xe siècles. Répertoire des toponymes*, Leiden 1985, p. 109. The toponym *Arǧikūk* seems to be based on *Sikkak*, the name of a river flowing near Tlemcen and apparently regarded as the main stream of the Tafna River. Its site must correspond to *Portus Sigensis*: *AAAlg,* fol. 31 (Tlemcen), No. 2.

[470] *AAAlg,* fol. 31 (Tlemcen), No. 7.

[471] G. Vuillemot, *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 33-34.

[472] Mazard, *Corpus*, p. 174, Nos. 572-575.

Punic legend of coins minted under Bocchus II (49-33 B.C.)[473], is a river harbour[474], located on the left bank of Wad Tafna, 4 km from its mouth, near the present-day village of Takembrit[475]. Its mention by Pseudo-Scylax indicates that Siga was known as harbour before becoming the capital city of Syphax in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C.[476]

The Tafna River ran in Antiquity at the foot of the citadel of Siga and formed, north of the city, a bend that served as anchorage place for ships. Ruins surround this bend, which nowadays is completely silted. A Roman necropolis from the late 1st and the 2nd centuries A.D. recovers there structures dating back to the 1st century B.C. and built in turn above the foundations of dwellings and warehouses from the time of the Masaesylian kings. Two older levels show that the banks of the river were used already in the 5th-4th centuries B.C. Fragments of Punic amphorae from the 5th century B.C., found on virgin soil, indicate that the use of the river harbour at Siga started in the final occupation period of the Rashgoun Island[477], called ''Ακρα by Pseudo-Scylax. However, it results from Pseudo-Scylax that both Siga and Rashgoun are known as harbours at the time of his source. This means that the information it provided goes back to the early 5th century B.C.

The site of the town proper was so far little excavated and does not yet confirm these dates. The ruins of a prosperous town of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. cover there, after a dark interval, the royal city of the 3rd-

[473] *NAA* III, p. 97-98, Nos. 9-11; MAZARD, *Corpus*, p. 68-69, Nos. 118-121; M. MAJDOUB, *Les monnaies des rois maures au Maroc antique*, in *Bouhout. Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines* 5 (1993), p. 47-60 (in Arabic), see Nos. 107-112. Cf. H.R. BALDUS, *Siga als königliche Münzstätte*, in H.G. HORN - C.B. RÜGER (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p.185-186 (cf. p. 205). The attempt by the M. MAJDOUB (*art. cit.* and *Pompéius Magnus et rois Maures*, in *L'Africa Romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 1321-1328, in particular p. 1328) at dating these coins from the reign of Bocchus I (*ca.* 110-*ca.* 80 B.C.), like the series with the legend *Mqm Šmš*, is undermined by the further use of *Mqm Šmš* on coins of Juba II (25 B.C.-23 A.D.); cf. MAZARD, *Corpus*, p. 126, No. 396.

[474] LIVY, *Roman History*, XXVIII, 17, 16. In Roman times, there was also a *Portus Sigensis* at the mouth of the Tafna River; cf. above, n. 469 and *AAAlg*, fol. 31 (Tlemcen), No. 2.

[475] *AAAlg*, fol. 31 (Tlemcen), Nos. 1-4. Cf. DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 151-153, and C.B. RÜGER, *Siga, die Hauptstadt des Syphax*, in H.G. HORN - C.B. RÜGER (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 181-184 with a plan.

[476] LIVY, *Roman History* XXVIII, 17; POLYBIUS, *History* XII, 1, 3; STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 9; PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 19. Cf. H.G. HORN - C.B. RÜGER (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 386-397, 454-455.

[477] G. VUILLEMOT, *Siga et son port fluvial*, in *AntAfr* 5 (1971), p. 39-86.

[478] P. GRIMAL, *Les fouilles de Siga*, in *MÉFR* 54 (1937), p. 108-141; G. VUILLEMOT, *Notes sur un lot d'objets découverts à Siga*, in *BSGAO* 76 (1953), p. 25-33; E. JANIER, *Siga*, in *Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Vieux Tlemcen* 3 (1954), p. 68-77.

1st centuries B.C.[478] Punic connections are suggested by the Neo-Punic steles in the Museum of Oran, said to come from Siga[479]. They would witness the cult of Baal Ḥamon in the 3rd-1st centuries B.C., preceding the worship of African Saturnus, now attested by fifteen anepigraphic steles from the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D., found in 1969 and 1970 west of Siga, on the hill called "Bled Siga"[480]. On the opposite side of the Tafna River, on the Ǧebel Soukna, the mausoleum of the Beni-Rhenane (Kerkar al-Arais), built probably about 200 B.C. by Vermina, son and successor of Syphax[481], witnesses the building activities of the royal period, but does not bring us to earlier times.

39. Rashgoun / Akra

After "Sigi on a river", Pseudo-Scylax mentions: "facing the river, the island of Akra, a large city and a harbour". There is little doubt that this is the small island of Rashgoun, distant 1,700 metres from the shore[482]. The source of Pseudo-Scylax only translates the first element of the toponym, since Rashgoun appears as a corrupt form of **Ra'š-Šigan*, "Cape of Siga". Originally this was the name of the promontory of the Moorish Tower that protects the mouth of the Tafna River from the northeast. Phoenician-Punic remains contemporaneous of the insular settlement were found there and suggest an early occupation of the site by people living on the island[483]. In the course of time — certainly

[479] F. DECRET, *Au sujet des stèles néo-puniques du Musée d'Oran*, in *Bulletin du Centre de Recherches et de Documentation. Université d'Oran* 1 (1969), p. 89 ff. One of the steles was found most likely at Les Andalouses; cf. above, p. 413, n. 458.

[480] F. DECRET, *Contribution à la recherche archéologique à Siga*, in *Bulletin du Centre de Recherches et de Documentation. Université d'Oran* 2 (1971), p. 159-171, and in *BSGAO*, n.s., 1977-78, p. 36-54; ID., *Aspects de la vie rurale dans la Basse Tafna aux IIIe-IVe siècles*, in *Histoire et Archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. Actes du IIIe Colloque International (Montpellier, 1-5 avril 1985)*, Paris 1986, p. 273-287; M. LE GLAY, *Nouveaux documents, nouveaux points de vue sur Saturne Africain*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Carthago* (Studia Phoenicia VI; OLA 26), Leuven 1988, p. 187-237 (see p. 223-226). For steles from Siga, cf. also *RIL* 878-879 and Pl. X, 7; G. VUILLEMOT, *Deux stèles de Siga*, in *Bulletin de la Société des Amis du Vieux Tlemcen* 3 (1954), p. 78-80; H.G. HORN - C.B. RÜGER (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 586 .

[481] G. VUILLEMOT, *Fouilles au mausolée de Beni Rhenane en Oranie*, in *CRAI* 1964, p. 71-95; F. RAKOB, *Numidische Königsarchitektur in Nordafrika*, in H.G. HORN - C.B. RÜGER (eds.), *Die Numider*, Köln 1979, p. 119-171, especially p. 149-156 and 456-457; ID., *Architecture royale numide*, in *Architecture et société, de l'archaïsme grec à la fin de la République romaine*, Rome 1983, p. 325-348. Cf. also M. BOUCHENAKI, *Le mausolée royal de Maurétanie*, 2nd ed., Alger 1980.

[482] *AAAlg*, fol. 31 (Tlemcen), No. 3.

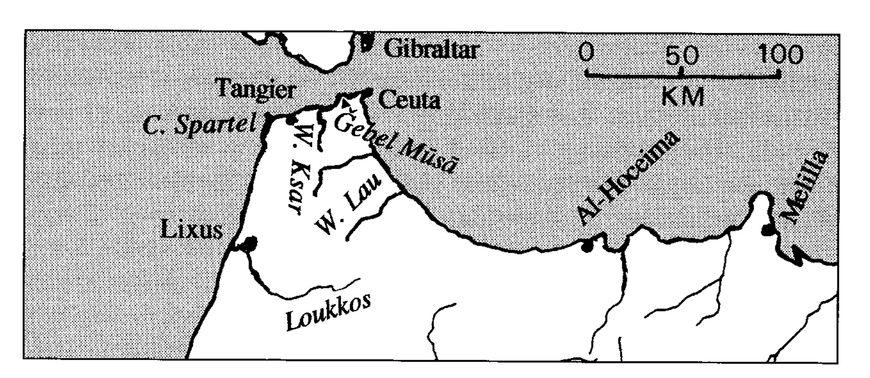
[483] G. VUILLEMOT, *Ruines musulmanes sur le littoral de l'Oranie occidentale*, in *Revue Africaine* 103 (1959), p. 27-56 (see p. 40); ID., *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 35. This must be the site of *Portus Sigensis*: *AAAlg*, fol. 31 (Tlemcen), No. 2.

before the 5th century B.C. — the name or its first element corresponding to ''Ακρα was extended to the island in front of the Tafna mouth. On the island, Pseudo-Scylax mentions an important settlement and a port. The only site that could be regarded as a harbour is a creek the water-plane of which measures 20 by 15 metres; it is accessible by a channel only 1.8 m large and 0.6 m deep[484]. This recess on the seashore looks like an ancient Phoenician *cothon*. Excavations in the "Necropolis of the Lighthouse" have uncovered both cremation and inhumation burials with early Punic material, witnessing also connections with the Phoenician settlements on the Iberian Peninsula[485]. Jars with shoulder, funerary urns, dishes with large rim, datable to the 7th century B.C., were found mixed with handmade pottery, abundant in this burial context. The graves also yielded a number of weapons, like spear heads, and silver jewellery. Child burials were found as well: the small bodies were placed in natural cavities of the rock, the head always covered with a large stone. Soundings in the southern part of the island uncovered parts of dwellings, coarsely built in roughly broken rubble-stones bonded in mortar. Most walls were 0.50-0.55 metre thick, but the preserved height hardly exceeded 0.50 metre. It was not possible to establish the plan of an entire house, but a disposition of rooms in file was observed, as well as the presence of windows and benches in stone. The use of unbaked bricks was limited, for clay had to be brought from the mainland. Like in the cemetery, the oldest material can be dated from the mid-7th century B.C., while nothing seems to postdate the first part of the 5th century B.C. For some unknown reason, the settlement was then abandoned. Some occupation traces might remain in parts of the island which have not been investigated, but the reference of the *Periplus* to "a large town" suggests that its source carried information dating from the early 5th century B.C.

40. Melilla / Rusaddir

The next place mentioned in the *Periplus* is "Akros, the city and the gulf next to it". There is little doubt that this is Melilla[486], ancient Rusaddir[487], and the bay to the south of the huge rock on which the old town,

[484] G. VUILLEMOT, *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 36-40.
[485] G. VUILLEMOT, *La nécropole du Phare dans l'île de Rachgoun (Oran)*, in *Libyca* 3 (1955), p. 7-76; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 215), p. 55-130 and 444-445.
[486] This was the Berber name of the town, meaning "The White One". Nowadays it is called *Ta-mlit* by Berbers, dialectally *Mrič* with the changes *l* > *r* and *t* > *č*.
[487] DESANGES, *Pline*, p. 149-150; R. GUTIÉRREZ GONZÁLES, *Rusaddir: visión actua-*



From Rusaddir to Cape Soloeis.

Medina Sidonia, is built. This old quarter of the city, surrounded by walls, is connected with the main land by a rocky isthmus. Rusaddir was initially the name of the Cape Tres Forcas, some 25 km to the north, on the tip of the peninsula of the Guelaia. The first element of the toponym **Rūš-'Addīr*, "Powerful Cape", is translated in the Periplus by ''Ακρος, with an ending -ος in order to distinguish this place from ''Ακρα, Rashgoun. Strabo translates the full name by ''Ακρα Μεγάλη[488]. The Neo-Punic spelling *Rš 'dr* of the place name appears on local coins[489] from the time of the Mauretanian kings. It is transcribed Ρ(ο)υσάδειρον by Ptolemy[490], *Rhysaddir* by Pliny[491], and *Rusaddi/Rusadder* in the *Itinerarium Antonini*[492].

The most ancient vestiges of the Punic town are the jars and the amphorae from the 3rd century B.C., found in 1904 in the necropolis of Cerro de San Lorenzo, that no more exists[493], and some Carthaginian coins[494]. Beside the legend of the local coins, there are two Punic graf-

lizada, in *Espacio, tiempo y forma* 10 (1997), p. 387-402. A survey of the extant sources is provided by F. LÓPEZ PARDO, *Rusaddir: de la memoria literaria a la realidad histórica de la expansión fenicio-púnica en Occidente*, in *Aldaba* 30 (1998), p. 35-52.
[488] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 16.
[489] *NAA*, *Suppl.*, p. 78; MAZARD, *Corpus*, p. 177, Nos. 579-580.
[490] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 3 (p. 583).
[491] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 18.
[492] O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54), p. 2: 11, 3-4.
[493] M. TARRADELL, *La necrópolis púnico-mauritana del Cerro de San Lorenzo en Melilla*, in *I Congresso arqueológico del Marruecos español*, Tetuán 1953, p. 253-266; ID., *Marruecos púnico*, Tetuán 1960, p. 63-73.
[494] E. GOZALBES CRAVIOTO, *Novedades de numismática de la Mauritania Occidental*, in *AntAfr* 34 (1998), p. 21-30.

fiti on wares from the 2nd-1st century B.C.[495] and a single Neo-Punic inscription consisting in one proper name[496]. Yet, the source of Pseudo-Scylax indicates that there was a seaport there at the latest in the 5th century B.C. The knowledge of the site is reflected also in the explicit mention of the Bay of Melilla, near to which stretches the *sebḫa* of Bū Erg, possibly regarded as an extension of the bay.

41. Ḥağrat Nkur / Drinaupa

After Melilla/Rusaddir, Pseudo-Scylax mentions "the deserted island named Drinaupa". It is unlikely that this is the island Albiran[497], situated some 60 km north of Cape Tres Forcas. The *Periplus* does not describe the route to the Iberian Peninsula here, but the voyage to the Pillars of Heracles and to Gades (Cádiz). Drinaupa must therefore correspond to a possible anchorage site for ships sailing westwards. Now, about 100 km — as the crow flies — to the southwest of the Cape Tres Forcas lies the bay of Al-Hoceima with three islands[498], the major of which is called Ḥağrat Nkur, "Rock of Nkur", or Peñon de Alhucemas. It was regarded by European sailors in the 17th century as a strategic place and a very convenient site for a port of trade[499]. The island is situated in front of the mouth of Wad Nkur and is now occupied by a Spanish fortress and a small church. It lies half-way between Melilla/Rusaddir and the mouth of Wad Lau, *Ad Promunturium Barbari*[500].

The importance of the Wad Lau was judged sufficient to be used as the eastern border of *Mauritania Tingitana* in Diocletian's reform, when

[495] L. RUÍZ CABRERO, *Dos graffiti púnicos de Melilla (antigua Rusaddir, España)*, in *Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche* 17 (1998), p. 55-65.

[496] R.F. DE CASTRO Y PEDRERA, *Melilla prehispánica*, Madrid 1945, p. 230; J. FÉVRIER, *Inscriptions puniques et néopuniques*, in *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc* I, Paris 1966, p. 81-132, Pls. I-XII (see p. 105, No. 18).

[497] GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 167, n. 1, followed by DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 108.

[498] Coasting in this area would seem useless and sailors rather shaped the course of their vessels here from the headland of Tres Forcas to the bay of Al-Hoceima, instead of creeping along the inhospitable coast.

[499] The strategical importance of the site was noticed by Sir John Lawson who in 1661 began a series of campaigns against the Barbary pirates. The area was then examined by the Duc de Beaufort, serving Henry IV in naval wars, and in 1666 brothers Fréjus from Marseilles tried to establish a trade centre there, but failed to reach an agreement with Rashid II (1664-1672). A Spanish settlement was finally created in 1673.

[500] *Itinerarium Antonini* 1 (O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* [n. 54], p. 2: 10, 2). It is called 'Ολεάστρον ἄκρον by PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 3 (p. 582). Cf. M. BESNIER, *Géographie ancienne du Maroc (Maurétanie Tingitane)*, in *Archives Marocaines* 1 (1904), p. 301-365 (see p. 328); ID., *La géographie économique du Maroc dans l'Antiquité*, in *Archives Marocaines* 7 (1906), p. 271-295 (see p. 275).

this particular area was attached to the province of Spain and had to be clearly separated from the Moorish territory in the Rif massif[501]. A town bearing the same name Lau lies in the plain at the mouth of the river, and its splendid sand beach is used by fishermen who are not afraid to run their boats aground on this sandy shelving coast. In fact, their fisher-boats, called *tagarabut*, can be easily pulled up out of reach of the waves, and again pulled down and launched, like ancient Phoenician and Greek vessels. The antiquity of the toponym is suggested by the fact that the town bears the same name as the river, a circumstance characterizing several ancient place names in this region[502]. However, no ancient source mentions it[503]. Instead, Ptolemy's 'Ακράθ, which lay in the same general area, could not be located so far.

Pseudo-Scylax does not mention any seaport until the "Pillar of Heracles in Libya", followed immediately by "the Promontory of Abini". It is not clear whether Pseudo-Scylax identifies these two places or regards them as distinct sites[504]. In §1, at any rate, he refers to "Pillars of Heracles in Europe" and to "Pillars of Heracles in Libya", using the plural in both cases.

42. Monte del Hacko / Pillar of Heracles

In case the "Pillar of Heracles in Libya" is in §111 a site distinct from "the Promontory of Apini", it should be identified with Monte del Hacko, at Ceuta, ancient *Ad Septem Fratres*[505]. If this is not the view

[501] J. CARCOPINO, *Le Maroc antique*, Paris 1943, p. 253.

[502] G. CAMPS, *art. cit.* (n. 427), p. 93-94.

[503] But see here below, p. 425.

[504] GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 167-168, distinguishes the "Pillar of Heracles", identified by him with Monte del Hacko, from Abilyx that he would locate at Ğebel Mūsā. R. THOUVENOT, *La côte méditerranéenne du Maroc d'après le géographe Ptolémée (IIe s. ap. J.-C.)*, in *Revue de Géographie Marocaine* 28/4 (1944), p. 3-12 (see p. 7), and DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 108, identify Abilyx with Monte del Hacko. In Antiquity, there were various opinions, reassumed by STRABO, *Geography* III, 5, 5, in particular Euctemon's (5th century B.C.), followed by Artemidorus (late 2nd century B.C.). Euctemon identified the Pillars with two islands in the Straits, i.e. Paloma and Perejil; cf. V. BÉRARD, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, Paris 1902, Vol. I, p. 265-285. Euctemon is quoted by STRABO, *Geography* III, 5, 3 and 5, and AVIENUS, *Ora maritima* 350-369.

[505] However, PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 3, 7 (p. 580) and IV, 3, 4 (p. 581), distinguishes *Ad Septem Fratres* (long. 7° 40', lat. 35° 50') from the Pillar of Abila (long. 7° 50', lat. 35° 40'), locating the latter to the southeast of Ceuta. Cf. the reconstruction of Ptolemy's map, based on his coordinates of latitude and longitude, in R. REBUFFAT, *Les erreurs de Pline et la position de Babba Iulia Campestris*, in *AntAfr* 1 (1967), p. 31-57; ID., *Histoire de l'identification des sites urbains antiques du Maroc*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 865-904 (see p. 881). A distinction is nevertheless possible between the town *Ad Septem Fratres* (Ceuta) and the Pillar (Monte del Hacko), situated northeast

expressed in the source of Pseudo-Scylax, this must be his own opinion, since he states further that the low "Pillar" is in Libya, while the high one lies in Europe.

Ceuta (Arabic *Sabta*) is situated on a promontory connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, and marking the south-eastern end of the Straits of Gibraltar[506]. The promontory terminates in a bold headland, the Monte del Hacko, with seven peaks, alluded to by the site's Latin name *Ad Septem Fratres* and its Arabic name *Sabta*, "Seven". The highest of these peaks rises 181 metres above the sea. This altitude is low in comparison with Mount Calpe's, the European "Pillar of Heracles" (alt. 426 m), and with Ǧebel Mūsā's, that rises 839 metres above the sea, in the Straits of Gibraltar, 8 km northwest of Ceuta. This is the reason why the latter is regarded by number of authors as the Pillar of Heracles in Africa[507]. On its summit there are ruins, which have been regarded as possible remains of a temple of Melqart/Heracles[508]. The tradition echoed by Pseudo-Scylax is nevertheless different and it is apparently confirmed by the approximate distance he gives between the "Pillars": "They are separated from each other by a day-long voyage". The same distance is given in §1. Between Ceuta and Gibraltar, the Straits have a width of 22.5 km, which correspond to a short one-day journey. There are additional 2 km from Europa Point at Gibraltar to Monkey's Alamed, at the foot of the highest pick of Mount Calpe (alt. 426 m), but this does not change the overall picture.

43. Ǧebel Mūsā / Abila

The name of Ǧebel Mūsā echoes the tale of the journey of Moses and his servant Joshua to the Confluence of the Two Seas. This legend,

of the town. This is done also in the *Itinerarium Antonini*: O. CUNTZ, *op. cit.* (n. 54, p. 2: 9, 3 and 4).

[506] A useful survey of research on ancient Ceuta is given by F. VILLADA PAREDES - J.M. HITA RUIZ, *El asentamiento romano de Ceuta*, in A. MASTINO - P. RUGGERI (eds.), *L'Africa Romana* X, Sassari 1994, p. 1207-1240. See further: D. BERNAL CASASOLA, *Le anfore tardo-romane attestate a Ceuta (Septem Fratres, Mauretania Tingitana)*, in *L'Africa Romana* XI, Ozieri 1996, p. 1191-1233; J. MARTÍNEZ MAGANTO - R. GARCÍA GIMÉNEZ - D. BERNAL CASASOLA, *Anforas del Museo de Ceuta*, Ceuta 1997; D. BERNAL CASASOLA - J. DEL HOYO - J.M. PÉREZ RIVERA, *Isis en Mauretania Tingitana: Un nuevo testimonio epigráfico de su culto procedente de Septem Fratres (Ceuta)*, in *L'Africa Romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 1139-1161.

[507] See, in particular, the long discussion by V. BÉRARD, *op. cit.* (n. 504), Vol. I, p. 241-302.

[508] F. BENET, *La columna d'Hercules en Libia*, in *BAM* 16 (1985-86), p. 409-419.

which appears in the Qur'ān[509], was interpreted as referring to the Straits of Gibraltar. Abū Ḥāmid al-Garnāṭī (A.D. 1080-1169/70), an Andalusian cosmographer and traveller, locates the Rock of Moses at Ceuta (Sabta), as if he had the Monte del Hacko in mind, though this does not seem to be very likely: "In this city is the Rock where Moses arrived", he says, "and where Joshua forgot the roasted fish..."[510], which was to serve as their provisions. Ǧebel Mūsā, often regarded as one of the "Pillars of Heracles", was usually called *Abila* by Greek and Latin writers[511]. However, Pseudo-Scylax preserves the older form of the name, viz. ''Απινι. Two important consequences result from this name.

The first one concerns the spelling, in which the voiced *b* is replaced by the voiceless *p*. More significant is the *n* which indicates that ''Απινι is the Phoenician-Punic word *'bn* for "stone" and "stone stele"[512]. It appears in Hebrew and other Oriental place names[513], also in Sardinia, where we encounter the toponym *Abini*[514]. Spellings *Abinna* and *Abenna* are attested for the "Pillar of Heracles" as well[515]. An important witness of the correct pronunciation of the name is Orosius, a Spaniard who fled before the Vandals to Africa in A.D. 414 and became a pupil of St. Augustine. In his *Historiae adversus Paganos* he describes the Straits of Gibraltar as follows: *fretum Gaditanum quod inter Habennae* (var. *Auennae*, etc.) *et Calpis duo contraria sibi promuntoria coartatur*[516], "the straits of Gades, which narrow between the two opposite promontories of Abenna and Calpe". Philostratus, born about A.D. 170, uses the same name in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*. The passage is referring

[509] *Qur'ān*, Sura 18, 59/60-81/82.

[510] Quoted by I. BEJARANO ESCANILLA, *Références historiques, géographiques et scientifiques sur le Maghreb dans l'oeuvre cosmographique du voyageur andalousien Abū Ḥāmid al-Garnāṭī*, in *Actas del II Coloquio hispano-marroquí de Ciencias históricas. "Historia, Ciencia y Sociedad"*, Madrid 1992, p. 51-62 (see p. 60). For this subject, see also C. GOZALBES CRAVIOTO, *Ceuta en las tradiciones derivadas de la Biblia*, in *Africa* (Madrid), febrero 1978, p. 43-45.

[511] The Phoenician-Punic origin of the name *Abila* is stated explicitly by AVIENUS, *Ora maritima* 345-346.

[512] Ch.R. KRAHMALKOV, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 29.

[513] In the Bible: *'Eben hā-'Ezer, 'Eben Bohan, 'Eben haz-Zoḥelet*. In Akkadian texts: *Til-Abni*.

[514] This site, located near Teti, in Nuoro province, had yielded important ancient material: E. PAIS, *Il ripostiglio di bronzi di Abini presso Teti*, in *Bollettino Archeologico Sardo*, 2nd ser., 1884/7; G. LILLIU, *Sculture della Sardegna nuragica*, Verona 1966, p. 360-364, 367-370; Ch. ZERVOS, *La civiltà della Sardegna*, Sassari 1980, p. 322-325, 398-403.

[515] J. SCHMIDT, *Abenna*, in *PW* I/1, Stuttgart 1893, col. 29.

[516] OROSIUS, *History* I, 2, 94, in M.-P. ARNAUD-LINDET, *Orose: Histoires* I, Paris 1990, p. 37.

to the extremities of Europe and of Africa (Libya): "the extremity of Libya, which bears the name Abinna", ὄνομα δὲ αὕτῃ ''Αβιννα[517]. Still Eustathius uses the name ''Αβεννα in his *Paraphrase of Dionysius Periegetes*: ἡ δὲ Λιβυκὴ κατὰ βαρβάρους μὲν ''Αβεννα (var. ''Αβενα) καλουμένη, 'Ελληνικῶς δὲ Κυνηγετική[518], "as for the Libyan (Pillar), it is called Abenna by the barbarians, but Huntress in Greek". The alternative pronunciation *n/l* occurs in various languages, especially in Phoenician dialects[519] and in Berber colloquials of Morocco[520].

The second question concerns the full name of the mount. In fact, the final *-i* of ''Απινι and the corresponding form 'Αβίλυκα, used by Eratosthenes according to Strabo[521], seem to indicate that the full name of the "Pillar of Heracles" comprised a second element, viz. *-ik*. Now, the Semitic word *ḥēq* or *ḥīq*, "fold", is attested also with the connotation "roadstead" or "bay"[522], exactly like Greek κόλπος or German "Busen". Since *ḥ*, as a rule, is not transcribed into Greek[523], while *i* often appears as υ, we may assume that the full name of the mount was *'Abin-ḥīq* > 'Αβίλυκα/'Αβίλυξ, "The Stone of the Bay". In the likely hypothesis that this was Ǧebel Mūsā, the bay in question should be identified with the almost inaccessible bay of Balyūneš (Benzú), at the foot of the mount. This was the site of an Arab port, believed to have been founded as early as the 7th century A.D.[524] It must have been also the site of 'Εξίλισσα, a settlement mentioned by Ptolemy on the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar[525], and of *Lissa*, that Pliny locates in the area of

517 PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* V, 1; cf. F.C. CONYBEARE, *Philostratus*: *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana* I, London 1912, p. 466/467.

518 EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Paraphrase of Dionysius Periegetes* 64, in *GGM* II, p. 228: 7.

519 J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 145), p. 30, §56.

520 M.G. KOSSMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 44.

521 STRABO, *Geography* III, 5, 5. Eratosthenes probably used the work of Ephorus (*ca.* 405-330) in this passage; cf. K. GEUS, *Eratosthenes von Kyrene*, München 2002, p. 264, n. 19.

522 *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 74, s.v. ḤYQ.

523 J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 143), p. 18, §35c.

524 It played an important role in the later history of this area; cf. G. AYYACHE, *Beliounech et le destin de Ceuta entre le Maroc et l'Espagne*, in *Hespéris-Tamūda* 13 (1972), p. 5-36; J.D. LATHAM, *Balyūnash*, in *EI, Suppl.* 1-2, Leiden 1980, p. 124a.

525 PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 3 (p. 580); cf. Ch. TISSOT, *Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Maurétanie Tingitane*, in *MAIBL* 9 (1877), p. 139-322 (see p. 169); V. BÉRARD, *op. cit.* (n. 504), Vol. I, p. 285. A location 5 km to the west, on the beach of ar-Remel, was proposed by C. GOZALBES CRAVIOTO, *Ceuta en la topografía clásica* (Colección Estudios históricos 12), Ceuta 1978. The name of 'Εξίλισσα might be explained in Phoenician-Punic as *Ḥēq-še-'Eliššā*, "Bay of Elissa". For Elissa, see LIPIŃSKI,

Tangier, adding that it no longer existed in his days[526]. A bit further to the west, Cape Leona is only 20 km distant from the Iberian Peninsula, and the nearby Isle of Perejil was identified by V. Bérard with the mythical island of Ogygia[527] where Calypso, daughter of Atlas, entertained Odysseus for seven years.

44. Ksar as-Seġir / Lue

This section of the *Periplus* ends with the mention of Λυή, "a city on a river", said to lie opposite the islands of Gades. The name of the city was suppressed from the text by the successive editors of Pseudo-Scylax and this drastic emendation has been accepted by authors dealing with the subject. The unnamed "city on a river" was nevertheless left in the text and authors have proposed to locate it at Ksar as-Seġir, a small fishermen's harbour on the Wad al-Ksar[528], 35 km east of Tangier and 37 km west of Ceuta. Obvious remains of ancient occupation, especially Roman and early Arab, could be seen at the site[529], even installations for salting fish, which have been dated to the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.[530] In the same area of the Straits of Gibraltar, Ptolemy localizes Οὐάλωνος at "the mouth of a river" (ποτ. ἐκβ.)[531], identified by Ch. Tissot with the same site[532].

If Λυή and Οὐάλωνος are the same place, it is likely that both ancient names have something in common and that Λυή is an abridged form of the toponym mentioned by Ptolemy, unless there is a confusion with Lau, west of Melilla[533]. Οὐάλωνος would have lost the initial *l*, either in scribal transmission or because of the weakness of ancient Semitic *l*, that may disappear in writing[534]. Assuming that the full place

Dieux et déesses, p. 407-411. Pre-Roman amphorae from the area of Balyūneš, some of them going back to the 6th century B.C., are kept in the reserves of the Municipal Museum of Ceuta; cf. F. VILLADA PAREDES - J.M. HITA RUIZ, *art. cit.* (n. 504), p. 1214, n. 8.

526 PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 2.

527 V. BÉRARD, *op. cit.* (n. 504), Vol. I, p. 265-285.

528 Ch. TISSOT, *art. cit.* (n. 525), p. 170-171; GSELL, *HAAN* II, p. 168; DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 108.

529 M. TARRADELL, *Contribution à l'Atlas archéologique du Maroc: région de Tétouan*, in *BAM* 6 (1966), p. 425-443 (see p. 443); A. CHEDDAD, *Notes sur quelques sites archéologiques du Nord marocain,* in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 1803-1817 (see p. 1806-1807).

530 M. PONSICH - M. TARRADELL, *Garum et industries antiques de salaison dans la Méditerranée occidentale*, Paris 1965, p. 71-75.

531 PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 3: 5 (p. 580).

532 Ch. TISSOT, *op. cit.* (n. 126), p. 34 and Pl. V.

533 See here above, p. 421.

534 LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §17.2; §43.10.

name was *Λουάλωνος and its shortened form Λυή, it is quite easy to recognize a Phoenician-Punic toponym here, viz., **Lūăḥ-'ilōn*, "Stone table of God"[535], alluding most likely to the granite cliff of Ğebel Mūsā. In the actual text of the manuscript, Lue is said to be opposite the islands of Gades. This is a gross error, as we have said, quite surprising in the *Periplus*. When re-inserting the displaced passage at its original place, as done above, "Lue, a city on a river", is followed immediately by "the Krabis River", which could be either the Wad al-Ksar itself or, just east of Tangier, the Wad Moghogha or the Wad Melaleh. The name seems to be Semitic and can be compared with the toponyms *Curubis* and *Carpis* on the Cape Bon. Since Ksar as-Seġir is distant 35 km from Tangier, there is little doubt that the next coming harbour and city of Thymiateria is Tangier, the ancient Tingi.

45. Tangier / Thymiateria

The name Thymiateria(s) appears as Θυμιατήριον in Hanno's *Periplus*, where it must designate Tangier as well[536], and as Θυμιατηρία in the *Ethnica* of Stephen of Byzantium, depending probably on Ephorus[537]. This name is no Greek corruption of a native Libyco-Berber or Phoenician place name, but a Greek word meaning "incense burner" and used by Greeks as the name of the seaport formed between two eminences by the Bay of Tangier. It was a good harbour in all weather, except during a strong east wind, and Greek sailors heading for Tartessus must have known it. They gave it a Greek name, like to various places along the North-African coast, and the appellation "incense burner" may simply allude to a lighthouse equipped with large oil-lamps or braziers containing wood fire to guide seamen by night[538].

The local place name *Tingi* was Libyco-Berber, but is was used also by Phoenicians and Carthaginians[539]. It occurs in writings of ancient Greek geographers, like Hecataeus, who is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium s.v. Θρίγκη[540] instead of Θίγκη, with the assimilation attested also

[535] For *lūăḥ*, "stone table", see Ch.R. Krahmalkov, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 254. The *a*-vowel most likely results from the influence of *ḥ*.

[536] M. Ponsich, *Recherches archéologiques à Tanger et dans sa région*, Paris 1970, p. 397-399. We no longer believe that this name is a corruption of a Punic toponym, as stated in *DCCP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 453. See also here below, p. 445.

[537] Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica*: Θυμιατηρία, πόλις Λιβύης, without indicating his source.

[538] See here above, p. 152-154.

[539] Ch.R. Krahmalkov, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 495.

[540] Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica*, s.v. Θρίγκη: *FGH* I A, §1, Frg. 356; cf. Frg. 354: Θίγγη.

by Strabo's Τίγγις or Τίγγα[541]. Archaeological information is provided mostly by the finds from ancient cemeteries lying outside the city. They evidence fruitful trade relations with Phoenicians from the 8th-7th century B.C. onwards. The development of the city in the 6th-5th century is probably due to the Carthaginian intent of controlling this strategic position[542], expressed in Hanno's "founding" of the city[543].

46. Cape Spartel / Cape Soloeis

Cape Soloeis is obviously the same promontory as the one mentioned in Hanno's *Periplus* and recorded by Herodotus[544]. The distance from Thymiateria to the Cape is absent from the manuscript of Pseudo-Scylax, but it could be only "half a day". It is clear indeed that Cape Soloeis is no other but Cape Spartel, about 12 km west of Tangier[545]. Its name *Soloeis* is a Greek adaptation of Phoenician-Punic *Sl'*, "Rock", but Latin writers preferred using the name *Ampelusia*[546]. According to Hanno's *Periplus*, his expedition dedicated there a sanctuary to Poseidon. Instead, Pseudo-Scylax mentions the presence of a great altar recording "Poseidon's revenge", ποινῆς Ποσιδῶνος. Poseidon does not seem to correspond here to the Neptune of the Roman period, which is barely attested in north-western Africa[547]. As at Larnaca-tis-Lapithou on Cyprus[548], he is likely to be the *interpretatio Graeca* of Melqart/Heracles, whose worship was well anchored also at Carthage and in western Phoenician colonies. The representation of dolphins on the altar of "Poseidon's revenge" does not need to be related to the Graeco-Roman sea-god, in particular to African Poseidon[549]. Four dolphins surround the head of

[541] Strabo, *Geography*, respectively III, 1, 8 and XVII, 3, 2.

[542] M. Ponsich, *Tanger antique*, in *ANRW* II/10, 2, Berlin-New York 1982, p. 787-816; Id., *Tanger*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 436-438.

[543] See here below, p. 438-439 and 446.

[544] Herodotus, *History* IV, 43. In §112 of Pseudo-Scylax, the lengths of the voyages from the Pillars of Heracles to Cerne, Cape Soloeis, and Cape Hermes have been changed as a consequence of the insertion of the displaced passage. See below, p. 446-447.

[545] E. Lipiński, *Spartel, Cap*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 421-422.

[546] Pomponius Mela, *Chorography*, I, 25; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 2.

[547] A. Cadotte, *Neptune Africain*, in *Phoenix* 56 (2002), p. 330-347, in particular p. 333-334.

[548] *KAI* 43 = *TSSI* III, 36 should be compared in particular with W.H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Paris 1870, No. 2779. Cf. Ph. Berger, *Mémoire sur une inscription phénicienne de Narnaka dans l'île de Chypre*, in *RA* 3 (1895), p. 69-88 and Pl. IV, in particular p. 76-77 and 85. See also A. Parmentier, *Phoenicians in the Administration of Ptolemaic Cyprus*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 403-412.

[549] Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 390-393.




Tyrian tetradrachm, *ca.* 400 B.C., with Melqart holding a bow and riding over the waves upon a winged sea-horse. On the reverse, owl with crook and flail, Egyptian symbols of royalty alluding to *milk qart*, "the king of the city".

Arethusa on Siracusan and Siculo-Punic tetradrachms and decadrachms from *ca.* 500 B.C. onwards[550]. The dolphin appears on Carthaginian steles from the 5th century B.C. on[551], and later on steles from Cirta[552], Althiburos[553], 'Ayn Barchuch[554]. More importantly, the dolphin is represented on the obverse of the earliest Tyrian coins, datable to the late 5th century B.C., and it appears later beneath the waves, which symbolize the sea, while Melqart holding a bow rides over the waves upon a winged sea-horse[555]. Since this fabulous animal, half horse and half fish, is driven sometimes by Poseidon/Neptune[556], who is identified with

[550] B.V. HEAD, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, London 1932, Pls. 7:30; 16:54-71; 26:31; 31:12, 21; etc; R.R. FRANCKE - M. HIRMER, *La monnaie grecque*, Paris 1966, Figs. 24-46; L. MILDENBERG, *Punic Coinage on the Eve of the First War against Rome. A Reconsideration*, in H. DEVIJVER - E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Punic Wars* (Studia Phoenicia X; OLA 33), Leuven 1989, p. 5-14 (see p. 7, pl. I, 493-496).

[551] C. PICARD, *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui. Nouvelle série* I. *Collections puniques*, Tunis (s.d.) 1954-55, Pls. XXXV, Cb 229; LXXXIX, Cb 800; XCVII, Cb 924.

[552] A. BERTHIER - R. CHARLIER, *Le sanctuaire punique d'El-Hofra. Planches*, Paris 1952, Pl. XXIIB; Fr. BERTRANDY - M. SZNYCER, *Les stèles puniques de Constantine*, Paris 1987, p. 108, No. 2, cf. p. 71 with further references.

[553] M. ENNAÏFER, *La cité d'Althiburos et l'édifice des Asclepeia*, Tunis 1976, p. 22-23, Pl. VII.

[554] C. PICARD, *op. cit.* (n. 551), Pl. XCVIII, Cb 939.

[555] G.F. HILL, *Phoenicia. A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, London 1910, p. 227-232, Nos. 1-43, Pls. XXVIII, 9-17; XXIX; XLIV, 2-3. See also B.V. HEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 550), Pl. 20:58.

[556] Stamp seal of the 5th or 4th centuries B.C.: G.M.A. RICHTER, *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, London 1968, No. 332. — Mosaic from Oudna housed in the Bardo Museum (A. 111): P. GAUCKLER, *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique* II. *Afrique Proconsulaire*, Paris 1910, Nos. 421 and 433.




Tarentine didrachm, 3rd century B.C.

Melqart at Larnaca-tis-Lapithou, there is little doubt that the bearded bowman is Melqart, the city god of Tyre.

Poseidon's epithet Ἵππιος, "on horseback", probably refers to this image of the deity riding upon a hippocamp, rather then being an allusion to far-fetched circumstances. In fact, various explanations of the title *Hippios* have been given: that the horse represents the corn spirit, that crested sea waves are similar to horses, that the impression of horses' hoofs could be seen near the god's sacred springs, and that the shaking of the earth was caused by his horses when galloping, that the god's cult was brought in by the first wave of Indo-Europaean invaders who also brought first horses. All this is of course absurd, for ἵππιος can simply mean "on horseback", like in the case of the Amazonian queen, said by Euripides to be "on horseback"[557], or of the goddess Athena, described by Sophocles and others as riding "on horseback"[558].

One should also refer to the Tarentine didrachms with the city eponym, the mythical hero Taras, riding on a dolphin. He is represented in such a way from the late 6th century B.C. onwards[559], and this iconography possibly inspired the minters of the Tyrian issues with the ἀρχηγέτης Melqart, riding on the fabulous, winged sea-horse.

[557] EURIPIDES, *Hippolytus* 307.

[558] SOPHOCLES, *Oedipus at Colonus* 1070.

[559] B.V. HEAD, *op. cit.* (n. 550), Pls. 6:3-5; 13:6-7; 25:9-10; 31:4-5; 37:7-8. Cf. W. FISCHER-BOSSERT, *Chronologie der Didrachmenprägung von Tarent 510-280 v. Chr.* (Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine 14), Berlin 1999.

If Poseidon stands here and in Hanno's *Periplus* for Melqart, as suggested also by the Heracles Cave on Cape Spartel[560], his "revenge" may refer to the killing of the giant Antaeus during the 11^{th} Labour of Heracles, which consisted in bringing the apples of the Hesperides[561]. In Greek mythology, Antaeus was a giant of Libya, the son of Poseidon and Ge, the "Earth". He compelled all strangers who were passing through the country to wrestle with him and as, if thrown, he derived fresh strength whenever he touched his mother earth, he proved invincible. Heracles, compelled to combat with him, discovered — when fighting — the source of his strength, and lifting him up from the earth, crushed him to death. His tomb was shown at *Tingis* (Tangier)[562], and Soloeis, "the Rock", was possibly the place where Heracles crushed Antaeus. The altar thus recorded "Poseidon's revenge", not Poseidon's who was the father of Antaeus, but Melqart-Heracles'. It was decorated with human figures, lions, dolphins, possibly referring to some of Melqart-Heracles' Labours. It was supposed to be a work of Daedalus, the legendary Greek architect and sculptor, to whom Greeks were in the habit of attributing buildings and statues the origin of which was lost in the past[563]. This is clearly the case in this passage of Pseudo-Scylax, who refers to an altar already existing at the time of his source.

Having mentioned Cape Spartel, Pseudo-Scylax can say that the islands of Gades were situated opposite the promontory. He thus knew the exact position of Gades, he was aware of the existence of several islands in this area, and knew that the city was built on one of them, viz. the small island of Erytheia[564]. In §2, instead, he mentions only two islands of Gades and adds that the site lies at a one-day distance from the Pillars of Heracles. This is hardly correct, unless the island Paloma in the Straits, near Tarifa, or Cape Spartel are meant and the distance estimated up to the sanctuary of Melqart on the present-day Island Sancti Petri. The latter is situated 19 km south of the ancient city of Gades and

[560] It is mentioned by POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography*, I, 5. Cf. C. BONNET, *Melqart. Cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée* (Studia Phoenicia VIII), Leuven-Namur 1988, p. 198.

[561] One should mention the numerous bronzes of Heracles recording his Labours from the surroundings of Tangier: R. REBUFFAT, *Bronzes antiques d'Hercule à Tanger et à Arzila*, in *AntAfr* 5 (1971), p. 179-191

[562] K. WERNICKE, *Antaios. 1.*, in *PW* I/2, Stuttgart 1894, col. 2339-2342; L. DE CRISTOFARO, *La figura di Anteo nelle fonti letterarie antiche tra mito e storia*, in *Mediterraneo Antico* 6 (2003), p. 327-345; cf. PLUTARCH, *Sertorius* 9.

[563] C. ROBERT, *Daidalos. 1.*, in *PW* IV/2, Stuttgart 1901, col. 1994-2006.

[564] P. ROUILLARD, *Gadès*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 181-183 with former literature.

about 70 km northwest of Paloma and of Cape Spartel. This would represent a protracted one-day journey.

47. Length of the Voyage

Pseudo-Scylax specifies at the end of §111 that the coasting of Libya (Africa) from the Canopic mouth in Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles lasts seventy-four days. This is a quite correct evaluation, supported by data from the Later Roman Period and from the Middle Ages. In fact, westward seafaring in the season of sailing succeeded, as a rule, in unfavorable conditions because of the prevalent north-western and western winds blowing then in the Mediterranean and limiting the speed to about two knots an hour (3.75 km)[565]. A journey from Alexandria to Rome lasted therefore between fifty and seventy days[566], and a journey from Alexandria to Almeria, in Andalusia, is recorded as having lasted sixty-five days[567]. An interesting Mishnaic passage, dealing with usucaption, confirms these data for the 1^{st}-2^{nd} centuries A.D. According to Rabbi Judah, who was teaching in the mid-2^{nd} century A.D.[568], "they have prescribed a limit of three years (for usucaption) only that if the owner was in Spain (*kədī šə-yihyeh bə-'īspamyā'*)[569] and another took possession (of his property) during one year, they could make it known to the owner during the next year and he could return in the third year"[570]. This explanation implies that the journey from Palestine to Spain practically required an entire season of sailing and that the return of the concerned proprietor to Palestine could happen only in the next period. In fact, the season of sailing was limited to about three months and a half. According to Vegetius, it started on May the 27^{th} and lasted until September the 14^{th}[571]. Hesiod would even restrict navigation to fifty days in mid-summer: "Fifty days after the solstice, in the full season of wearisome heat,

[565] L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, p. 272-273, 291.

[566] L. CASSON, *The Isis and Her Voyage*, in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 81 (1950), p. 43-56 (see p. 43-51).

[567] S. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society* I. *Economic Foundations*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1967, p. 325.

[568] Z. KAPLAN, *Judah bar Ilai*, in *EJ*, Jerusalem 1971, Vol. 10, col. 337-339.

[569] There were Jewish communities in Spain in the Roman period: J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ, *Relaciones entre Hispania y los Semitas (Sirios, Fenicios, Chipriotas, Cartagineses y Judios) en la Antigüedad*, in R. STIEHL - H.E. STIER (eds.), *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift für Franz Altheim*, Berlin 1969, Vol. I, p. 42-75 (see p. 67 and 70-71); L. GARCÍA IGLESIAS, *Los judíos en la España antigua*, Madrid 1978.

[570] Mishna, *Bābā Batrā* III, 2. Cf. Babylonian Talmud, *Bābā Batrā* 38a and 39a.

[571] VEGETIUS, *Epitoma rei militaris* IV, 39.

is the right time for men to go to sailing. Then you will not wreck your ship, nor will the sea destroy the sailors"[572].

The dates given by Vegetius correspond better to the usual sailors' practice[573] than the poetical Hesiod's estimate, but this means nevertheless that there was hardly any possibility of sailing back from Spain to Palestine in the same season, even if the journey eastward could last less than half the time needed for the travel westward because of favourable seasonal winds and of the surface current flowing eastward from the Straits of Gibraltar[574]. According to the *Nautical instructions*, the eastward current felt along the Mediterranean coast of Morocco from the Straits to the Chaffarinas Islands, north of Rās al-Mā, has a speed reaching 2 knots (3.5 km) per hour. It is weaker along the Algerian coast, but its speed can be estimated between 1 km and 2 km per hour in the vicinity of Cape Bon[575]. The journey eastward serves obviously as reference to Pseudo-Scylax when he adds, after mentioning the islands of Gades, that the coasting from Carthage to the Pillars of Heracles lasts seven days and seven nights under the best sailing conditions. Of course, one must also take into account the fact that the ship had to put in ports during its voyage and that this sometimes required a considerable time. Eumaios tells even in *Odyssey* XV, 455-456 that a Phoenician vessel remained a whole year in the port of call.

These navigation conditions have important consequences for a correct understanding of the beginning of the Phoenician settlement in Spain. It is evident in fact that sailors coming from the Levant in order to acquire some precious goods could not travel back to Phoenicia in the same season of sailing. This is certainly true of a flotilla of cargo ships whose average speed was inferior to the speed of isolated vessels[576]. It means that the Phoenician sailors needed a settlement and a safe anchorage in Spain for their ships from their first voyage on, since they had to spend there about eight months. In other words, the so-called "pre-colonial" phase, advocated by some authors, is a fictitious answer to the question raised by the discrepancy between Classical historiography and the material data uncovered by excavations. Isolated precious objects from an earlier period do not prove the existence of a "pre-colonial"

[572] HESIOD, *Works and Days* 663-666, translation based on H.G. EVELYN-WHITE, *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, London 1914, p. 51.

[573] S. GOITEIN, *op. cit.* (n. 567), p. 316; L. CASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 565), p. 270-272.

[574] L. CASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 565), p. 281-299.

[575] *Instructions nautiques. Mer Méditerranée (France... Maroc)*, Paris 1932, p. 45-46.

[576] L. CASSON, *op. cit.* (n. 565), p. 292-296.

phase. They could be brought to the Iberian Peninsula or another place as gifts or exchange items several centuries after their production in the Levant. It does not matter therefore whether the Syrian cylinder-seal from Vélez-Málaga, for instance, is an artefact dating back to the 15th-14th century B.C. or not[577].

48. Conclusion

The text of Pseudo-Scylax is a compilation based on various sources, some of which go back at least to the 5th century and may contain information from the 6th century B.C. These sources are Greek and often use Greek words to designate towns which had a Phoenician-Punic or a Libyco-Berber name. Sometimes we find translations, like Νεάπολις or Ψαμαθὸς νῆσος, but adaptations of an African name to Greek occur as well, for instance in Εὔβοια or in Χάλκα. These adaptations may echo the articulation of the genuine toponym to a certain extent, but reconstructing it on this basis is a hazardous enterprise. In other cases, the original name is transcribed quite correctly, like Δρονίτις, ''Αρυλων or ''Απινι.

The basic unit expressing distances in a large section of the *Periplus* is the day-long voyage, a nautical measurement followed also by Hanno the Carthaginian and Herodotus. This indication allows detecting lacunae or omissions in the text of the unique manuscript, the *Codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 443*, from which depend the two existing apographs. This codex from the late 13th century is in a rather poor condition, but the omissions must go back to an earlier period. Either they result from lacunae in the prototype or they reflect scribal neglect, possibly a certain lack of interest on the side of the compiler himself.

The latter notices explicitly that the whole coastal area from Lepcis Magna to Gades belonged to the Carthaginians. This cannot be understood in the sense that all the coast line was under the political and military control of Carthage. It rather suggests that the seaports on this route were managed by men from Carthage and that the entire region did not belong to the Greek sphere of influence. This situation must go back to the second part of the 6th century B.C., when the Carthaginians, led by Mazeus[578], had conquered a large part of Sicily and had defeated the

[577] J.Mª. BLÁZQUEZ, *Tartessos y los origines de la colonización fenicia en Occidente*, 2nd ed., Salamanca 1975, p. 23-25.

[578] *Malchus* is a creation of the editors of JUSTINUS, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* XVIII, 7, where only *Mazeus, Maceus* or *Maleus* appear. OROSIUS, *History* IV, 6, 7-8, reads *Mazeus*, which looks like *M'zy* or *Mḥzy*, but may also reflect the

Phocaeans and the Massaliotes, about 530 B.C., on the Corsican coast[579]. It was sealed by the first agreement between Carthage and Rome, in 509 B.C.: Italy was then assigned to the Romans and the African waters to Carthage, while Sicily remained a neutral zone[580]. In practice, Carthage claimed the monopoly of West-Mediterranean waters and was ready to seize every foreign ship found between Sardinia and the Pillars of Heracles. This is the situation echoed by Pseudo-Scylax and lasting beyond the mid-4th century B.C., when the *Periplus* was compiled.

palatalization of the velar stop indicated by *c* in the ancient Latin alphabet. The original spelling of the name would then be *Maceus*, possibly corresponding to Phoenician-Punic **Makkē* (*Mky*), "striker". At any rate, *Malchus* cannot be a Phoenician-Punic name: it is Aramaic, either Palmyrene or Nabataean.

579 E. LIPIŃSKI, *Alalia*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 14, with former literature.

580 H. BENGTSON, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* II. *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., München 1975, No. 121. Cf. W. HUSS, *op. cit.* (n. 194), p. 86-92.

CHAPTER X

HANNO'S PERIPLUS

A relic of Carthaginian historical and geographic literature, preserved in a Greek translation[1] from the 4th century B.C. in a unique manuscript at Heidelberg, the *Codex Palatinus Graecus 398* (fols. 55r-56r)[2], is "The *Periplus* of Hanno, King of the Carthaginians, around the parts of Libya, beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which he deposited in the sanctuary of Kronos"[3]. The Greek version was already known to Ephorus of Cyme (*ca.* 405-330 B.C.)[4], and there is little doubt that the preserved text is quite a faithful translation of an authentic report dealing with an attempted re-colonization of the Atlantic shores of Morocco. The account does not contain any mythological elements, only at times wit-

1 Contrary to the opinion of J. BLOMQVIST, *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus*, Lund 1975, p. 15. The author nevertheless has the merit of having shown that the Greek version represents the literary language of the 5th century B.C. The late 5th or the early 4th century B.C. are proposed for the Greek version by J.A. MARTÍN GARCÍA, *El Periplo a África de Hannón*, in *Analecta Malacitana* 15 (1992), p. 55-84, who dates the journey itself one century earlier, like R. LEVRERO, *Realtà e leggenda dell'Africa antica*, Firenze 1996. The precise dating of the text from 307 B.C. by B. HEMMERDINGER, *Notes sur le Périple d'Hannon*, in *Bollettino dei Classici*, 3rd ser., 18 (1997), p. 51-52, is illusive and does not require any further discussion. According to M.H. FANTAR, *Matériaux puniques dans la version grecque du Périple d'Hannon*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIV, Roma 2002, p. 75-82, the Greek text provides an adapted and shortened version of the original.

2 A part of the *Codex Vatopedinus 655* from the 14th century, housed in the British Museum (*add. ms. 19391*), contains Hanno's *Periplus* as well, but the text depends from the *Codex Palatinus*, dating from the 9th century: A. DILLER, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, Oxford 1952, p. 3 and 12-14.

3 The *editio princeps* was provided by S. GELENIUS (ed.), *Arriani et Hannonis periplus. Plutarchus de fluminibus et montibus. Strabonis epitome*, Basel 1533.

4 G. SCHEPENS, *The Phoenicians in Ephorus' Universal History*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* (Studia Phoenicia V; OLA 22), Leuven 1987, p. 315-330 (see p. 323-325). J. BLOMQVIST's (*op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 54) scepticism does not answer the specific remarks of G. Schepens, whose article should have been known to S. BIANCHETTI, *Isole africane nella tradizione romana*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana* VI, Sassari 1989, p. 235-247, especially p. 240 with n. 15. Moreover, Ephorus not only knows Cerne, but he is even inspired by Hanno's location of Cerne "in a direct line with Carthage" (lines 41-42) and considers the possibility of a voyage by the Red Sea, hindered in fact by the great heat (quoted by PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VI, 199). This passage is misunderstood by S. BIANCHETTI, *art. cit.*, p. 241-242, who thinks of an "eastern Cerne".

nessing an imaginary, trapezoidal vision of the African continent. The title "king" attributed to Hanno in the superscription reflects a Greek interpretation of Punic *šōpēṭ*, "suffete"[5]. Since Hanno is a very common name at Carthage and the report seems to be the only original record of this exceptional enterprise, no biographical notice can be added to Hanno's image provided by the *Periplus*[6]. As for the name Kronos of the deity he honoured, it was used as a Greek equivalent of the Punic theonym *Ba'al Ḥamon*[7], originally the name of the Baal of Mount Amanus, where he is first attested in the 9th century B.C.

The Punic original of the report must date from the 6th or 5th century B.C. The precise indications of the text, replaced in the frame of geographical and archaeological data, suggest that Hanno's fleet, far from venturing out of sight of land, hugged the coast, sailing only in the daytime and casting anchor at nightfall. Because the distance covered in one day of such cabotage did not exceed 40-50 km in optimal navigation conditions[8], the farthest point reached by Hanno's fleet could not lie beyond Cape Juby (Rās Bū Ibiša), the nearest to the volcanic archipelago of the Canary Islands, characterized by their mountain peaks. Thus, contrary to the opinion upheld by some scholars who would take Hanno to Senegal, Cameroon, or even Gabon[9], it is practically certain that this navigation did not extend beyond Cape Juby and the Canaries, known later to Juba II, king of Mauretania, whose account of an expedition to the islands was summarized by Pliny the Elder[10].

The *Periplus* of Hanno is so unusual and so short a work that it can usefully be transcribed and translated here in its entirety. The transcrip-

[5] M. SZNYCER, *Le problème de la royauté dans le monde punique,* in *BAC*, n. s., 17B (1981 [1984]), p. 291-301. PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 8, calls Hanno *dux* and, in VI, 200, *imperator*.

[6] K. GEUS, *Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager* (Studia Phoenicia XIII; OLA 59), Leuven 1994, p. 98-105.

[7] LIPIŃSKI, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 251-264, in particular p. 255-258.

[8] See here above, p. 284-285 and 350 with n. 48. However, trade winds and surface currents increase the speed and the distance covered. Cf. above, p. 432.

[9] The huge literature related to the *Periplus* was surveyed by E.H. BUNBURY, *A History of Ancient Geography* I, 3rd ed., London 1883 (reprint, 1959), p. 318-335, then A. DILLER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 48-100, 177-179, with over one hundred titles, further J. DESANGES, *Le point sur le "Périple d'Hannon": controverses et publications récentes,* in *Enquêtes et documents. Nantes-Afrique-Amérique* 6 (1981), p. 13-29, reprinted in J. DESANGES, *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta minora*, Paris 1999, p. 15-28; M. EUZENNAT, *Le Périple d' Hannon,* in *CRAI* 1994, p. 559-580; K. GEUS, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 104-105; M. MUND-DOPCHIE, *La fortune du Périple d'Hannon à la Rennaissance et au XVIIe siècle* (Collection d'Études Classiques 8), Louvain-Namur 1995.

[10] The Fortunate Islands: PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VI, 202-203.



West Africa, allegedly coasted by Hanno as far as Gabon according to some theories.

tion follows W. Aly's[11], the three pages of the Greek text corresponding exactly to the pages of the manuscript with the scholia written in the right margin. As they neither add anything to the text nor contain any variants, they seem to be marginal notes aimed at preparing an index. They are nevertheless reproduced here to give an idea of the arrangement adopted in the unique independent manuscript that preserves this ancient text.

[11] W. ALY, *Die Entdeckung des Westens,* in *Hermes* 62 (1927), p. 299-341, 485-489 (see p. 321-324). Aly's text was reprinted in Al.N. OIKONOMIDES, *Hanno the Carthaginian: Periplus*, Chicago 1977, p. 24, 26, 28.

Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, fol. 55 r.

Ἄννωνος Καρχηδονίων βασιλέως περίπλους τῶν
ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἡρακλέους στήλας Λιβυκῶν τῆς γῆς μερῶν
ὃν κ(αὶ) ἀνέθηκεν ἐν τῶι τοῦ Κρόνου τεμένει δηλοῦν-
τα τάδε:
5 ἔδοξεν Καρχηδονίοις Ἄννωνα πλεῖν ἔξω στηλῶν
Ἡρακλείων καὶ πόλεις κτίζειν Λιβυφοινίκων·
καὶ ἔπλευσεν πεντηκοντόρους ἑξήκοντα ἄγων·
καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν εἰς ἀριθμὸν
μυριάδων τριῶν καὶ σῖτα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρα-
10 σκευήν· ὡς δ' ἀναχθέντες τὰς στήλας παρη-
μείψαμεν καὶ ἔξω πλοῦν δυοῖν ἡμερῶν ἐπλεύ-
σαμεν, ἐκτίσαμεν πρώτην πόλιν ἥντινα ὠνο-
μάσαμεν Θυμιατήριον· πεδίον δ' αὐτῆι μέγα
— ὑπῆν· κἄπειτα πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀναχθέντες ἐπὶ
15 Σολόεντα Λιβυκὸν ἀκρωτήριον λάσιον δένδρε-
— σι συνήλθομεν· ἔνθα Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν ἱδρυ-
σάμενοι, πάλιν ἐπέβημεν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχον-
τα ἡμέρας ἥμισυ ἄχρι ἐκομίσθημεν εἰς λίμνην
οὐ πόρρω τῆς θαλάττης κειμένην. καλάμου με-
20 στὴν πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαν-
— τες. καὶ τἆλλα θηρία νεμόμενα πάμπολλα· τήν
τε λίμνην παραλλάξαντες ὅσον ἡμέρας πλοῦν,
κατωικήσαμεν πόλεις πρὸς τῆι θαλάττηι κα-
λουμένας Καρικόν τε τεῖχος καὶ Γύττην καὶ Ἄ-
25 κραν καὶ Μέλιτταν καὶ Ἄραμβυν. κἀκεῖθεν δ' ἀ-
ναχθέντες ἤλθομεν ἐπὶ μέγαν ποταμὸν Λίξον,
ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης ῥέοντα· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν νομάδες
ἄνθρωποι Λιξῖται βοσκήματ' ἔνεμον παρ' οἷς ἐ-
— μείναμεν ἄχρι τινὸς φίλοι γενόμενοι· τούτων
30 δὲ καθύπερθεν Αἰθίοπες ᾤκουν ἄξενοι, γῆν νε-
μόμενοι θηριώδη διειλημμένην ὄρεσι μεγά-
λοις. ἐξ ὧν ῥεῖν φασὶ τὸν Λίξον περὶ δὲ τὰ ὄρη κα-
τοικεῖν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλοιομόρφους Τρωγλοδύ-
τας οὓς ταχυτέρους ἵππων ἐν δρόμοις ἔφραζον
35 οἱ Λιξῖται· λαβόντες δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν ἑρμηνέας
παρεπλέομεν τὴν ἐρήμην πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
— δύο ἡμέρας· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνί-

πόλις θυμιατήριον

σολόεις ἀκρωτήριον

πόλεις καρικὸν τεῖχος· γύττη· ἄκρα· μέλιττα· ἄραμβυς λίξος ποταμὸς ἐξ οὗ λιξῖται.

αἰθίοπες τρωγλοδύται ἵππων ταχύτεροι:

Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, fol. 55 r.

"The *Periplus* of Hanno, king of the Carthaginians, around the parts of the land of Libyans beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which he deposited in the sanctuary of Kronos.

[5]It was decreed by the Carthaginians that Hanno should sail beyond the Pillars of Heracles and found cities for the Libyphoenicians. So he sailed with sixty penteconters, and an amount of men and women, to the number of three myriads, and provisions, and other necessaries.

[10]When we had sailed beyond the Pillars and navigated further for two days, we founded the first city, which we named Thymiaterion. A large plain lay below it. Proceeding thence westward, we came to [15]Soloeis, a Libyan promontory covered with trees, where we erected a shrine to Poseidon, and again proceeded eastward for half a day, until we arrived at a lagoon not far from the sea, filled up with [20]many tall reeds, where elephants and numerous other wild animals were feeding. Scouring the lagoon about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Karikon Teichos, and Gytte, and [25]Akra, and Melitta and Arambys. Proceeding thence, we came to the great river Lixus, flowing from Libya. Beside it, shepherds, Lixitae people, were pasturing flocks, among whom we stayed some time, becoming friends. [30]Inland from there dwelled inhospitable Ethiopians, who lived in a land full of wild beasts and intersected by large mountains, from which they say the Lixus flows. Around these mountains dwelled the Troglodytes, men of strange appearance, whom the Lixitae described as swifter in running than horses. [35]Taking interpreters from them, we coasted the desert towards the south for two days, and thence again proceeded eastward





Siculo-Punic tetradrachm (*ca.* 410 B.C.), legend: *Qrtḥdšt.*

Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, fol. 55 v.

	σχοντα ἡμέρας δρόμον ἔνθα εὕρομεν ἐν μυχῶι	
	τινος κόλπου νῆσον μικράν· κύκλον ἔχουσαν	
40	*σταδίων πέντε· ἣν κατωικήσαμεν Κέρνην ὀνο-*	*περὶ κέρνης τῆς*
	μάσαντες· ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ πε-	*νήσου*
	ρίπλου κατ' εὐθὺ κεῖσθαι Καρχηδόνος· ἐώικει	
	γὰρ ὁ πλοῦς ἔκ τε Καρχηδόνος ἐπὶ στήλας κἀ-	*λίμνη χρέτης*
	κεῖθεν ἐπὶ Κέρνην· τοὐντεῦθεν εἰς λίμνην ἀφι-	*καὶ νῆσοι ἐν αὐ-*
45	*κόμεθα διά τινος ποταμοῦ μεγάλου διαπλεύ-*	*τῆι τρεῖς*
	σαντες· Χρετης · εἶχεν δὲ νήσους ἡ λίμνη τρεῖς.	
—	*μείζους τῆς Κέρνης· ἀφ' ὧν ἡμερήσιον πλοῦν*	
	κατανύσαντες εἰς τὸν μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ἤλ-	
	θομεν ὑπὲρ ἣν ὄρη μέγιστα ὑπερέτεινεν μεστὰ	*ὄρη μέγιστα ἐν*
50	*ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων δέρματα θήρεια ἐνημμέ-*	*οἷς ἄνθρωποι*
	νων οἳ πέτροις βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν ἡμᾶς κωλύ-	*ἄγριοι*
—	*οντες ἐκβῆναι· ἐκεῖθεν πλέοντες εἰς ἕτερον ἤλ-*	*ποταμὸς μέγας*
	θομεν ποταμὸν μέγαν καὶ πλατὺν γέμοντα κρο-	*καὶ πλατὺς ἐν ὧι*
	κοδείλων καὶ ἵππων ποταμίων· ὅθεν δὴ πάλιν	*κροκόδειλοι καὶ*
55	*ἀποστρέψαντες εἰς Κέρνην ἐπανήλθομεν. ἐκεῖθεν*	*ἱπποπόταμοι*
	δὲ ἐπὶ μεσημβρίας ἐπλεύσαμεν δώδεκα ἡμέ-	
	ρας, τὴν γῆν παραλεγόμενοι ἣν πᾶσαν κατώι-	
	κουν Αἰθίοπες, φεύγοντες ἡμᾶς καὶ οὐχ ὑπομέ-	*αἰθίοπες φεύγον-*
	νοντες· ἀσύνετα δ' ἐφθέγγοντο καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν	*τες ἀνθρώπους*
60	*Λιξίταις· τῆι δ' οὖν τελευταίαι ἡμέραι, προσωρ-*	
	μίσθημεν ὄρεσι μεγάλοις δασέσιν· ἦν δὲ τὰ τῶν	
—	*δένδρων ξύλα εὐώδη τε καὶ ποικίλα· περιπλεύ-*	
	σαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἡμέρας δύο γινόμεθα ἐν θα-	*θαλάττης χάσμα*
	λάττης χάσματι ἀμετρήτωι· ἧς ἐπὶ θἄτερα πρὸς	*πολύ· ἧς θἄτερον*
65	*τῆι γῆι πεδίον ἦν ὅθεν νυκτὸς ἀφεωρῶμεν,*	*πεδίον· ἐν ὧι πῦρ*
	πῦρ ἀναφερόμενον πανταχόθεν κατ' ἀποστάσεις·	*ἐν νυκτὶ ὁρᾶιτο*
—	*τὸ μὲν πλέον, τὸ δ' ἔλαττον· ὑδρευσάμενοι δ' ἐκεῖ-*	*κόλπος ἑσπέρου*
	θεν ἐπλέομεν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν ἡμέρας πέντε	*κέρας.*
	παρὰ γῆν ἄχρι ἤλθομεν εἰς μέγαν κόλπον ὃν	
70	*ἔφασαν οἱ ἑρμηνέες καλεῖσθαι Ἑσπέρου κέρας.*	

Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, fol. 55 v.

for one day, and found, at the rear of a bay, a small island having a circumference of [40]five stadia, which we settled and called Cerne. We judged from our journey that it was directly opposed Carthage, for the voyage from Carthage to the Pillars and from there to Cerne was alike. From here sailing [45]a big river, the Chretes, we reached a lagoon. The lagoon had three islands larger than Cerne, from which, proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity of the lagoon, overhung by very high mountains, inhabited by [50]savage people, clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones and prevented us from disembarking. Sailing thence we came to another river, big and wide, full of crocodiles and hippopotamuses, whence returning [55]back, we came again to Cerne. Thence we sailed toward the south for twelve days, clinging to the coast, which was all along inhabited by Ethiopians, who fled from us without waiting. Their language was unintelligible, even to the [60]Lixitae who were with us. On the last day, we came to anchor by some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these for two days, we came to an immense sea gulf, on either [65]shore of which was a plain, where by night we saw fire arising everywhere at intervals, either more or less. Having taken in water there, we sailed ahead for five days near the land, until we came to a great bay, [70]which our interpreters called the Tideway of the West.



Siculo-Punic tetradrachms (*ca.* 350-320 B.C.).

Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, fol. 56 r.

ἐν δὲ τούτωι νῆσος ἦν μεγάλη, καὶ ἐν τῆι νήσωι λίμνη
θαλασσώδης· ἐν δὲ ταύτηι νῆσος ἑτέρα εἰς ἣν ἀποβάν-
τες ἡμέρας μὲν οὐδὲν ἀφεωρῶμεν ὅτι μὴ ὕλην,
νυκτὸς δὲ πυρά τε πολλὰ καιόμενα, καὶ φω-
75 *νὴν αὐλῶν ἠκούομεν, κυμβάλων τε καὶ τυμπά-*
νων πάταγον καὶ κραυγὴν μυρίαν· φόβος οὖν ἔ-
λαβε ἡμᾶς· καὶ οἱ μάντεις ἐκέλευον ἐκλείπειν τὴν
νῆσον. ταχὺ δ' ἐκπλεύσαντες παρημειβόμεθα χώ-
ραν διάπυρον θυμιαμάτων μεστοι δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς πυ-
80 *ρώδεις ῥύακες ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν· ἡ γῆ δ' ὑ-*
πὸ θέρμης ἄβατος ἦν. ταχὺ οὖν κἀκεῖθεν φοβη-
θέντες ἀπεπλεύσαμεν· τέτταρας δ' ἡμέρας φερό-
μενοι νυκτὸς τὴν γῆν ἀφεωρῶμεν, φλογὸς με-
στήν. ἐν μέσωι δ' ἦν ἠλίβατόν τι πῦρ τῶν ἄλλων μεῖ-
85 *ζον, ἁπτόμενον ὡς ἐδόκει τῶν ἄστρων· τοῦτο δ' ἡμέ-*
ρας ὄρος ἐφαίνετο μέγιστον θεῶν ὄχημα καλού-
μενον· τριταῖοι δ' ἐκεῖθεν πυρώδεις ῥύακας πα-
ραπλεύσαντας ἀφικόμεθα εἰς κόλπον Νότου κέ-
ρας λεγόμενον· ἐν δὲ τῶι μυχῶι νῆσος ἦν ἐοι-
90 *κυῖα τῆι πρώτηι, λίμνην ἔχουσα· καὶ ἐν ταύτηι νῆ-*
σος ἦν ἑτέρα, μεστὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων· πολὺ δὲ
πλείους ἦσαν γυναῖκες, δασεῖαι τοῖς σώμασιν· ἃς
οἱ ἑρμηνέες ἐκάλουν Γορίλλας· διώκοντες δὲ ἄν-
δρας μὲν συλλαβεῖν οὐ ἠδυνήθημεν, ἀλλὰ πάν-
95 *τες μὲν ἐξέφυγον κρημνοβάται ὄντες καὶ τοῖς*
μετρίοις ἀμυνόμενοι, γυναῖκας δὲ τρεῖς, αἳ δάκνου-υ-
σαί τε καὶ σπαράττουσαι τοὺς ἄγοντας οὐκ ἤθε-
λον ἕπεσθαι· ἀποκτείναντες μέντοι αὐτάς ἐξεδείρα-
μεν. καὶ τὰς δορὰς ἐκομίσαμεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα.
100 *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐπλεύσαμεν προσωτέρωι, τῶν σίτων ἡ-*
μᾶς ἐπιλιπόντων.

νῆσος μεγάλη ἐν ἧι λίμνη θαλασσώδης· ἐν ἧι ἑτέρα νῆσος

ση(μείωσαι) τὰ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον πυρὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν μουσικῶν ὀργάνων φωναί

χώρα διάπυρος θυμιαμάτων

γῆ νυκτὶ μεστὴ πυρός

ὄρος θεῶν ὄχημα οἷον ἠλίβατόν τι πῦρ

πυρώδεις ῥύακες μεθ' οὓς κόλπος νότου κέρας

νῆσος ἐν ἧι λίμνη ἐν ἧι ἑτέρα νῆσος μεστὴ ἀνθρώπων ἀγρίων

Codex Palatinus Graecus 398, fol. 56 r.

In this was a large island and in the island a saltwater lagoon, and above it was another island, where, when we had disembarked, we could see nothing by day, except the forest, but in the night we saw many fires burning and [75]we heard the sound of flutes, cymbals, and drums beating, and an incessant shouting. Fear came upon us, and the diviners ordered us to leave the island. Sailing quickly away thence, we coasted a country burning from which [80]streams of fire full of fragrance fell into the sea. The land was unapproachable because of the heat. So we sailed away quickly from there also, being terrified; and passing on for four days, we saw the land by night full of flames. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, [85]which seemed to reach the stars. By day it was seen to be a very high mountain called the Chariot of the Gods. Thence sailing for three days by streams of fire we reached a bay called the Tideway of the South. At the rear lay an island like [90]the former one, having a lagoon, and above it there was another island, full of savage people, far the greater part of whom were women with hairy bodies, whom the interpreters called 'gorillas'. Chasing the men, we could not catch any of them, but all [95]escaped by climbing precipices and defending themselves by all means, except for three women, who biting and mangling did not want to follow their captors. Having thus killed them, we flayed them and brought their skins to Carthage. [100]For we did not sail farther, our provisions failing us."





Siculo-Punic tetradrachm (*ca.* 350 B.C.).

1. Introduction

It is often difficult to determine the Phoenician word or phrase that was translated into Greek in such or such a particular way. Already in the first lines of the text, one wonders which Phoenician term is hidden behind the "Libyphoenicians", i.e. the African Phoenicians, or behind the "penteconters". Since women, provisions, and other necessaries were taken on the ships, these were seemingly no war-galleys, but merchant or passenger boats. On the other hand, they penetrated quite far into rivers, being apparently slim, light-draught vessels. As a matter of fact, there could have been different types of boats among the sixty Hanno's ships, although the Greek version specifies: "sixty ships of fifty oars (60 penteconters) each". The translator had clearly in mind normal large Greek rowing vessels, which were 50-oared boats with a single row of 25 oarsmen on each side. The Phoenician oared ships of about 700 B.C., used for passenger transport and other purposes, were biremes with two staggered oars, the somewhat lower sitting rowers being inboard and passing their oars under the seats of the upper row of oarsmen and through oarports[12]. Of course, Phoenician and Punic monoremes existed as well[13].

The "sixty ships" of the *Periplus* appear to correspond to a Carthaginian fleet in writings of Greek authors. Thus, there were sixty ships at the battle of Alalia in *ca.* 540 B.C.[14], sixty ships in 409 B.C. and one hundred and twenty ships in 406 B.C. during the Sicilian wars[15], but Cornelius Scipio also had a fleet of sixty quinqueremes at his disposal in 218 B.C.[16] Since "sixty" was a standard unit also in the ancient Near East, one should regard the "sixty penteconters" of the *Periplus* as a conventional designation of the fleet. A similar reasoning applies to the "three myriads" of men and women taken on board. The phrase may indeed mean "thirty thousand", but μυριάς must be the translation of a word like Hebrew *rbbh*, that originally designated a large indefinite number, hence ten thousand, while "three", "triple", "threefold", is the widely used Semitic qualification of the highest perfection, efficiency, valuation[17]. No objective quantity can be established on this basis, independently of the general tendency of Oriental sources, especially the biblical ones, to inflate the numbers. The introduction to the report, written in the third-person style, appears therefore to use a conventional literary language.

[12] M.-Chr. De Graeve, *The Ships of the Ancient Near East (c. 2000-500 B.C.)* (OLA 7), Leuven 1981, p. 67-68, 128-131, 167-170, Pls. XL-XLI, Figs. 86-87a.

[13] J. Debergh, *Navires*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 310-311.

[14] Herodotus, *History* I, 166.

[15] Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Historica* XIII, 54, 1 and 80, 5.

[16] Polybius, *History* III, 41, followed by Livy, *Roman History* XXI, 17.

[17] E. Lipiński, *Trois hébraïsmes oubliés ou méconnus*, in *RSO* 44 (1969), p. 83-101 (see p. 93-101).

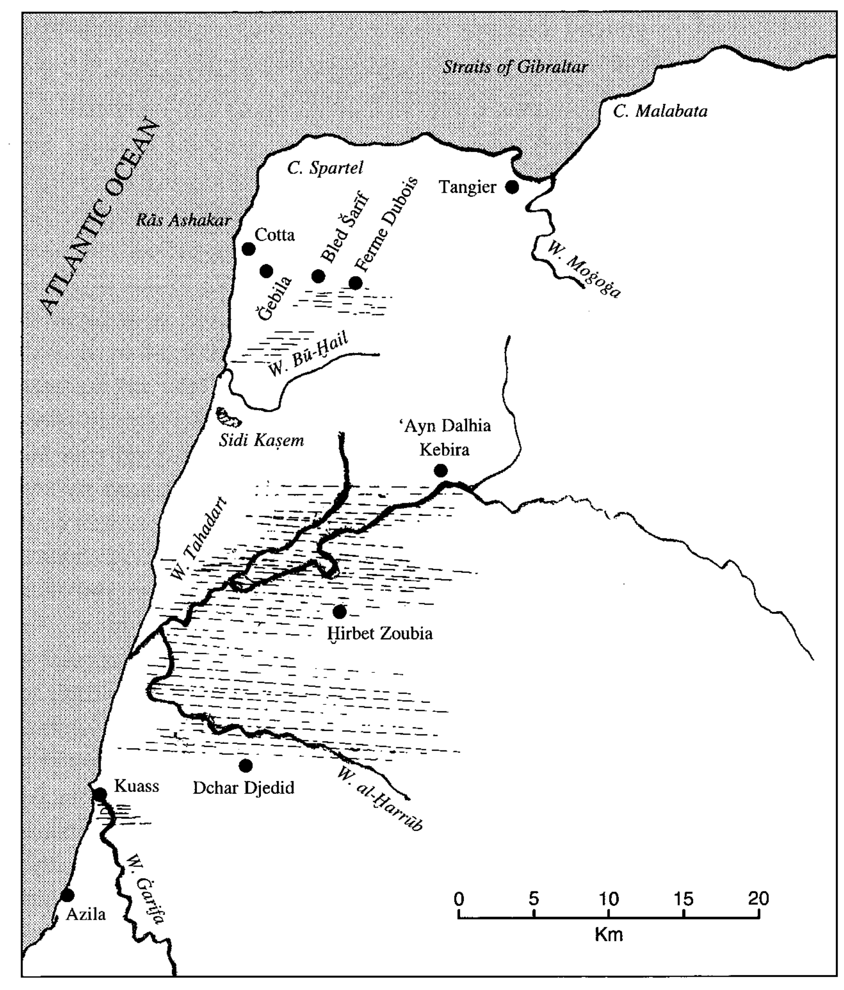
2. Tangier and Cape Spartel

The first-person style is followed instead in the report proper that does not even mention the long journey from Carthage to the Pillars of Heracles. It is quite possible that the beginning of the report, as well as its end, have not been translated. One can just assume that the journey had started in May, which usually marked the opening of the sailing season[18], and that Hanno's fleet had reached the Pillars of Heracles in June. The two-days sailing from the Pillars to Thymiaterion strengthens the latter's identification with Tangier[19]. This is further confirmed by the reference to the plain of Tangier, which was fertile, certainly dotted over with palms, and well calculated for the growth of fruit and vegetables. The alleged "foundation" of Thymiaterion by Hanno was rather a Carthaginian occupation of a strategic point at the junction of the Mediterranean and of the Atlantic, a little west of the narrowest part of the Straits of Gibraltar. The semicircular bay of Tangier, about 7 km in width, possessed a harbour not to be despised, especially on such a coast, and the promontory running out to the north-east at the extremity of the bay could provide an excellent place for a lighthouse. The name of the place, Tangi/Tingi, was Libyco-Berber, but a Phoenician presence on the site was certainly going back to the earliest period of the Phoenician settlement in the "Far West", in the 8th-7th centuries B.C., as shown by finds in cemeteries around the town, especially in the Phoenician built tomb on Rās Ashakar, in the tombs of Moghogha as-Sghira, 5 km east of Tangier, at Ǧebila, and at ʻAyn Dalhia Kebira[20]. Although a small percentage of the three hundred and fifty tombs so far discovered presents a traditional Phoenician structure, their contents, in particular the amulets and jewels, reveal close contacts with Phoenicians from the

[18] See here above, p. 431-432.

[19] See here above, p. 426.

[20] M. Ponsich, *Nécropoles phéniciennes de la région de Tanger*, Rabat 1967; Id., *Recherches archéologiques à Tanger et dans sa région*, Paris 1970; Id., *Tanger antique*, in *ANRW* II/10, 2, Berlin-New York 1982, p. 787-816; Id., *Tanger*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 436-438. See also the reassessment by M.R. El Azifi, *Les nécropoles de la région de Tanger sont-elles phéniciennes?*, in *Actes du IIIe Congrès international des Études phéniciennes et puniques*, Tunis 1995, Vol. I, p. 401-414.



The Northwest of Morocco.

7th-6th centuries B.C. onwards. Hanno's "re-foundation" had, no doubt, a military, economic, and political purpose. We do not know how many colonists he settled there and whether he left some of the boats from his fleet at their disposal.

From Tangier, Hanno proceeded to Soloeis, the Cape Spartel, called Κώτης by Strabo and Ptolemy[21], Ampelusia, i.e. "Vine-Cape" by Pliny

[21] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 2; PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 572).

and Pomponius Mela[22]. The present-day name occurs first in al-Bekrī's *Description of Africa*, where the cape is named *'Išbartal*[23]. The distance is not indicated in the *Periplus*, since the closest place where the ships could be anchored, was the creek of al-Yihūdī, only 3 km west of Tangier. From there Hanno and his people had to clime for about two or three hours to reach the summit of the promontory. This was a pilgrimage the purpose of which was to sacrifice there to Poseidon, most likely Melqart[24]. The alleged "erection" of the shrine was either a hasty repair or a religious ceremony at a place, which was already sacred.

3. The Pelican Lagoon

Thereafter Hanno's fleet turned around the Cape, thus proceeding south-eastward for a certain time, until it reached a large lagoon close to the sea. This lagoon, filled up with tall reeds, must correspond partly to the swamps around the lagoon of Sidi Kaṣem and the mouth of the Wad Tahadart, some 20 to 30 km south of Tangier. Scouring them about a day's sail in search of appropriate places, Hanno founded five colonies in this area, close to the sea: Karikon Teichos, Gytte, Akra, Melitta, and Arambys. We do not know whether this order corresponds to a geographic distribution of the sites. At any rate, it does not seem that the places are mentioned in a north-south succession.

In fact, the name 'Αράμβυς of the last "foundation" occurs also in a portolano of the 16th century. This pilot book, that lists courses, anchorages and ports, mentions a cape 'Αράμπη west of Tangier. This can only be Cape Spartel, to which the name of a nearby township was given[25]. The name is Phoenician, **har 'anbi*, hence **har 'ambi* with partial assimilation of *nb* > *mb*, "Mount of the Vine"[26]. Greek 'Αμπελουσία practically has the same meaning and Pomponius Mela, calling Cape Spartel *Ampelusia*, adds that the local name of the cape has the same meaning as the Greek one[27]: *promunturium Graeci Ampelusiam,*

[22] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 2; POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 25.

[23] Translation of the passage concerned by MACGUCKIN DE SLANE, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale par Abou-Obeïd-El-Bekri*, 2nd ed., Alger 1911-13 (reprint, Paris 1965), p. 257-258.

[24] See here above, p. 427-430.

[25] The place name is mentioned in Portolano VII, published by A. DELATTE, *Les portulans grecs*, Liège 1947, p. 361. Cf. R. REBUFFAT, *D'un portulan grec du XVIe siècle au Périple d'Hannon*, in *Karthago* 17 (1973-74), p. 139-151 and 5 pls.

[26] This was seen already by S. Bochart and F.K. Movers. The explanation **'Ar 'ambi*, "Precinct of Vine" (cf. here above, p. 412), does not suit a promontory.

[27] POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* I, 25.

Afri aliter, sed idem significante vocabulo appellant. He does not refer to Κώτης ἄκρον, mentioned by Ptolemy[28], or αἱ Κώτεις, as Strabo writes[29], because this name, which is also Phoenician, means "pelican", not "vine". The word does not appear so far in the poor vocabulary of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, but it occurs in biblical and talmudic Hebrew (*qā'āt*)[30], in Targumic Aramaic (*qātā*), and it is translated in the Septuagint by πελεκᾶνα, "pelicans"[31]. The corresponding Middle Phoenician and Punic form should be **qōt*[32], which perfectly corresponds to Pliny's and Strabo's transcription Κώτης, Κώτεις[33]. This explanation is confirmed by Pseudo-Scylax §112, who locates there the bay of Κώτης and refers to ὄρνιθες αἱ λιμ(ε)νῆτιδες[34], "marsh birds":

> "After the Pillars of Heracles, to one sailing outward and keeping Libya on the left, there is a large bay as far as Cape Hermaia, for there is also a Cape Hermaia there. In the middle of this bay lies the Seamen's place and city. A large lagoon lies near this city and there are many islands in this lagoon. Around the lagoon grow reed, gallingale, osier, and rush. Marsh birds are there and nowhere else unless they have been brought from there. Cephesias is the name of this lagoon and Kotes (is the name) of this bay. It lies between the Pillars of Heracles and Cape Hermaia. Stretching from Cape Hermaia, there are large rocks from Libya to Europe that do not rise above the sea, although this beats sometimes against them".

As well known, pelicans haunt the margins of large lakes and rivers, where fish are plentiful. They can still be observed in southern Morocco, as well as rose-white flamingos. Companies of pelicans may be seen in a shallow bay, stretched out in a long line, fishing. The description of the site by Pseudo-Scylax perfectly corresponds to these conditions and its situation clearly points at the area south of Cape Spartel, still described

[28] Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 572).
[29] Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 2.
[30] Babylonian Talmud, *Ḥulīn* 63a; *Shabbat* 21a.
[31] Lev. 11, 18; Deut. 14, 18; Ps. 101, 7; cf. J. Tamulénas, *Översättningen av fågellistorna i Lev 11: 13-19 och Deut 14: 11-18*, in *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 57 (1992), p. 28-59 (see p. 51: *Pelecanus onocrotalus*, the common pelican). Also other translations are proposed, since the name, probably based on an onomatopoeia, was applied to a desert fowl as well.
[32] Cf. J. Friedrich - W. Röllig, *Phönizich-punische Grammatik*, 3rd ed., Roma 1999, p. 40-43, §78-80.
[33] A personal name *Cota*, "Pelican", occurs in *CIL* VIII, 16657 = *ILAlg* I, 3438; *CIL* VIII, 17659. Cf. K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, p. 38. It is not evident that the name should be distinguished systematically from *Cotta* in Punic-speaking areas. There is also a feminine name *Cottia*: *CIL* VIII, 16768 = *ILAlg* I, 1115.
[34] Correction of λιμελελιφιδες.

in the 19th century as marshy and inundated during high tides[35]. The lake Κηφησιάς can possibly be identified with the lagoon of Sidi Kaṣem or with a larger body of water existing there in Antiquity, close to the coast line. The name appears to be inspired by the name of the lake Κηφισίς, in which the Κηφισός River empties itself in Boeotia[36]. It may be similar to the local name of this body of water, but this is not evident, the more so because Ποντιὼν or ποντιῶν τόπος καὶ πόλις is Greek as well: "Seamen's place and city", which does not need to translate any actual Phoenician toponym. Instead, it may designate the same site as Κώτης.

Cotta is the traditional name of the ancient salted fish factory near Rās Ashakar, 5 km south of Cape Spartel. It is not proved that this is its original name, but *Cottae* is reported twice by Pliny in this area[37]. Now, a characteristic and peculiar feature of vocalic and consonantal length is that the place of the length affecting a consonant or the preceding vowel is non-distinctive. This can be stated here, as there seems to be free variation between Κώτης and *Cotta/Cottae*. We assume therefore that all the mentions of Κώτης and *Cotta/Cottae* refer to a large lagoon south of Cape Spartel, which gave its name also to a settlement near its shore and to the promontory itself. Instead, Γύττη of Hanno's *Periplus* is a completely different Phoenician word[38] and it refers to another place. Neither can we identify 'Αράμβυς with *Cotta*, although its name suggests a location close to the Djebel or its southern slopes. It was perhaps situated close to the cemeteries of Ğebila, Bled Šarīf, and Ferme Dubois, southeast of Rās Ashakar, all sites where the number of ancient tombs was quite important[39].

[35] Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la Maurétanie Tingitane*, in *MAIBL* 9 (1877), p. 137-322 (see Pl. III).
[36] Homer, *Iliad* V, 709; Pindar, *Pythian Odes* XII, 46. This applies also to the *lacum Cephisida* in Pliny's transcription: Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXVII, 37 (= *FGH* III C, §764, Frg. 3), quotes a Punic author, a certain *'Azruba'l*, who contended that the Maures called this lake *Electrum*, probably a mythological allusion to the Garden of the Hesperides; cf. Desanges, *Recherches*, p. 112.
[37] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 2: *oppida fuere Lissa et Cottae ultra columnas Herculi, nunc est Tingi*; XXXII, 15: *locum Mauretaniae qui Cottae vocetur, non procul Lixo flumine*. Archaeological sites of this area, with former literature, are listed by A. Cheddad, *Notes sur quelques sites archéologiques du Nord marocain*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 1803-1817 (see p. 1806-1813).
[38] Γύττη was unfortunately identified with *Cotta* by several authors, paying little attention to the different consonants and vowels, for instance J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc antique*, Paris 1943, p. 103.
[39] See the publications by M. Ponsich, *op. cit.* (n. 20).

If Arambys is the northernmost settlement of Hanno's five "foundations" in the area south of Cape Spartel, one may assume that Melitta was the following one. The name should not be equated with the Μέλισσα, πόλις Λιβύων of Hecataeus[40]. The latter, "a city of the Libyans", cannot be identified either with Malta, named by Pseudo-Scylax among "the islands inhabited by Carthaginians"[41], nor with Melitta, the city founded by Hanno the Carthaginian. Instead, it may correspond to Mellita, near Sabratha[42]. Μέλιττα is therefore an isolated attestation that should be explained by a scribal error confusing Σ with M[43] or, more likely, by an erroneous interpretation of a Punic *š*, very similar to *m* in the script of the 4th century B.C.[44], when a copy of the text had to be made for the translator. In this hypothesis, we can read *Šelitta*, which corresponds exactly to the Punic coin legend *'-Šlyt*, with the article[45]. This toponym can be compared with Pliny's *Selatitos*[46] and the *Getuli Selitha* of the Cosmography of Ravenna[47], but the identification is unlikely. More importantly, *Šelitta* should be related to the epigraphic mentions of the Roman colony *Zilit(anorum)*[48], found at Dchar Djedid

[40] HECATAEUS, in *FGH* I A, §1, Frg. 357.

[41] PSEUDO-SCYLAX, *Periplus* §111; cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 94, who was apparently misunderstood by F. VILLADA PAREDES - J.M. HITA RUIZ, *El asentiamento romano de Ceuta*, in A. MASTINO - P. RUGGERI (eds.), *L'Africa Romana* X, Sassari 1994, p. 1207-1240 (see p. 1213).

[42] A.M. BISI, *Scoperta di due tombe puniche a Mellita (Sabratha)*, in *Libya Antiqua* 6-7 (1969-70), p. 189-228 and Pls. LI-LVII; A. DI VITA, *Addendum a "Scoperta di due tombe puniche a Mellita"*, in *Libya Antiqua* 6-7 (1969-70), p. 229-230.

[43] M. LE GLAY, *Dchar Djedid*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 127.

[44] J.B. PECKHAM, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, Cambridge, Mass, 1968, p. 178; J. FRIEDRICH - W. RÖLLIG, *op. cit.* (n. 32), Pl. IV.

[45] *NAA* III, p. 153; *Suppl.*, p. 79; MAZARD, *Corpus*, p. 188-189, Nos. 627-629; G.K. JENKINS, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Danish National Museum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. North Africa, Syrtica, Mauretania*, Copenhagen 1969, Nos. 743-744 and Pl. 28; Fr. CHAVES TRISTÁN - E. GARCÍA VARGAS - E. FERRER ALBEDA, *Datos relativos a la pervivencia del denominado "Circulo del Estrecho" en época republicana*, in *L'Africa Romana* XII, Sassari 1998, p. 1307-1320 (see p. 1316); ID., *Sertorio: de Africa a Hispania*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 1463-1486 (see p. 1481-1484, Nos. 2-6, 20-21, 35, 68-69).

[46] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 10: *gentes Selatitos*.

[47] *Cosmography of Ravenna* III, 11, in J. SCHNETZ, *Itineraria Romana* II, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1990, p. 43: 8.

[48] M. LENOIR, *Ab eo XV in ora Oceani Colonia Augusta Julia Constantia Zili*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana* IV, Sassari 1987, p. 433-444; R. REBUFFAT, *Histoire de l'identification des sites urbains antiques du Maroc*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 865-914 (see p. 913-914).

and showing that Zilil was a variant form of the same place name[49], attested also as Ζέλις, Ζῆλις[50], *Zulil*[51], Ζιλία[52], *Zili*[53], Ξιλία[54].

Dchar Djedid is located 13 km northeast of Azila/Asilah, which seems to preserve the ancient name. The town was built 82 metres above the Wad al-Ḫarrūb and in Antiquity must have bordered the lagoon. The excavations show that the indigenous dwellings have been replaced between 33 and 25 B.C.[55] by the city built for Augustus' veterans. Part of the inhabitants of the *Colonia Iulia Constantia Zilitanorum* were then transferred to Tingentera, in the Bay of Algeciras[56], which was then called *Iulia Traducta* or *Ioza*, in Punic *yōṣ'ā*, "getting out". This change of population probably occasioned the slight shift in the pronunciation of the toponym from *Šelīt* to *Zilit*, with a further loss of final *t* resulting in the forms *Zili*, Ζέλι-, Ζῆλι-, etc.

The place name appears to be Phoenician and to mean "fishery" or "fishing-net" in the light of talmudic Hebrew *šly*, "to fish"[57], Late Babylonian *salītu*[58] and Mandaic *silita*, "fishing-net"[59]. The area may possibly be connected with the fishing grounds frequented as far as Lixus by fishermen from Gades, as recorded by Posidonius[60].

[49] Zilil was identified in 1958 with Dchar Djedid by J.E.H. SPAUL, *Une colonie d'Auguste en Tingitane*, in *BAM* 18 (1998), p. 339-342. Cf. R. REBUFFAT, *art. cit.* (n. 48), p. 880-881.

[50] STRABO, *Geography* III, 1, 8; XVII, 3, 16.

[51] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 2.

[52] PTOLEMY, *Geography*, IV, 1, 7 (p. 588); cf. IV, 1, 2 (p. 572): Ζιλία, ποτ. ἐκβολαί.

[53] *Itinerarium Antonini* II, 8, in O. CUNTZ, *Itineraria Romana* I, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1990, p. 1: 8, 2; *Cosmography of Ravenna* III, 11, in J. SCHNETZ, *op. cit.* (n. 47), p. 42: 46; cf. p. 88: 4 (*Zichi*) and p. 132: 13.

[54] ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, *Libyca*, according to STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, *Ethnica*, s.v. Ξιλία; cf. *FGH* III A, §273, Frg. 44.

[55] A. AKERRAZ - N. EL-KHATIB-BOUJIBAR - A. HESNARD - A. KERMORVANT - É. & M. LENOIR, *Fouilles de Dchar Jdid 1977-1980*, in *BAM* 14 (1981-82), p. 169-244; M. LENOIR, *art. cit.* (n. 48); ID., *Ad Mercuri templum. Voies et occupation antiques du nord du Maroc*, in *MDAIR* 100 (1993), p. 507-520 and Pls. 98-100; G. DEPEYROT, *Recherches archéologiques franco-marocaines à Dchar Jdid: Colonia Julia Constantia Zilil. Zilil* I. *Étude du numéraire*, Paris 1999.

[56] STRABO, *Geography* III, 1, 8. A. TOVAR, *Iberische Landeskunde* II/1, Baden-Baden 1974, p. 68-69, distinguishes *Iulia Traducta* from *Tingentera*, but Strabo precisely reports that also some inhabitants of *Tingi* have been transferred to *Iulia Traducta*, hence its name Tingentera < **Tingi altera*, "the other Tingi".

[57] JASTROW, p. 1582a.

[58] A.T. CLAY, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius* II (PBS II/1), Philadelphia 1912, No. 208, lines 5 and 8. Cf. G. CARDASCIA, *Les archives des Murašû*, Paris 1951, p. 151.

[59] E.S. DROWER - R. MACUCH, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, Oxford 1963, p. 326-327.

[60] POSIDONIUS OF APAMEA (*ca.* 135-51/50 B.C.), *On the Ocean*, quoted by STRABO, *Geography* II, 3, 4.

The settlement mentioned before Šelitta is Ἄκρα, certainly a translation of Phoenician and Punic *Ro'š* > *Rūš*, "Cape". Since Pseudo-Scylax §112 mentions a Ἑρμαία ἄκρα in this very region, while *Ad Mercuri(os)* of the *Itinerarium Antonini* has been located at Ḫirbet Zoubia, 24 km south of Tangier and 12 km north of Dchar Djedid[61], the cape in question should be looked for in the same area. An additional argument is provided by the effigy on the obverse of the coins with the legend '-*Šlyt*, dating to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. Since the caduceus is represented in front of the figure, G.K. Jenkins identifies it unquestionably with Hermes/Mercury[62]. The only cape recorded as such in this area, in the 19th century, is Rās al-Akouass, on the right bank of the Wad al-Ġarifa, 28 km south of Cape Spartel. It was already identified by Ch. Tissot[63], in 1877, with the Ἑρμαία ἄκρα of Pseudo-Scylax §112, notwithstanding the confusing distances indicated further in this text and resulting from the insertion of a whole section on Cape Soloeis, that belongs in reality to §111[64]. Since Rās al-Akouass is very likely Ἑρμαία ἄκρα, the Ἀνίδης River of Pseudo-Scylax must be the Wad al-Ġarifa, and the large lake is the former lagoon extending north of it[65]. The name of the river is apparently Libyco-Berber, at least if we regard the initial *a*- as the prefix of the absolute case and relate the stem *-nida-* to the noun *nnda*, "dampness", still used nowadays at Figuig[66].

Akwass, the Libyco-Berber form with prefixed *a*-, is the toponym known as Kouass or Kuass in Moroccan archaeology. It was an industrial centre and a good anchorage place, active from the 6th-5th century B.C. to the end of the 1st century A.D.[67] Next to fisheries and saltworks on the left bank of the Wad al-Ġarifa, there were important potters' workshops at the site, deserving the major centre of Dchar Djedid, situated 7 km eastward. However, nothing seems to prove that the large

[61] M. Lenoir, *Ad Mercuri templum, art. cit.* (n. 55), p. 519. This site should not be confused with *Ad Mercurios* on the right bank of Bou Regreg.

[62] G.K. Jenkins, *op. cit.* (n. 45), Nos. 743-744.

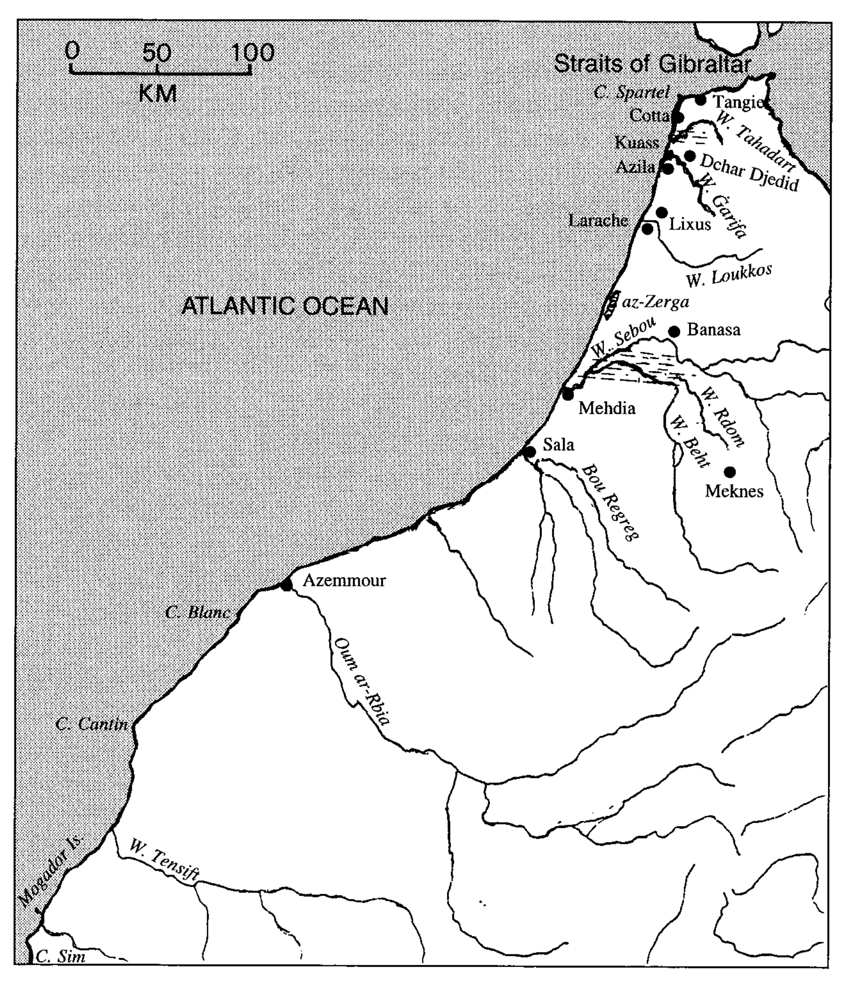
[63] Ch. Tissot, *op. cit.* (n. 35), Pl. III.

[64] See here above, p. 337 and 426.

[65] Ch. Tissot, *op. cit.* (n. 35), Pl. III; Desanges, *Recherches*, p. 113.

[66] M.G. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)*, Paris-Louvain 1997, p. 459.

[67] M. Ponsich, *Kouass, port antique et carrefour des voies de la Tingitane,* in *BAM* 7 (1967), p. 369-406; Id., *Nouvel aspect de l'industrie pré-romaine en Tingitane,* in *BAC*, n.s., 4 (1968), p. 225-235; Id., *Alfarerias de época fenicia y púnico-mauritana en Kuass (Arcila, Marruecos)*, Valencia 1968; Id., *Les céramiques d'imitation: la campanienne de Kouass,* in *AEArq* 42 (1969), p. 56-80; Id., *Kouass,* in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 249-250 and Fig. 199.



Western Morocco.

amounts of amphorae produced at the site were used exclusively for *garum* and other fish preparations.

If Ἄκρα is the site of Kuass, the question can be raised what was the full Phoenician-Punic name of the cape and of the site. It is uncertain whether Hermes/Mercury was equated with Sakon[68]. In this hypothesis, the full name of the cape would have been **Ro'š Sakkōn*. A confirmation is needed at any rate and it should come from a new source.

[68] Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses*, p. 177, 395.

῎Ακρα is preceded in Hanno's *Periplus* by Γύττη, which is a transcription of the Semitic word *gitt*, "wine-press" or "oil-press"[69]. This place should be located in the vicinity of a hill, but it may be close to Dchar Djedid and to Kuass. The identification with Cotta is not suitable because the name is different and because Cotta was a *garum* factory, not a complex of wine-presses or oil-presses. For a similar reason, the site of Kuass is not likely to be Γύττη, since it does not appear as a centre of olive oil or wine production, although the pottery made at Kuass could serve to keep and transport wine or olive oil from a nearby settlement[70]. We assume that the latter was the Γύττη of Hanno's *Periplus*. Its precise location has to be determined.

The last "foundation" is Καρικὸν τεῖχος, mentioned also by Ephorus of Cyme[71], who must have used the Greek version of the *Periplus*. The name only seemingly refers to Carians: Karikon must be the original place name and τεῖχος, "wall" or "fortress", its approximate explanation[72]. There are similar Libyco-Berber toponyms, like Kerkenna and Kerkouane in Tunisia, but τεῖχος suggests connecting Karikon with Berber *i-kerkar*, "big stones", and *kkeṛkeṛ*, "to wall oneself up"[73]. The place name *Kerker* is also attested nowadays in Algeria and in the Tunisian Sahel. Considering the order in which the five place names are mentioned in the *Periplus*, the first one, Καρικὸν τεῖχος, should be the southernmost one. This suggests locating it at Azila/Asilah, but only archaeological excavations in the old city may provide some concrete evidence[74].

The abundant production of pottery at Kuass allows establishing close comparisons, which lead to the conclusion that since the 6th century B.C. Kuass potters followed the typological tradition of the potters of Gades, not of Carthage[75]. This confirms the opinion that the first Phoenician set-

[69] For this word used as toponym, see above, p. 359. For the Greek transcription υ of the Phoenician-Punic *i*, see above p. 412 with n. 454.

[70] The unilateral accent on *garum* production seems to weaken the studies by F. López Pardo, *Nota sobre las anforas II y III de Kuass (Marruecos)*, in *AntAfr* 26 (1990), p. 13-23; Id., *Sobre la expansión fenicio-púnica en Marruecos. Algunas precisiones a la documentación arqueológica*, in *AEArq* 63 (1990), p. 7-41. This approach appears as unilateral, the more so because no *garum* factory was discovered so far at Kuass.

[71] Ephorus, *History*, in *FGH* II A, §70, Frg. 53.

[72] G. Schepens, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 325.

[73] M.G. Kossmann, *op. cit.* (n. 66), p. 441.

[74] This is also the conclusion of A. Siraj, *À propos d'une controverse relative aux origines d'Azila chez les auteurs arabes du Moyen Âge*, in *Actes du IIIe Congrès international des Études phéniciennes et puniques*, Tunis 1995, Vol. II, p. 376-385 (see p. 382).

[75] Fr. Chaves Tristán - E. García Vargas - E. Ferrer Albeda, *Datos relativos*, *art. cit.* (n. 45), p. 1309-1311.

tlers of the Moroccan coast came from Gades, not from Carthage. Carthage's own power on that coast begun with the settlement of Carthaginians by Hanno next to the colonies already in existence[76].

4. Lixus

From the area of the five colonies established near the lagoons and the marshy lands surrounding the estuary of the Wad Tahardat, Hanno's fleet sailed to the mouth of the Wad Loukkos, the Lixus River. It was a one-day journey, as the distance from Azila/Asilah amounts to some 35 km. The *Periplus* mentions the Λιξῖται, not the city of Lixus, which was situated about 5 km from the sea, on the right bank of the river. The Loukkos was still navigable in the Middle Ages, at least as far as Ksar al-Kebir[77], 35 km inland. In fact, the streams from the Rif here collect into a considerable river. The harbour of Lixus was thus located in its estuary that, before reaching the sea, meanders through a marshy plain, from time to time returning upon itself and forming peninsulas, which are almost islands. It appears from Hanno's account that his fleet did not penetrate into the river to reach the city, but anchored at its mouth, most likely at Larache[78], Al-'Arā'iš, "trellis" for grapevines. This popular etymology does not manage to hide the Libyco-Berber toponym *a-Raš*, which is easily recognizable after the Arabic article *l-* in the oldest attestation of the place name, *laraxe*, in the Petrus Vesconte Chart of 1318[79]. The *x* serves there to indicate *š* like in Spanish orthography until *ca.* 1600, and *raš* echoes the Early Mediaeval pronunciation of Arabic *ra's*[80], corresponding to the Phoenician word "cape" like in the toponym *Rašgūn*[81]. The site of Larache, the excellent

[76] D. Harden, *The Phoenicians*, Harmondsworth 1971, p. 59 and 222, n. 63; F. López Pardo, *El periplo de Hannón y la expansión cartaginesa en el Africa occidental*, in *La caída de Tiro y el auge de Cartago*, Ibiza 1990, p. 67-68.

[77] A. Siraj, *L'image de la Tingitane. L'historiographie arabe médiévale et l'Antiquité nord-africaine*, Rome 1995, p. 91 and 123.

[78] In 1928, the harbour of Larache was easily accessible to vessels measuring 60 metres in length, with a sea-gauge of 4 metres: *Instructions nautiques. Atlantique est*, Paris 1932, p. 192.

[79] R. Rebuffat, *art. cit.* (n. 25), p. 142. G. Yver - R. Ricard, *al-Arā'ish*, in *EI*, new ed., I, Leyde-Paris 1960, p. 624-625, quote an earlier pronunciation *el-'Arīš*. However, the spelling *'r'š* reflects a pronunciation *'arāš*. Instead, *al-'Arīš* in northern Sinai is called *Laris* (with *-i-*) by William of Tyre, *Chronicon* XI, 31, 24; XII, 23, 23; XVII, 30, 35; XIX, 14, 8; XXI, 19, 13; 23, 18, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, *Guillaume de Tyr: Chronique* (CCCM 63-63A), Turnhout 1986, p. 544, 575, 804, 883, 987, 993.

[80] Lipiński, *Semitic*, §14.4.

[81] See here above, p. 417.

position of which was already noticed by Ch. Tissot in 1878[82], was therefore a place, which has been called "Cape" by the Phoenician who settled in this area in the 7th century, possibly in the late 8th century B.C. It is hard to believe that this site was not occupied in the following periods.

Lixus itself was built on a rocky upland, extending northwards from a place between two of the great bends made by the stream, but the first Phoenician settlement was probably located next to the river. The strong city wall, portions of which still remain in place, was built along the brow of the upland not earlier than in the 2nd century B.C. The blocks are squared, carefully dressed, and arranged in horizontal courses. Some of them are as much as 35 cm long by 20 cm in height. The acropolis was protected by a distinct wall, except from the west, and contained at least the temple of Melqart[83]. This site of the city is called nowadays *Tšemmiš*. The older form *Tušumuš* of this name, found in ancient Arab writings from Ibn Ḥawqal (10th century) onwards[84] and spelt *tusomosi* in the oldest portolan chart, the so-called Pisan Chart from 1287[85], is extremely interesting because it still preserves the original Libyco-Berber prefix *tu-* of the feminine "ergative", a case that cannot be used absolutely and often denotes the genitive relation[86]. It appears therefore that *tu-šomoš* is the shortened form of a toponym *a-ġrem tu-šomoš*, "Borough of Šamaš",

[82] Ch. TISSOT, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 220-221 (= p. 84-85 of the offprint).

[83] For the archaeology of Lixus, see M. TARRADELL, *Lixus*, Tetuán 1959; ID., *Marruecos púnico*, Tetúan 1960, p. 131-180; M. PONSICH, *Lixus. Le quartier des temples*, Rabat 1981; ID., *Lixus: informations archéologiques*, in *ANRW* II/10, 2, Berlin-New York 1982, p. 817-849; ID., *Lixus*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 264-266; C. ARANEGUI - M. BELÉN - M. FERNÁNDEZ MIRANDA - E. HERNÁNDEZ, *La recherche archéologique espagnole à Lixus: bilan et perspectives*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 7-15; H.G. NIEMEYER, *Lixus: fondation de la première expansion phénicienne, vue de Carthage*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 45-57; F. LÓPEZ PARDO, *Reflexiones sobre el origen de Lixus y su* Delubrum Herculis *en el contexto de la empresa comercial fenicia*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 85-101; M. HABIBI, *La céramique à engobe rouge phénicien de Lixus*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 145-153; G. MAASS-LINDEMANN, *A Comparison of the Phoenician Pottery of Lixus with the West Phoenician Pottery of Spain*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 175-180; M. LENOIR, *Lixus à l'époque romaine*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 271-287; É. LENOIR, *Enceintes urbaines et thermes de Lixus*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 289-298.

[84] A. SIRAJ, *op. cit.* (n. 77), p. 507-509.

[85] R. REBUFFAT, *art. cit.* (n. 25), p. 142. A facsimile of the chart can be found in L. DELISLE, *Choix de documents géographiques conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1883.

[86] LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §32.7; S. CHAKER, *Linguistique berbère*, Paris-Louvain 1995, p. 43-44. The vowel *u*, characteristic of the "ergative", is reduced to *ə* or disappears in the feminine prefix *tu-* of all dialects spoken nowadays.

or the like. It obviously translates the *mqm šmš* of the Mauretanian coin legends and confirms their provenance from Lixus[87].

The friendly relations with the "shepherds"[88] of Lixus, who were speaking the same language as the Carthaginians, do not seem to have encouraged these "shepherds pasturing flocks" to invite Hanno's people to Lixus. On the contrary, they tried to discourage the Carthaginians from sailing inland by telling Hanno that "above them dwelled inhospitable Ethiopians, who lived in a land full of wild beasts and intersected by large mountains, from which they say the Lixus flows". Yet, they knew the language of the surrounding population, since Hanno could employ some of them as interpreters in the next part of his journey. The alleged "Ethiopians" were most likely Libyco-Berbers. As for the "Troglodytes" or "cave-dwellers of strange appearance", supposedly leaving around these mountains, they could have been people similar to the Berbers of the Matmata tribe in Tunisia, who dwell in vaults excavated in hills around a central open-air court, accessible by a tunnel. Pseudo-Scylax, whose source appears to postdate Hanno's *Periplus*, mentions instead "the large Lixus River and the city of the Phoenicians, Lixus, and another city belonging to the Libyans on the opposite side of the river, and a harbour" (§112). The discovery of local handmade pottery on the site of Lixus and of native settlements along the Loukkos River[89] confirm the presence of Libyco-Berber communities in the region, also on the left bank of the river, as stated by Pseudo-Scylax. The harbour mentioned in this connection could then be located again at Larache, where no excavations have taken place yet.

5. The Sebou Basin

From the estuary of the Lixus Hanno sailed for two days πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, "towards the south" or "to Mesembria", name of a harbour on the Black Sea, mentioned by Herodotus[90], and used apparently in the Greek version of the *Periplus* as the equivalent of a Phoenician

[87] J. ALEXANDROPOULOS, *Le monnayage de Lixus: un état de la question*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 249-254; L.I. MANFREDI, *LKS e MQM ŠMŠ: nuovi dati sul convegno su Lixus 1989*, in *RSF* 21 (1993), *Suppl.*, p. 95-102.

[88] Greek νομάδες must have this meaning here, not "nomads"; cf. R. REBUFFAT, *Les nomades de Lixus*, in *BAC*, n.s., 18B (1982), p. 77-86.

[89] Y. BOKBOT - J. ONRUBIA-PINTADO, *La basse vallée de l'Oued Loukkos à la fin des temps préhistoriques*, in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 17-26; A. AKERRAZ - A. EL KHAYARI, *Prospections archéologiques dans la région de Lixus. Résultats préliminaires*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 1645-1668.

[90] HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 93; VII, 33.108.

toponym *Darōm*[91], "South". In fact, the text continues with ἐκεῖθεν, implying, as it seems, that a place name preceded the new sentence. The distance involved — "two days" — and the indication of a further sailing "eastward" show that *Darōm* was located at the mouth of the Sebou. Most likely it was the site of present-day Mehdia, where even a pre-Phoenician culture is witnessed by the so-called campaniform pottery[92], a distinctive and striking bell-shaped ware.

The *Periplus* of Polybius, summarized by Pliny the Elder[93], mentions a Bay of Sagigi between Lixus and the Wad Sebou. It has rightly been identified with the large *merğa az-Zerga*[94], which was connected by a small channel with the sea, as shown already on the map of the Ġarb drawn by Cpt. Larras[95]. The channel is now filled up. The Phoenician-Punic name of the bay suggests that it was accessible through a "break" in the solid coastal girdle[96], as the stem *śgg* (*šagig*) expresses the idea of splitting[97]. The channel connecting the *merğa az-Zerga* with the sea was dominated from the north by the foreland of Moulay Bou Selham, which Ch. Tissot already identified with the promontory *Mulelacha* of Polybius' *Periplus*[98]. The name appears to be Phoenician as well, but Pliny's rendering of the Greek must contain an error, since **MAEΛΑΧΑ* would have been a correct transcription of *Mah^{a}laka(t)*[99], "passage", referring again to the small channel or indicating a halting place on the sea route. The situation of the site, about 40 km south of Lixus, suggests indeed that this was an anchorage used at the end of a diurnal voyage, but a careful survey of the site discovered no ancient remains[100].

[91] Cf. here above, p. 366-367.

[92] For the campaniform pottery in Morocco, see G. Souville, *Campaniforme (céramique),* in *Encyclopédie berbère* II, Aix-en-Provence 1992, p. 1725-1728.

[93] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 9-10. Cf. Desanges, *Recherches*, p. 121-147 and 416-417. Polybius' journey took probably place in 146 B.C.; cf. *ibid.*, p. 122-123.

[94] R. Thouvenot, *Défense de Polybe,* in *Hespéris* 35 (1948), p. 79-92 (see p. 88).

[95] The map was published by E. Michaux-Bellaire, *Le Gharb* (Archives marocaines 20), Paris 1913, and is reprinted by É. Lenoir, *Les pionniers de la recherche dans le Maroc central,* in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 939-357 (see p. 952). See also R. Rebuffat, *art. cit.* (n. 25), p. 140 and Pl. 3.

[96] J. Célérier, *Les "merjas" de la plaine du Sebou,* in *Hespéris* 2 (1922), p. 109-138, 209-239 (see p. 131).

[97] The meaning is established by referencce to Arabic *šagga*, "to split". A canal in Babylonia was called *Nahr Sagyā*: Jastrow, p. 954b. *Sagigi* cannot be related to Hebrew *səḥorat* or to its Phoenician equivalent, "merchants" or "emporium", as suggested by C. Müller, *GGM* I, p. 92.

[98] Ch. Tissot, *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 221 (= p. 85 of the offprint).

[99] The same word may appear as Μολοχαθ in Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 6. The *o* vowels indicate a later pronunciation.

[100] R. Rebuffat, *art. cit.* (n. 48), p. 893, n. 86.

Hanno's *Periplus* neither refers to a harbour and a city nor gives the name of the body of water on which his fleet sailed eastward from Mesembria/Darōm for a full day until they found a small island in the recess of a bay. There is little doubt that this body of water was the Sebou[101]. The island in question, the circumference of which was only 1 km ("five stadia"), was called by them Κέρνη, what in Phoenician means "horn", probably an allusion to its shape. Pseudo-Scylax gives the name Ξιῶν to the river of the region where Cerne is located, and the same toponym, transcribed *Sicyon* in Latin[102], occurs in Mnaseas' Περὶ Λιβύης, where it is regarded as the name of the lake connected with the sea by the *Crathis* River[103], obviously the Chretes of Hanno's *Periplus*. It appears that different names were given to various parts of the Sebou basin, but Pliny calls the Sebou *Sububus* or *Sububa*, after Polybius[104], and Ptolemy refers to Σοῦβος[105] or Σούβουρ[106], most likely a scribal error for Σούβουβ (confusion *B/P*). After the mouth of the Sebou, Ptolemy records the Ἐμπορικὸς κόλπος, "the Mercantile Bay"[107], mentioned also by Strabo who explains that it "contains Phoenician mercantile settlements"[108]. The bay in question must be a complex of lagoons, possibly the large *merğa* of the Beni Ahsen, where the Wad Beht and the Wad Rdom pour out their waters, and it should be identical with the bay in which Cerne was situated.

Pseudo-Scylax informs sailors that "huge (ἱεροί[109]) Ethiopians" were dwelling there (§112). He seems to report a story similar to the one told

[101] R. Rebuffat, *Recherches sur le bassin du Sebou II. Le Périple d'Hannon,* in *BAM* 16 (1985-86), p. 257-284.

[102] *Sicyon* transcribes Σικυών, the name of a city in the Argive plain (Peloponnesus). This is a Hellenized form of a toponym that can possibly be compared with the biblical Hebrew place name *Qišyōn.*

[103] Mnaseas was a Greek traveller of the 3rd century B.C., native from Lycia. Fragments of his works are collected in *FHG* III, p. 149-158; IV, p. 659-660. Cf. G. Ottone, *Problemi relativi alla conoscenza della topografia nord-africana nel* Περὶ Λιβύης *di Mnasea,* in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 177-188. The passage referring to the area around the estuary of the Sebou is quoted by Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XXXVII, 38 = *FHG* III, p. 156, Frg. 41.

[104] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* V, 5 and 9.

[105] Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 6, 2 (p. 731).

[106] Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 574) and IV, 1, 7 (p. 588).

[107] Ptolemy, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 575). The altitudes given by Ptolemy seem to indicate that the place was situated south of the mouth of the Sebou, but these altitudes reflect Ptolemy's assumption that the coast line is followed here. A similar erroneous assumption leads to incorrect altitudes given to the Sebou (alt. 34° 20' N.), to Banasa (alt. 34° 20' N.) and to Thamusida (alt. 34° 15' N.); cf. *ibid.*, IV, 1, 7 (p. 588-589).

[108] Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 3, 2.

[109] Greek ἱεροί does not mean "sacred" in this particular passage. The description of the Ethiopians, given further in §112, indicates that "huge" is meant, like in ἱερὸν κῦμα, "a huge wave" (Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1206).

by people of Lixus to Hanno and aimed at keeping off foreign sailors and merchants. Natives from this region were speaking a language that could be understood by the interpreters from Lixus, who only in a further journey met people whose language was unintelligible for them. The population of the region around Cerne appears therefore to be Libyco-Berber, linguistically akin to the natives from the Lixus area.

Hanno's fleet probably reached Cerne in late June, still in the period of the snow-flood, which starts in May. The Sebou, rising in the Middle Atlas under the name of Wad Guigo, receives the Innaouen, the Ouergha (Werġa), the Wad Mikkes, etc. The waters can thus be high and the Ġarb plain watered by the Sebou can look like an immense lake. The high waters also explain why Hanno's fleet was able to sail from Cerne upwards, along the Chretes, until they reached big mountains and then, turning about, sailed in another wide river, full of crocodiles and hippopotamuses. The first river must have been the Sebou and the second one, possibly the Wad Beht or the Wad Rdom, two large rivers that finish nowadays in the extensive marshes or *merǧas* on the left side of the lower course of the Sebou.

The Sebou has an average discharge of 40 m^3 per second (minimum 12 m^3), but in periods of exceptional floods the discharge can reach 4,000 m^3. In the 20^{th} century, the river was still more or less navigable as far as Mešra-bel-Qṣiri[110]. According to Pseudo-Scylax, who refers to an average situation or a period of feeble discharge, navigation beyond Cerne was not possible because of the low water level and of the river vegetation. One could thing therefore that the site of Cerne was close to Mešra-bel-Qṣiri. It is thus the moment of raising the question of the location of Cerne, an island or peninsula on the Sebou in the period of snow-flood.

It appears that Hanno's fleet reach Cerne after a one-day journey eastward. The site of Ǧezirat Sidi Youssef, 23 km upwards from Mehdia, is actually an island, but it is hard to prove that it was Cerne[111]. At any rate, although the phrase ἡμέρας δρόμος, "the course of a day", suggests a full-day sailing, Sidi Ali-Bū-Ǧenūn, better known as Banasa, on

[110] General de Torcy, *La navigabilité de l'oued Sebou,* in *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française* 1912, p. 152-157 and Pl. on p. 199.

[111] Large drainage works initiated in 1919 have changed the aspect of the Ġarb plain and these changes must obviously be taken into account when dealing with Antiquity: A. Akerraz - V. Brouquier-Reddé - É. Lenoir, *Nouvelles découvertes dans le bassin du Sebou I. L'occupation antique de la plaine du Gharb*, in P. Trousset (ed.), *Productions et exportations africaines*, Paris 1995, p. 233-342 (see p. 235-239); É. Lenoir, *art. cit.* (n. 95), p. 950-955.



Black stone sculpture from Carthage with the head of a Libyan, 2^{nd} century A.D. (Bardo Museum, Tunis).

the left bank of the Sebou, cannot be taken here into account. In its lower course, the Sebou meanders to the extent that the distance from Mehdia to Banasa by the waterway amounts to about 130 km, to Mešra-bel-Qṣiri, 160 km. Yet, the two tells of Banasa preserved remains of ancient cultures from the yearly floods in the Ġarb plain and yielded Ibero-Punic pottery going back to the 5th century B.C., possibly to the end of the 6th century[112]. Hanno may have reached this point sailing up the river from Cerne for two days. The distance to the "three islands larger then Cerne" is not indicated, but it is remarkable that the interpreters from Lixus knew that the river was called Chretes. This part of the journey may have lasted for one day or more. From there, Hanno sailed a full day's journey up and came in view of the big mountains. Turning about, he finally returned to Cerne, where he founded a colony, estimating that the island "was directly opposite Carthage, for the voyage from Carthage to the Pillars and from there to Cerne was alike".

Hanno's geography was based on the ancient conception of Libya (i.e. Africa) as a right-angled trapezoid, with the right angle at the Nile delta or the northern tip of the Red Sea, a short eastern side, an acute angle at the Pillars of Heracles or the Cape Spartel, and an obtuse south-western angle[113]. Hanno's sailing from the Pillars to Cerne lasted for eight days and the coasting from Carthage to the Pillars, under the best sailing conditions lasted for seven days and seven nights according to Pseudo-Scylax §111. This is probably correct, if one considers the journey eastward that could last less than half the time needed for the travel westward because of seasonal winds and of the surface current flowing eastward from the Straits of Gibraltar[114]. Besides, "seven days and seven nights" practically equate fourteen days, a difference which is not taken into account in Hanno's estimation, which locates Cerne directly opposite Carthage, obviously on parallel lines.

Pseudo-Scylax estimates the sailing from the Pillars of Heracles to Cerne at twelve days (§112), but the passage in question has been dis-

[112] M. PONSICH, *Banasa*, in *DCPP*, Turnhout 1992, p. 65. S. GIRARD, *Banasa préromaine. Un état de la question*, in *AntAfr* 20 (1984), p. 11-93, means that no certitude can be reached beyond the beginning of the 4th century B.C. He is also inclined to consider the first settlement of Banasa as a native dwelling-place, not a colonial trade-centre: S. GIRARD, *L'alluvionnement du Sebou et le premier Banasa*, in *BAC*, n.s., 17B (1981 [1984]), p. 145-154.

[113] K. ZIMMERMANN, *Libyen. Das Land südlich des Mittelmeers im Weltbild der Griechen* (Vestigia 51), München 1999, p. 112-127.

[114] L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1971, p. 281-299.

turbed after the insertion of a section belonging to §111[115]. This is confirmed by the strange numeral δέκα δύο, where δύο seems to have been added to an original δέκα, "ten", which is closer to Hanno's eight days. Cape Soloeis has probably been introduced here after the insertion of the displaced section where it plays a central role. In consequence, the text of the source must have been shorter: "Coasting from the Pillars of Heracles to the Cape Hermes, three days. From the Cape Hermes to Cerne, a coasting of seven days. This entire coasting from the Pillars of Heracles to the island Cerne lasts ten days".

The settlement of Cerne is crucial, for it is the farthest trading post of the Carthaginians on the West African coast mentioned by any ancient writer. In fact, none of them appears to have known Mogador. Besides, the author of the detailed account reported by Pseudo-Scylax §112 seems to be unaware of the existence of a permanent settlement at Cerne, since Phoenician traders are said to set up tents on the island as soon as their merchantmen (γαύλοι) reach Cerne:

> "One cannot sail beyond the island of Cerne because of the shallowness of the sea, mud, and seaweed. The seaweed is a span of the hand in breath and sharp at the tip, so that it can pierce. The traders are Phoenicians: when they arrive at the island of Cerne, they put in their merchantmen, having set up their tents on Cerne. Having unloaded the merchandise, they transport it in small boats to the mainland. There are Ethiopians on the mainland. Trade is carried with these Ethiopians. They deal in skins of gazelles, lions, and leopards, in skins and tusks of elephants, and in (carcasses) of domestic cattle. The Ethiopians used variegated attires and cups of ivory as drinking vessels. Their women use bracelets of ivory as attire. They even use ivory as attire on horses. These Ethiopians are the tallest of any men, whom we know, taller than four cubits; some of them are even five cubits in height. They wear beards, have long hair, and are the most beautiful of men. The man who is tallest rules over them. They are horsemen, javelin throwers, and bowmen, and they use missiles hardened in the fire. The Phoenician traders bring them unguent, Egyptian stone, ...[116], Attic pottery, and jugs, for these vessels are saleable at the Festival of the Jugs[117]. These Ethiopians are meat eaters and milk drinkers, and from vines they make much wine, which the Phoenicians themselves export. They also have a large city, to which the Phoenician traders sail. Some say that these Ethiopians inhabit a region that extends continuously from there to Egypt, and that this sea is continuous, while Libya is but a peninsula".

[115] See here above, p. 337.

[116] The meaning of ἄπρους ἐξαράκτους is unknown. This is no sufficient reason for changing the text in an arbitrary way.

[117] At the Ionian Festival of the Jugs, the 12th day of the Anthesteria, the new wine was ceremonially blessed before Dionysus; everyone carried in wine and drank of his own jug. Hence this day was called "the Jugs".

These "Ethiopians" of Pseudo-Scylax are the inhabitants of western Morocco, either Phoenicians settled at the time of the first Phoenician expansion in the 8th-7th centuries B.C., or native Libyco-Berbers. The "big city up to which the Phoenicians sail" is most likely Lixus and the wine producers are probably the Lixitae and the inhabitants of Arambys. Wine certainly plays a role in the exports of ancient Morocco[118] and Strabo alludes to the vintages of this region[119], where the ancient names of the Cape Spartel are quite suggestive[120]. A bunch of grapes is even a typical motive represented on coins from Lixus[121]. The popular etymology of Larache, *al-'Arā'iš*, "The Vine-Arbours", is also significative and reveals the continuation of an old tradition. Major attention should be given to archaeological indications pointing in the same direction.

6. Journey to the South

Sailing for twelve days from Cerne Hanno's fleet probably came in the neighbourhood of Mogador. Since no further foundations were planned, as it seems, only sailors were on board of the ships, some of which were very likely left in the new colonies. Although the Carthaginians hugged the land, no river, no town, no harbour are mentioned along this route. The population living there is qualified as "Ethiopian" and the *Periplus* records that the interpreters from Lixus did not understand their language. Yet, this region or, at least, its northern part was inhabited by Libyco-Berbers, and the Lixitae had a certain knowledge of the coast.

Summarizing Polybius' *Periplus* Pliny mentions the Salat River[122], obviously the Bou Regreg, on the right bank of which was situated *Sala*, a Mauretanian and later Roman city. At a distance of 224 miles (333 km) from Lixus, there was the harbour of *Rutubis*, most likely Ptolemy's 'Ρουσιβὶς λιμὴν[123]. Since Agrippa estimated the distance from Lixus to the Anatis River at 205 miles (303 km)[124], the harbour of Rousibis/ Rutubis has to be situated about 30 km south of the river's mouth. *Anatis* must be the Oum ar-Rbia, the largest river of Morocco. One would

[118] F. VILLARD, *La céramique grecque du Maroc,* in *BAM* 4 (1960), p. 1-26 (see p. 22); P. ROUILLARD, *Le commerce grec du Ve et du IVe siècle av. J.-C. dans les régions de Lixus et de Gadès,* in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 207-215 (see p. 213).
[119] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 4.
[120] See here above, p. 447-448.
[121] J. MARION, *Le thème de la grappe de raisin dans la numismatique antique,* in *Cahiers numismatiques* 7/26 (1970), p. 101-111.
[122] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 9.
[123] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 577).
[124] AGRIPPA, quoted by PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 9.



Black stone sculpture from Carthage with the head of an Ethiopian, 2nd century A.D. (Bardo Museum, Tunis).

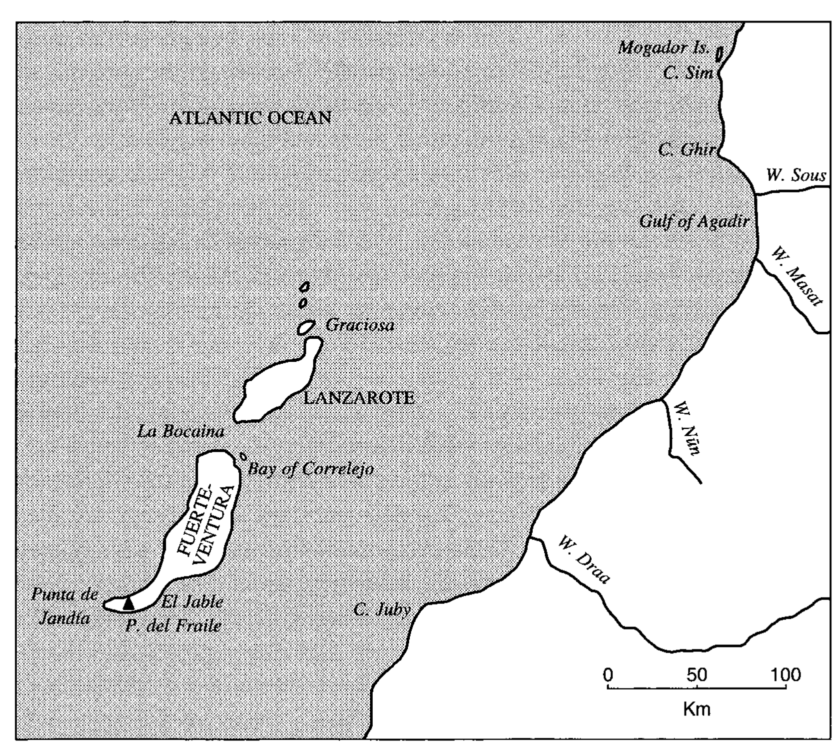
expect an anchorage at its mouth, most likely at Azemmour[125], "olive tree" in present-day Berber. The name *Anatis* seems to be Libyco-Berber as well and *a-Nati* would then derive from the root *nd* expressing the notion of dampness, like Anides[126]. The harbour of Rousibis/Rutubis will then correspond to the ancient city of Tit (Moulay Abdallah)[127], 5 km north of Cape Blanc, to which the Phoenician name of **Rūš-'ibbī(m)*, "Cape of the Rushes", was applied in the first place. Following Polybius, Pliny mentions then the Promontory of the Sun, recorded by Ptolemy as 'Ηλίου ὄρος[128], probably Cape Cantin[129]. Further south, after the Wad Tensift, the Iron Mountain or Ğebel Hadid parallels the coastline. It should be the Φόκρα ὄρος of Ptolemy[130], who extends it as far as the promontory of 'Ρυσάδειρον. Following Polybius, Pliny mentions here "the harbour of Rhysaddir"[131], certainly the 'Ρυσάδειρον of Ptolemy[132], "the Powerful Cape", either Cape Sim or Cape Ghir. However, the *Periplus* of Polybius refers here to a harbour and Ptolemy locates in this area the Μυσοκάρας λιμήν[133].

Μυσοκάρας is the transcription of the Phoenician word corresponding to Hebrew *misḥar*, "mart", attested in I Kings 10, 15, where *misḥar hā-rokəlīm* is correctly translated in Aramaic by *səḥōrat taggārayyā'*[134], "mart of the merchants". Now, just south of Essaouira, the ancient name of which was Phoenician *Magdōl*, "Tower"[135], the Wad Ksob debouches into a creek with a small fishermen harbour at Sidi Kawki. The creek is protected from the open sea by an island about 3 km long by 1.5 km wide, lying 1.5-3 km from the mainland, and by a few islets — just the kind of situation looked for by the Phoenicians. Here firm traces of early Phoenician occupation, evidenced also by Phoenician graffiti of the 8th-7th centuries B.C.[136], were

[125] R. REBUFFAT, *Vestiges antiques sur la côte occidentale de l'Afrique au sud de Rabat,* in *AntAfr* 8 (1974), p. 25-49 (see p. 33-35); ID., *art cit.* (n. 48), p. 889.
[126] See here above, p. 452
[127] R. ROGET, *Index de topographie antique du Maroc* (Publications du Service des Antiquités du Maroc 4), Rabat 1938, p. 64.
[128] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 577).
[129] R. ROGET, *op. cit.* (n. 127), p. 66-67.
[130] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 6 (p. 587).
[131] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 9.
[132] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 6, 2 (p. 733); cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 135 and 138-139. This cape must be distinguished from the northern one, at Melilla; cf. here above, p. 418-420.
[133] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 578).
[134] A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic* II, Leiden 1959, p. 239.
[135] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Vestiges puniques chez al-Bakrî*, in *L'Africa Romana* XIII, Roma 2000, p. 283-287 (see p. 285).

found in regular excavations and the identification of the site with the Purple Islands was confirmed[137]. Close parallels between the pottery of Mogador and pieces from Castillo de Doña Blanca, in the Gades area, and from the province of Málaga show that the island was occupied by Ibero-Phoenicians, like later the sites of Banasa and Kuass[138]. There are some indications that the site of Mogador was not completely abandoned between the 6th and the 1st century B.C.[139] and the small bay near the site of the oldest excavated findings is likely to have been the Μυσοκάρας λιμήν of Ptolemy, since no Phoenician settlement and trade harbour have been discovered further south. It is possible that Polybius' "harbour of Rhysaddir" was either Musokaras or the creek of Sidi Kawki, close to Cape Sim. One can also assume that Hanno's fleet anchored there after the twelve days' sail, "by large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated". In fact, the western slopes of the High Atlas reach the Atlantic coast between Cape Sim and Cape Ghir. They are called *Mons Braca* by Pliny[140] and *Montes Bracae* or *Praxe* in the Cosmography of Ravenna, which rightly notices that they form "the shore of the ocean"[141]. Pliny adds that the promontory is called *Surrentium,* obviously a toponym contaminated by the well-known Sorrento, ancient *Surrentum,* and identical with Ptolemy's Σούριγα[142]. Like 'Ρυσάδειρον, this appears to be a Phoenician name, possibly **Ṣūr-higa*?, "Rock of Rumbling"[143]. Located by Ptolemy immediately south of 'Ρυσάδειρον, this must be Cape Ghir, crowned nowadays by a lighthouse.

[136] J. FÉVRIER, *Inscriptions puniques et néopuniques,* in *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc* I, Paris 1966, p. 81-132, Pls. I-XII (see p. 109-123, Pls. V-X); M.G. AMADASI GUZZO, *Notes sur les graffitis phéniciens de Mogador,* in *Lixus* (CÉFR 166), Rome 1992, p. 155-173.
[137] P. CINTAS, *Contribution à l'étude de l'expansion carthaginoise au Maroc,* Paris 1954, especially p. 45-53 and 71-89; J. DESJACQUES - P. KOEBERLÉ, *Mogador et les îles Purpuraires,* in *Hespéris* 42 (1955), p. 193-202; A. JODIN, *Note préliminaire sur l'établissement pré-romain de Mogador. Campagnes de 1956-1957,* in *BAM* 2 (1957), p. 9-40; M. TARRADELL, *Marruecos púnico,* Tetuán 1960, p. 185-196; F. VILLARD, *art. cit.* (n. 118); A. JODIN, *Mogador, comptoir phénicien du Maroc atlantique*, Tanger 1966; ID., *Les établissements du roi Juba II aux îles Purpuraires (Mogador),* Tanger 1967. The identification with the Purple Islands was proposed in 1903 by P. VIDAL DE LA BLANCHE, *Les Purpuraires du roi Juba,* in *Mélanges Georges Perrot,* Paris 1903, p. 325-329.
[138] M.K. ALAOUI - F. LÓPEZ PARDO, *La factoría fenicia de Mogador (Essaouira, Marruecos): las cerámicas pintadas,* in *AEArq* 71 (1998), p. 5-25.
[139] H. TREIDLER, *Purpurariae Insulae*, in *PW* XXIII/ 2, Stuttgart 1959, col. 2020-2028.
[140] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 10.
[141] Cosmography of Ravenna I, 3 and III, 10, in J. SCHNETZ, *op. cit.* (n. 47), p. 3: 36 (*Brace, Braxe, Bracae*) and p. 42: 26 (*Praxe*).
[142] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 1, 2 (p. 579). Cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 138.
[143] This is the meaning of *hgh* in Job 37, 2, where thundering is meant. The rumbling of sea waters against the rock may be signified in the same way.



The Southwest of Morocco and the Eastern Canary Islands.

Hanno's fleet sailed by these slopes of the High Atlas for two days and reached an immense sea gulf. This two-days' sail brought them from Cape Sim to Cape Ghir on a distance of about 80 km, and the large bay in front of them was certainly the Gulf of Agadir, "on either shore of which was a plain", viz. the Sous. Polybius mentions here a river called *Uosenum*[144]. Its name suggests a comparison with Imsouān, a small promontory and fishermen harbour at the mouth of a wad descending from the High Atlas, north of Cape Ghir. Instead, Wad Sous may correspond to Pliny's *flumen Salsum*, and the *gentes Selatiti* would then be the inhabitants of this area. In fact, they are followed by the *Masathi* and the *flumen Masathat*, which is certainly the Wad Masat[145].

[144] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 9. The reading *Uosenum* corresponds more likely to the original text than the Latinized *Quosenum* of other manuscripts. The Libyco-Berber stem *wsam* suggests the idea of something orderly.

[145] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 9-10.

7. The Tideway of the West

Hanno's fleet sailed ahead for five days, always following the coastline (lines 65-69), and reached a large bay, which the Lixitae called Ἑσπέρου κέρας (lines 69-70). Here, κέρας does not translate the Semitic word *qrn*, "horn", that cannot designate a bay. In Greek, however, κέρας can also mean "inlet" or "estuary", especially when it is invaded by the sea. This use is attested from the time of Hesiod[146] to the Byzantine period, when the deep and narrow inlet of Constantinople was called "Golden Horn" (κέρας)[147]. Thucydides, writing in the period when Hanno's *Periplus* was translated into Greek, calls the Mendesian Mouth of the Nile τὸ Μενδήσιον κέρας[148]. In the 3rd century B.C., Apollonius Rhodius refers to "a river which is the farthest inlet of the ocean", ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς ὕπατον κέρας ὠκεανοῖο[149]. The word could thus be used to translate the corresponding Phoenician-Punic term, probably *lšn*, "tongue", with the connotation "bay", "inlet", like in Hebrew[150], in Aramaic[151], and in writings of Arab geographers[152].

Now, the translator may have used two names applied in his days to the extremities of the African trapezium, viz. Ἑσπέρου κέρας (line 70) and Νότου κέρας (lines 88-89). This is why some ancient writers regarded Ἑσπέρου κέρας as a promontory[153], while Νότου κέρας was then considered to be the extremity of the Horn of Africa, the Cape Guardafui[154]. It is likely therefore that both names are no literal transla-

[146] HESIOD, *Theogony* 789: Ὠκεανοῖο κέρας.

[147] S. SEGERT, *Phoenician Background of Hanno's Periplus*, in *MUSJ* 45 (1969), p. 501-518 (see p. 517); H.G. LIDDELL - R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1996, p. 941a. *Pace* J. DESANGES, *Le sens du terme "corne" dans le vocabulaire géographique des Grecs et des Romains: à propos du "Périple d'Hannon"*, in *BAC*, n.s., 20-21 (1984-85 [1989]), p. 29-34, reprinted in J. DESANGES, *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta minora*, Paris 1999, p. 33-38.

[148] THUCYDIDES, *History of the Peloponnesian War* I, 110.

[149] APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, *Argonautica* IV, 281-282. See also EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Paraphrase of Dionysius Periegetes* 431, in *GGM* II, p. 298-300.

[150] Josh. 15, 2.5; 18, 19; Is. 11, 15. The word was left without translation in the Septuagint text of Is. 11, 15, and was rendered by λοφιά, "ridge", "fin", in the Book of Joshua.

[151] 1QGenAp, col. 21, 18.

[152] R. DOZY, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* II, 3rd ed., Leyde-Paris 1967, p. 528b: *lisān al-baḥr*, "havre, petit golfe".

[153] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 6, 2 (p. 734); PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 10; VI, 197.199; POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* III, 99. Ptolemy's Ἑσπέρου κέρας ἄκρον is likely to have been Cape Juby (Rās Bū Ibiša), mentioned after the Νία ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί (IV, 6, 2, p. 733), which may correspond to the estuary of Fūm Aġūtir, about 150 km south of Wad Draa.

[154] STRABO, *Geography* XVI, 4, 14, following Artemidorus.

tions, but adaptations similar in their wording to the Punic original. Since ‘Εσπέρου κέρας is described as a "large bay" (line 69), the use of the word *ym* may be assumed in both cases. The hypothetical back translations would then give *lšn (h)ym (h)m'rby* and *lšn (h)ym (h)drmy*[155].

Which is this "Western Sea", *(h)ym (h)m'rby*, as the interpreters from Lixus were probably calling it? It must correspond to the "large bay", recorded also by Ptolemy[156], and to the bay with a circuit of 616 miles (*ca.* 900 km), which is mentioned by Pliny reporting the *Periplus* of Polybius[157]. This body of water should be identified with the area situated between the mainland and the Canary Islands.

The coastline from Cape Ghir to Cape Juby (Rās Bū Ibiša) is about 500 km long, the distance from Cape Juby to Fuerteventura amounts to 115 km, the western side of this body of water along the coast of Fuerteventura and Lanzarote, from Punta de Jandía to the Isle of Graciosa, can be estimated at some 200 km. We cannot be sure that this was the way in which the 616 miles were reckoned, but that gives a body of water that could be termed "Western Sea", as seen from the mainland. The "Southern Sea", *(h)ym (h)drmy,* accessible by the Strait of La Bocaina separating Fuerteventura from Lanzarote, as we shall see, will then designate the body of water to the southwest of these islands, as far as Gran Canaria and Tenerife, whose high peaks, the Pozo de las Nieves on Gran Canaria (alt. 1,980 m) and the Pico de Teyde on Tenerife (alt. 3,718 m), are visible from Fuerteventura. The Canaries are certainly too close to the African coast to have been unknown to the Phoenicians, but it appears that there has been no colony there, except on Lanzarote[158].

Considering that Hanno sailed for five days from the region of Agadir, he probably reached the Wad Nūn, even the Wad Draa. In fact, south of Mogador, certainly in the Gulf of Agadir, a north or northeast wind blows from April to October and the so-called Canary current flows to the southwest along the coast with a speed of at least 2 knots per hour (3.5 km), thus increasing the speed of the boats in a significant way.

[155] The phrase "Eastern Sea" is attested in biblical Hebrew, in Ez. 47, 18.

[156] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 6, 1 (p. 729). It extends certainly as far as the ‘Εσπέρου κέρας: *ibid.*, IV, 6, 2 (p. 734).

[157] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 10.

[158] P. ATOCHE et al., *Pozos con cámara de factura antigua en Rubicón (Lanzarote)*, in *VIII Jornadas de estudios sobre Lanzarote y Fuerteventura* II, Arrecife 1999, p. 365-419. See also P. ATOCHE et al., *Elementos fenicio-púnicos en la religion de los Mahos. Estudio de una placa procedente de Zanzamas (Teguise, Lanzarote),* in *Eres (Arqueología)* 7 (1997), p. 7-38.

The waters of the last western counterforts of the Anti-Atlas, especially at the time of big storms, are drained by the Wad Nūn, now called Wad Ksabi and formerly known as Nūl Lamta. The coast southward is characterized by lagoons filled with salt-water, as the surf is very strong and the swell of the sea breaks upon the shore. The ancient shelf of Wad Draa, which marks a depression along the southern side of the Anti-Atlas in the west, is covered by its alluvial deposits, which make possible the irrigation of numerous oases. The presently dry estuary of the Wad may not represent the conditions prevalent in the first millennium B.C. In fact, there are indications of drastic changes in the whole Saharan area within historic times. Roman military settlements were established in places which are now desert or semi-desert, and the Wad Draa, known as *flumen Darat* by Pliny following Polybius, called Δάρας by Ptolemy[159] and *Dyris* by Vitruvius[160], is recorded as containing crocodiles[161], represented even on coins of Juba II[162]. True, Pausanias reports that these crocodiles were two or three cubits long[163], i.e. about 1.35 metres, and these animals may rather be "Egyptian" monitors, looking like small crocodiles. They nevertheless live in the vicinity of rivers and streams and take readily to the water. In other words, either crocodiles or monitors, they imply the presence of water in the estuary of the Wad Draa some two thousand years ago. About A.D. 400 a period of relative warmth and dryness is believed to have set in. It reached its greatest intensity about A.D. 700, when a great decline in the prosperity of the North-African oases can be observed.

The existence of a large bay or estuary with an island or peninsula and a salt-water lagoon, and another island next to it[164], was thus a quite possible situation at the mouth of the Wad Draa in the first millennium B.C. The region was inhabited by the *Gaetuli Darae*[165] and there is no wonder that people living in these hot regions were active during the night,

[159] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 6, 2 (p. 731): Δάραδος ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί.

[160] VITRUVIUS, *On Architecture* VIII, 2, 6.

[161] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 9-10; VITRUVIUS, *On Architecture* VIII, 2, 7.

[162] A crocodile is represented on a bronze double-shekel of Juba II (18.81 g), minted at Shershel (Algeria): *De l'Empire romain aux villes impériales. 6000 ans d'art au Maroc*, Paris 1990, p. 377, No. 244. It may be the crocodile brought from a river on the Atlantic coast of Morocco and dedicated by Juba II in the Isis temple at Shershel. It was still seen by PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 51. Also STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 4, mentions crocodiles in Moroccan rivers.

[163] PAUSANIAS, *Description of Greece* I, 3, 6. One does not know whether [δι] or [τρι]πήχεων has to be restored there. Also HERODOTUS, *History* IV, 192, mentions crocodiles which are three cubits long, but these are desert monitors.

[164] Like in line 90, ἐν ταύτῃ must translate *'ly*; cf. here below, p. 474 with n. 181.

[165] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 10, distinguishes them from the *Aethiopi Darathitae*.

especially in the mid-summer. The wisdom of the environment, adopted by peoples of hot areas, who avoid exertion in midday, is obvious: they hunt or work in the early morning and evening hours and have long siestas between times. Entertainment at night, around burning fires, is also common. As for the image of "streams of fire, stretching into the sea" (lines 79-80)[166], it is probably inspired by the next episode (line 87) and by the particular colour of the sea water in the area of Cape Draa. Nautical instructions published by the hydrographer of the English Navy describe it as follows: "For some distance both northward and southward of Cap Dra, as well as to seaward, the water has a brownish red tinge with a thick muddy appearance, so that the track of a vessel is visible for some time. The discoloration of the water, which was at one time erroneously believed to indicate the existence of shoal ground, is evidently caused by the fine light sand, which is blown off the desert"[167].

The immediate context of the *Periplus* seems to reflect the well-known practice of clearing land: in fact, land can be sufficiently cleared by burning in the dry season, the scattered ash increasing the fertility of the soil. This interpretation is strengthened by the unusual phrase θυμιαμάτων μεστοί ... πυρώδεις ῥύακες (lines 79-80), "streams of fire, full of fragrance", which recalls Hebrew *haqṭīr 'ēš* in Ex. 30, 20, literally "to scent the fire"[168].

8. Canary Islands

Hanno sailed for four days from the 'Εσπέρου κέρας, continuing to hug the land. This journey probably covered the distance of some 225 km separating the Wad Draa from the Cape Juby. From there, the Carthaginians saw a land by night full of flames. This could only be one of the Canary Islands, distant about 115 km from the African coast. Fuerteventura is the closest one of the archipelago and its highest peaks (alt. 691 m, 696 m, 726 m, 783 m) can be seen from Cape Juby[169]. It was formed by the junction of two islands, a small one, called Jandía and dominated by the highest peak, the Pico del Fraile (alt. 783 m), and a large one, the Maxorata, extending northwards in the direction of Lanzarote. They have been joined by sand banks forming the isthmus of El Jable. At the time of Juba II (25 B.C.-23 A.D.), quoted by Pliny[170], they were still distinct islands, both called by the same name *Iunonia*:

[166] The image is comparable to "the walls of fire" in Zech. 2, 9.
[167] *Africa Pilot* I, London 1967, p. 237-238.
[168] Cf. D.F.G. KLUGE, *Hannonis navigatio*, Leipzig 1829, p. 41-45.
[169] GSELL, *HAAN* I, p. 519.
[170] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VI, 204.

Alteram insulam Iunoniam appellare ... Ab ea in vicino eodem nomine minorem. However, it is also possible that the smaller *Iunonia* was Lanzarote. Fuerteventura is called "Hera" by Ptolemy[171], who mentions a Ἥρας ... νῆσος among the Μακάρων νῆσοι, the Isles of the Blessed, and names another one 'Απρόσιτος νῆσος, "Inaccessible Island", which may be the smaller island of Juno[172]. The high mountain called the "Chariot of the Gods" may be either the Punta del Fraile, on the small island of Jandía, or one of the peaks of the large *Iunonia*. Its description clearly suggests an active volcano and both, Pliny and Pomponius Mela, understood that it was burning continuously[173].

This location is not contradicted by Pliny's statement that the "Chariot of the Gods" is distant from the "Western Promontory" by ten days and ten nights of sailing[174]. Oaring against the northeast wind and against the Canary current from Fuerteventura to Cape Juby (115 km) and from there to the estuary of the Wad Draa (225 km) may indeed represent a laborious journey of ten full days[175]. According to al-Bekrī, Arab ships needed three days (and nights) to sail from Cape Nūl (Nūn) to the Wad Sous[176], although the distance amounts to about 150 km and the Canary current is there weaker. At any rate, Arab seamen did generally not risk sailing further south than Cape Nūl, because the return from Cape Juby to Nūl was too difficult and slow[177]. Beside, the sea around Cape Juby had an ominous reputation and represented a real danger even in modern times: "Fog, dense mist or haze may obscure the coast, and great care should be observed in fixing the position of the vessel, especially in the morning, owing to the errors due to refraction and mirage"[178]

The name Θεῶν ὄχημα is Semitic, since the same Hebrew phrase *rekeb 'elōhīm* occurs in Ps. 68, 19, and the connection with fire is attested in II Kings 2, 11 and 6, 17, where " a chariot of fire" is mentioned (*rekeb-'ēš*)[179]. In Ez. 1, 4, Yahweh's chariot appears in a storm, "with brightness around it and fire flashing forth continually". One can

[171] PTOLEMY, *Geography* IV, 6, 14 (p. 753).
[172] GSELL, *HAAN* I, p. 520, n. 2.
[173] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* II, 238; VI, 197; POMPONIUS MELA, *Chorography* III, 90.
[174] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* V, 10. In VI, 197, he estimates this journey at four days, like Hanno's *Periplus*, obviously in the direction north-south.
[175] Cf. DESANGES, *Recherches*, p. 41.
[176] Edition and translation by MACGUCKIN DE SLANE, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 175.
[177] R. MAUNY, *Les navigations médiévales sur les côtes sahariennes antérieures à la découverte portugaise (1434),* Lisbonne 1960, p. 30 and 86.
[178] *Africa Pilot* I, *op. cit.* (n. 167), p. 240.
[179] One should also record the "chariot(s) of the sun" in II Kings 23, 11.

assume confidently that these images and phrases were occurring also in contemporaneous Phoenician literature.

Lave streams and other signs of volcanic action abound on Fuerteventura, but there has been no igneous activity since the Spaniards took possession of the island in the 15th century, contrary to Lanzarote, the appearance of which was altered by a volcanic outburst in 1730 that lasted for six years, recovering one third of the island with streams of lave and creating the so-called Montañas de Fuego. In 1824/5 another volcanic eruption was accompanied by earthquakes and again destroyed a large part of the island. The volcanic activity on Fuerteventura in the mid-first millennium B.C. is an unknown factor, but Hanno's account clearly implies a volcanic activity on the Canary Islands in his days.

The three days of sailing from Cape Juby probably brought Hanno's fleet to the small anchorage at the northern tip of the island, now Corralejo, from where the island of Lanzarote can be seen.

Assuming that the *lšn (h)ym (h)drmy* is the Strait of La Bocaina, considered to be a "tongue" of the Southern Sea[180], the island lying "backwards" was Fuerteventura. It was similar to the island in the estuary of the Wad Draa, the "tongue" of the Western Sea. It had a lagoon, which appears to be the Bay of Correlejo. There was another island to the north, as ἐν ταύτῃ most likely translates *'ly*[181] with the connotation "to the north"[182]. This was Lanzarote, inhabited by savage people. These were obviously human beings[183], men and women, characterized by the Lixitae as γορίλλας, a transcription of Semitic *'ōril*, "uncircumcised"[184]. The problematic phrase δασεῖαι τοῖς σώμασιν in line 92 results probably from a translator's confusion between *šḥr*, "black", and *š'r*, "body", or from a mistaken use of the feminine plural. In the first hypothesis, the Punic text may have been **b'lt š'r h-šḥrt*, "long-haired black women"[185]. In the second case, the translation of line 92 should have run, as follows: δασε**ῖων** τοῖς σώμασιν, **οὕς** ..., "savage

[180] See here above, p. 469-470.
[181] One can compare, for instance, ἐν ποταμῷ (*Iliad* XVIII, 521; *Odyssey* V, 466) with *'al-nəhārōt* (Ps. 24, 2; 137, 1).
[182] Compare Aramaic *'lyh*: *DNWSI*, p. 854.
[183] Hesitation is still expressed by K. BRODERSEN, *Savage's Savages: How the Gorilla became a Savage Beast because of Hanno's Periplus,* in K. GEUS - K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica-Libyca-Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huss* (Studia Phoenicia XVI; OLA 104), Leuven 2001, p. 87-98, especially p. 97.
[184] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Gorillas*, in K. GEUS - K. ZIMMERMANN (eds.), *Punica-Libyca-Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huss* (Studia Phoenicia XVI; OLA 104), Leuven 2001, p. 79-85.
[185] *Ibid.*, p. 84, with a somewhat more complicated explanation.

people — mostly women — with hairy bodies, whom the interpreters called 'uncircumcised'". In the first hypothesis, if these people were really black, one might conclude that the Guanches of Lanzarote were not the first inhabitants of the island. However, they may have been Guanches in both cases, since even the present-day natives of the Canary Islands are slightly darker than the Libyco-Berber population of North Africa.

The three women captured by the Carthaginians were killed and flayed in order to bring their skins to Carthage as a trophy. The return was prompted by failing provisions and certainly by the late sailing season. Nothing is said about the homeward voyage and the presentation of the trophies to the temples. Either the end of the report was not translated or part of the Greek text is lost. Yet, Pliny records the presence of the skins of two women, which he calls *Gorgades*, in the temple of Juno[186], probably Astarte. He says nothing about the third one and about the inscription in the temple of Kronos, i.e. Baal Ḥamon. One can just surmise that the third skin was in the latter sanctuary, probably the one referred to by Aelius Aristides (2nd century A.D.), who writes that inscriptions with reports of Punic sailors were kept in the temple of Carthage[187]. A similar practice was known also to Josephus Flavius who tells us that the temple of Jerusalem kept a written record of the miraculous supply of water at Rephidim (Ex. 17, 1-7), viz. "an inscription dedicated in the sanctuary", ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνακειμένη γραφή[188]. In our case, the very existence of such reports kept in temples is important, not the actual value of the record mentioned by Josephus[189]. One might also compare such texts with Neo-Assyrian "Letters to a god", like the detailed account of Sargon II's eighth campaign on a tablet addressed to the god Ashur[190]

[186] PLINY THE ELDER, *Natural History* VI, 200. See also SOLINUS, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* LVI, 12.
[187] AELIUS ARISTIDES, *Sacred Teachings* XXXVI, 93 and 94.
[188] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* III, 1, 7, §38; cf. S. CASTELLI, *Il terzo libro delle* Antichità giudaiche *di Flavio Giuseppe e la Bibbia* (Bibliotheca di Athenaeum 48), Como 2002, p. 224-225.
[189] Two other passages of JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* IV, 8, 44, §303, and V, 1, 17, §61, mention records of important events kept in the temple, but both can be explained without postulating a particular inscription: É. NODET, *Flavius Josèphe: Les Antiquités juives* II, *Livres IV et V*, Paris 1995, p. 105, n. 3 (4QDeut. 32), and p. 129, n. 7 (the Book of the Upright).
[190] First published by F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (Textes cunéiformes du Louvre 3), Paris 1912.

CHAPTER XI

BYRSA AND THE ESHMUN TEMPLE

The legend of the foundation of Carthage was already known to Timaeus of Tauromenium (*ca.* 356-260 B.C.), in Sicily, but his account is only preserved in a summary written by an anonymous author[1]. A more detailed story is reported in the epitome of Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae*, made in Latin by Justinus[2], probably in the 3rd century A.D. According to the legend, Carthage was founded by Tyrian emigrants led by Elissa, the daughter of the Tyrian king Mattan I, fleeing from the tyranny of her brother Pygmalion. The new arrivals bought from the Libyan population of the neighbourhood a piece of land on which to build a "new city", *Qart ḥadašt*. Elissa, surnamed Dido in Libya, was to obtain "as much land as could be contained by the skin of an ox". She thus proceeded to cut the skin of a slain ox into strips narrow enough to spread around the whole site which from this episode gained the name of Byrsa, at least according to the Greek version of the legend, playing on the word βύρσα, "hide", "skin". The etiology is obviously Greek, but the name of Byrsa does not occur either in the summary of Timaeus' account or in any Greek source anterior to the mid-2nd century B.C. Yet, Polybius followed by Appian[3], Virgil[4], Livy[5], Strabo[6], Silius Italicus[7], Dio Cassius quoted by Zonaras[8], later Florus[9], Servius[10], and Orosius[11] call Βύρσα/*Byrsa* either the inner city of Carthage or its acropolis. There its no doubt therefore, that Byrsa was a real Punic

[1] *FHG* I, p. 97 (Timaeus, Frg. 23) = *FGH* III B, §566, Frg. 82 = *Tractatus de mulieribus* 6, in A. WESTERMANN (ed.), *Paradoxographi Graeci*, Braunschweig 1839 (reprint, 1963), p. 215.

[2] JUSTINUS, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* XVIII, 4-6.

[3] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 95, 117, 127, 128, 135.

[4] VIRGIL, *Aeneid* I, 367.

[5] LIVY, *Roman History* XXXIV, 62, 12.

[6] STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 14 and 15.

[7] SILIUS ITALICUS, *Punica* II, 363; III, 242; IX, 209.

[8] DIO CASSIUS, *Roman History* XXI, quoted by ZONARAS, *Epitome of histories* IX, 29 and 30.

[9] FLORUS, *Epitome of Roman History* I, 31, 11.

[10] SERVIUS, *Ad Aeneidem* I, 368.

[11] OROSIUS, *History* IV, 22, 5-6.

toponym, which has been used in the Greek version of the legend. Two questions have to be raised here: Which is the significance of marking out the limits of the land, as done by Elissa? Which is the meaning of the Punic toponym "Byrsa"?

1. Marking out the Limits of the Land

In Roman law, like in ancient Oriental law systems, transfer of ownership was realized by the *traditio*, which consisted in handing the object over to the purchaser. In the case of land and buildings, which could not be physically handed over to the new owner, the *traditio* was effected by pointing out the property to the transferee. The phrase signifying this legal act was *fines demonstrare*; it is used, for instance, by Cicero[12] and by the jurisconsults Alfenus Varus[13] and Sextus Pomponius[14]. The new owner had to go round the purchased estate, *glebas circumambulabat*, but he did not need to walk through each parcel of the newly acquired real property. Iulius Paulus, who was an assessor of Papinian and a member of the imperial council of Septimius Severus and Alexander Severus[15], interpreted this legal practice in the following way: "The statement that we have made ... must not of course be taken to mean that one who wishes to take possession of an estate must visit every parcel of it: it is enough to enter any part of the estate, provided that one has the purpose and intention to take possession of the whole estate up to its boundary", *non utique ita accipiendum est, ut qui fundum possidere velit, omnes glebas circumambulet: sed sufficit quamlibet eius fundi partem introire, dum mente et cogitatione hac sit, uti totum fundum usque ad terminum velit possidere*[16]. It is even enough to look round at the estate with the intention to take possession of it, *oculis et affectu*, "by sight and intention", as says Iulius Paulus[17]. Iuventus Celsus[18] explains this with a concrete example: "If my vendor from my tower points out neighbouring land to me who have bought it, and says that he delivers vacant possession, I begin to possess no less than if I had set foot within

[12] CICERO, *Pro Tullio* 7, 17.
[13] *Digesta Iustiniani* XXI, 2, 45. For Alfenus Varus, one can see W. KUNKEL, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen,* Weimar 1952, p. 29.
[14] *Digesta Iustiniani* XVIII, 1, 18, 1. For Sextus Pomponius, see W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 170-171.
[15] W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 244-245.
[16] *Digesta Iustiniani* XLI, 2, 3, 1.
[17] *Digesta Iustiniani* XLI, 2, 1, 21.
[18] Cf. W. KUNKEL, *op. cit.* (n. 13), p. 137-138.

its boundary", *Si vicinum mihi fundum mercato venditor in mea turre demonstrat vacuamque se possessionem tradere dicat, non minus possidere coepi, quam si pedem finibus intulissem*[19].

A similar legal practice existed in the ancient Near East, at least among North-Western Semites. This results first from some passages in the Bible, which refer to the acquisition of land by sight and circumambulation[20]. Transferring the ownership of the Holy Land to Abram, God tells him: "Lift up your eyes and look, from the place where you are, to the north and the south, to the east and the west. All the land you can see I give to you and to your descendants for ever... Now go through the length and breadth of the land, for I give it to you" (Gen. 13, 15.17). And according to Deut. 3, 27, God says to Moses: "Go up to the top of Pisga and look to the west and the north, to the south and the east, and look well with your own eyes". The meaning of this passage becomes clear in Deut. 34, 4. God says there to Moses, who before dying went up to the top of Mount Nebo: "This is the land which I swore to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob that I would give to their descendants. I have let you see it with your own eyes". Moses did not enter the Holy Land himself, but God said to his successor Joshua: "Every place where you set foot, I give it to you, as I promised Moses" (Josh. 1, 3). These passages, which are apparently unconnected, reveal the hand of a single redactor who conceived God as conveying the land to Moses, who had to look at it with his own eyes, and then to Joshua, who had to set foot within its boundaries.

The author of the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon*, that dates from the 2nd or 1st century B.C., enlarges the biblical account concerning Abram and let him walk around the entire Holy Land. God says there to Abram: "Go up to Ramath-Hazor... and lift up your eyes and look to the east, and to the west, and to the south, and to the north, and see all this land which I give to you and to your descendants forever"[21]. Abram looks all around and, according to a passage written in autobiographical style, he goes through all the land conveyed to him by God: "So I, Abram, set out to go around and look at the land. I started going about from the Gihon River, moving along the Sea, until I reached the Mount of the Ox. I journeyed from the Great Salt Sea and moved along the Mount of the Ox

[19] *Digesta Iustiniani* XLI, 2, 18, 2.
[20] D. DAUBE, *Studies in Biblical Law*, Cambridge 1947, p. 26-39, with translations of the pertinent biblical passages and of the quotations from the *Digesta Iustiniani*.
[21] 1QGenAp, col. 21, 8-10, translation of J.A. FITZMYER - D.J. HARRINGTON, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Biblica et Orientalia 34), Rome 1978, p. 119.

toward the east through the breadth of the land, until I reached the Euphrates River. I travelled along the Euphrates, until I came to the Red Sea in the east. I moved along the Red Sea, until I reached the tongue of the Reed Sea, which goes forth from the Red Sea. I journeyed to the south, until I reached the Gihon River"[22]. Without trying to identify the various places mentioned in this passage, one can see easily that Abraham achieved a complete circumambulation of the land conveyed to him by God, thus becoming its lawful owner.

The legend of Elissa appears to be based on a similar way of acquiring land by walking around the whole of it and marking out its boundary. The essential word is here the verb "to encompass", "to go round", that occurs in every older text telling the story: *circumdare* used by Virgil[23], *amplecti* by Livy[24], περιλαμβάνειν by Appian[25], *cingere* by Silius Italicus[26]. Later authors no longer understood the meaning of the *circumambulatio* of the estate, which manifested the intention to take possession of the land delimitated by the strips of skin[27]. Justinus in the 3rd century and Servius in the 4th-5th century A.D. thought that the land had to be "covered" by the ox skin and thus used the verb *tegere*[28]. This interpretation apparently echoes the Roman topic of the *fides Punica*[29], which they were discerning in Elissa's action. However, Eustathius of Thessalonica, when writing his *Paraphrase of Dionysius Periegetes* in the 12th century, still understood that Elissa intended to "circumscribe the limits" of Carthage, ὅρον περιγράφειν[30], like Romulus, the founder of Rome, did according to the tradition recorded by Plutarch: "They marked out the city in a circle round it. And the founder, having shod a plough with a brazen ploughshare, and having yoked to it a bull and a

[22] 1QGenAp, col. 21, 15-19, translation of J.A. FITZMYER - D.J. HARRINGTON, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 119-121.

[23] VIRGIL, *Aeneid* I, 368.

[24] LIVY, *Roman History* XXXIV, 62, 12.

[25] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 1.

[26] SILIUS ITALICUS, *Punica* I, 25.

[27] Although APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 1, attributes such a misunderstanding to the Libyans, the original legal meaning of the act should not be diluted in the comments of some later Latin authors, alluding to the *fides Punica*; *pace* J. SCHEID - J. SVENBRO, *Byrsa. La ruse d'Élissa et la fondation de Carthage*, in *Annales. Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations* 40 (1985), p. 328-342.

[28] JUSTINUS, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* XVIII, 5, 9; SERVIUS, *Ad Aeneidem* I, 367.

[29] For this topic of the Latin literature, appearing in the period of the Second Punic War, one can see, for instance, M. DUBUISSON, *L'image du Carthaginois dans la littérature latine*, in *Studia Phoenicia I-II* (OLA 15), Leuven 1983, p. 159-167.

[30] §195, in *GGM* II, p. 251.

cow, himself drove a deep furrow round the boundary lines, while those who followed after him had to turn the clods, which the plough threw up, inwards towards the city, and suffer no clod to be turned outwards. With this line they mark out the course of the wall"[31].

2. Etiology and Etymology of "Byrsa"

The particular feature of the story of Elissa is the use of strips of skin to "circumscribe" the limits of Carthage. If the account has a Punic origin and was only adapted to a Greek audience, it is evident that it could not play on the word βύρσα, but on a Punic expression, possibly *bi'ōr ša*, "with the skin of a sheep", as the present writer suggested some years ago[32]. However, the central point of the account is the delimitation of the territory by *spreading* the strips of skin. Now, in Hebrew, "she spread" is expressed by the qal or pi'el form of *prś*: *pārəśā* or *pērəśā*. This verb does not occur so far in the poorly known Phoenician vocabulary, but it is widely attested in Hebrew and Aramaic. There is no reason why it should not have been used in Phoenician.

The pronunciation of this verbal form, **párša*, **péréa* or the like[33], was close to "Byrsa", and comparable phonetic differences occur in similar biblical etiologies explaining the origin of a place name. The best known is the etiology of Babylon in Gen. 11, 1-9: its name was supposedly called *Bābel*, "for there God confused (*bālal*) the speech of the whole earth". The presence of another consonant (*b/l*) in the key words does not disturb the narrator. The same can be said about the etiology of *Be'er-šeba'* in Gen. 26, 23-33, where the name of the well is explained by the "oath" (*šəbu'ā*) binding Isaac and Abimelech. The actual vocalization of Masoretic manuscripts provides a peculiar form *šib'ā*, which was perhaps chosen as a compromise between *šəbu'ā*, "oath", and *śib'ā*, "abundance", an interpretation, which is supported by important witnesses of the ancient tradition: Aquila, Symmachus, the Vulgate, and the Syriac version. In neither case attention is paid to the vocalization at variance with *šeba'*, the actual name of the place. Similar etiologies,

[31] PLUTARCH, *Romulus* XI, 2-3. Translation by B. PERRIN, *Plutarch's Lives* I, London 1914, p. 119. A similar scene is represented on Tyrian coins of Septimius Severus (G.F. HILL, *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum. Phoenicia*, London 1910, p. 269, Nos. 367-368) and of Caracalla (*Israel Numismatic Journal* 1 [1963], p. 21-22), commemorating the foundation of the Colony of Tyre, based on the *ius Italicum*.

[32] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Byrsa*, in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord I. Carthage et son territoire dans l'Antiquité*, Paris 1990, p. 123-129 (see p. 126-129).

[33] Spellings like *ndr'* or *n'dr'* suggest a pronunciation **paršó* or **peršó*.

1) La Malga
2) Amphitheatre
3) Basilica Damus-al-Karita
4) Theatre
5) Roman villa
6) Byrsa hill
7) Antiquarium
8) Antonine thermae
9) "Magon" quarter
10) Punic temple
11) Tophet Salammbô
12) Harbours

Stations of the T.G.M.

A) Salammbô
B) Dermech
C) Byrsa
D) Hannibal
E) Presidency

Carthage.

based on a certain homophony, occur in other passages of the Bible in relation to place names (Josh. 4, 19-24; 8; I Sam. 7, 12), personal names (Gen. 3, 20; I Sam. 4, 21; I Chron. 4, 9), nations (Gen. 19, 37-38) or simple nouns like "woman" (Gen. 2, 23). It is a typically Semitic genre of stories, to which Elissa's "stretching" of the strips belongs as well. Of course, neither βύρσα, nor *bi'ōr ša*, nor **párša* or **péršа* provide the real etymology of "Byrsa".

The traditional explanation of the toponym by *boṣrā*, "enclosure", "fortress", has little chance to be correct. Not only it does not justify the metathesis and the different vocalization, but it fails to produce parallels in the Phoenician toponymy, which instead uses the word *gādēr* for "enclosure". The derivation of Byrsa from Akkadian *birtu* or Aramaic *birtā*, "fortress"[34], fails explaining why this word never appears in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, either as common noun or as toponym. The interpretation *bī'r-ša*, "the Well of the Sheep", is quite attractive, since Phoenician-Punic *i* in close syllable is often transcribed by *upsilon* in Greek[35], and such a toponym would belong to a widespread group of Semitic place names. It could perfectly designate the initial settlement near the seashore, but should have been transferred later to the present-day hill of Byrsa. There are other possible explanations.

Phoenician-Punic used a root *brš* < *brṯ*, which is attested in the title of a Carthaginian[36], probably a clearing engineer. In fact, the Sabaic verb *brṯ* can signify that a building was razed, a road cleared, a debt settled[37]. *Brš* may thus be the lost title of the first engineer mentioned in the "town-planning inscription" of Carthage[38]. A derivative of the same root occurs in Sabaic with the meaning "place", "location", "site"[39], while Arabic *barṯ(un)* or *burṯ(un)* designates a sandy plain or a light soft ground, in which plants grow quickly[40]. These connotations can possibly

[34] W. Huss, *Der Name der Byrsa von Karthago,* in *Klio* 64 (1982), p. 403-406.
[35] See here above, p. 412 with n. 454.
[36] *CIS* I, 348, 3.
[37] *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 32, s.v. *BRṮ* II.
[38] Line 3 of the inscription published by A. Mahjoubi - M.H. Fantar, *Une nouvelle inscription carthaginoise,* in *RANL*, 8th ser., 21 (1966), p. 201-210. See also A. Dupont-Sommer, *Une nouvelle inscription punique de Carthage,* in *CRAI* 1968, p. 116-133; G. Garbini, *Note di epigrafie semitica III. 2. Su una nuova iscrizione cartaginese,* in *RSO* 43 (1968), p. 11-13; J. Ferron, *L'inscription urbanistique de la Carthage punique,* in *Africa* 9 (1985), p. 23-49; M.H. Fantar, in *30 ans au service du Patrimoine. XXVIII centenaire de Carthage*, Tunis 1986, p. 56.
[39] *Sabaic Dictionary*, p. 32, s.v. *BRṮ* I.
[40] R. Blachère - M. Chouémi - C. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire arabe-français-anglais* I, Paris 1967, p. 498a.

explain the name of Byrsa in the sense of level open space, even if no further qualification is provided.

There is a third hypothesis to be considered: two place names of ancient North Africa, *Thibursicu/Thubursicu Bure* and *Thubursicu Numidarum*, contain a basis *burs*, augmented by the feminine plural prefix *ti-*, the plural ending *-i*, and the suffix *-k*, which forms allomorphs of words with final *i, y, a*[41]. This basis might occur also in *Byrsa*, but a Libyco-Berber name would normally have the *a-* prefix of the absolute state, which is not the case here.

In all three hypotheses, the main stumbling block is the use of the same toponym to designate either the inner city or the acropolis, which are topographically distinct parts of the town[42]. A parallel problem is raised by the existence of a temple of Apollo in the inner city and of a temple of Asclepius on the acropolis, as both deities were equated with Eshmun[43].

3. Temple of Eshmun

The first Phoenician colony planted in North Africa is said to have been Utica[44], at the mouth of the Medjerda or Bagradas River. According to Pliny the Elder, there was a temple of Apollo in the city. It was believed to be contemporaneous of the foundation of Utica and still existed in Pliny's days, in the 1st century A.D.[45] Towards the north of Utica runs out the promontory of Rās Sidi Ali al-Mekki[46], which Greek and Roman writers call "Promontory of Apollo" or *promunturium Pulchri*, "Promontory of the Beautiful One", "beautiful" being an epithet of Apollo[47]. Its Punic name was "Cape of Eshmun", **Ruš 'ušmun*, what

[41] M.G. Kossmann, *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig (Maroc oriental)*, Paris-Louvain 1997, p. 64-67. The possible functions of the suffix in the older language are unknown.

[42] For the problem resulting from the double use of "Byrsa" in ancient texts, see S. Lancel, *Le problème de Byrsa*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Carthago* (Studia Phoenicia VI; OLA 26), Leuven 1988, p. 61-89.

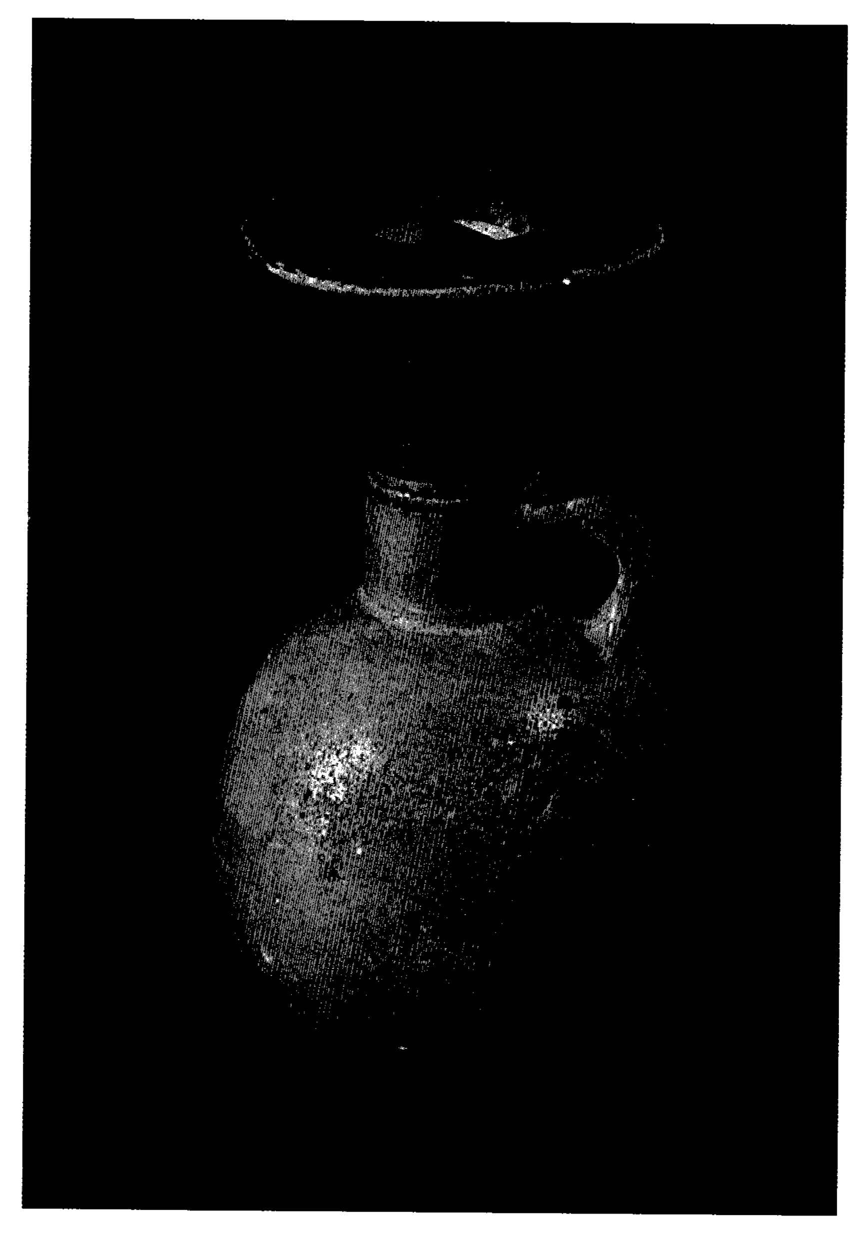
[43] E. Lipiński, *Apollon/Eshmun en Afrique Proconsulaire*, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion à l'époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay* (Collection Latomus 226), Bruxelles 1994, p. 19-26.

[44] Utica was said to have been founded 287 years before Carthage: Pseudo-Aristotle, *On Marvellous Things Heard* 146. Cf. here above, p. 381-383.

[45] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XVI, 216. It may have been the temple remains of which are visible near the *forum vetus*, indicated by P on the map of A. Lézine, *Architecture romaine d'Afrique. Recherches et mises au point*, Paris 1970.

[46] *AATun*, fol. 7 (Porto-Farina), No. 41.

[47] Polybius, *History* III, 22, 5; 23, 1.4; 24, 2.4; Strabo, *Geography*, XVII, 3, 13; Appian, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 34; Zonaras, *Epitome of Histories* IX, 12; Livy, *Roman History* XXIX, 27, 12; XXX, 24, 8; etc.



Phoenician mushroom-lip jug from the 8th century B.C., appearing in the earliest Western settlements (Courtesy of the Museum of Carthage).

Livy transcribed *Rusucmona*[48], a form probably resulting from a confusion of a lunate *sigma C* in *POYCYCMON with *C*. This toponym announced the importance of the cult of Eshmun/Apollo to any ship approaching Utica and Carthage, situated about 20 km to the south-east of Utica. The promontory protected the Punic heartland from the north. Its strategic importance appears in clauses of the first and second treaty concluded between Carthage and Rome, since it indicated the limits imposed to Roman navigation[49]. Besides, in 203 B.C., during the Second Punic War, the Carthaginian fleet was anchored close to the cape[50], probably near Ġar al-Melḥ, formerly Porto Farina, and it was mooring there again a few months later, at the time of the attempted capture of Scipion's messengers[51]. This anchorage undoubtedly reveals the strategic importance of the promontory.

If the cape bore the name of Eshmun/Apollo, the temple of Apollo at Utica was certainly dedicated to Eshmun as well. It is also Eshmun who must hide behind the name of Apollo in the list of deities witnessing the so-called "Hannibal's oath", where Apollo is mentioned in the first triad, after Zeus and Hera, which certainly were Baal and Astarte[52]. The widespread use of the theophorous element *'šmn* in Punic proper names[53] justifies the prominent place ascribed to Eshmun/Apollo in this God-List.

The identification of Eshmun with Apollo is quite understandable in the West, where Apollo's temple at Cumae, Italy's earliest Greek colony, was built in the 6th century B.C. over the cave of the Sibyl, while Etruscans from Caere and Veies worshipped *Aplu*/Apollo before his cult was officially introduced in Rome. His temple in the Flaminian meadows of Rome was dedicated in 431 B.C. for the sake of the people's health[54], and until the Second Punic War Apollo was chiefly the warder

[48] LIVY, *Roman History* XXX, 10, 9.

[49] H. BENGTSON, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums* II. *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., München 1975, Nos. 121 and 136. Cf. J. HEURGON, *Sur l'interdiction de naviguer au-delà du Beau-Promontoire dans le premier traité entre Rome et Carthage (Pol., III, 22-23)*, in *AntAfr* 14 (1979), p. 37-42; W. HUSS, *Geschichte der Karthager*, München 1985, p. 87-89, 411-412, n. 60.

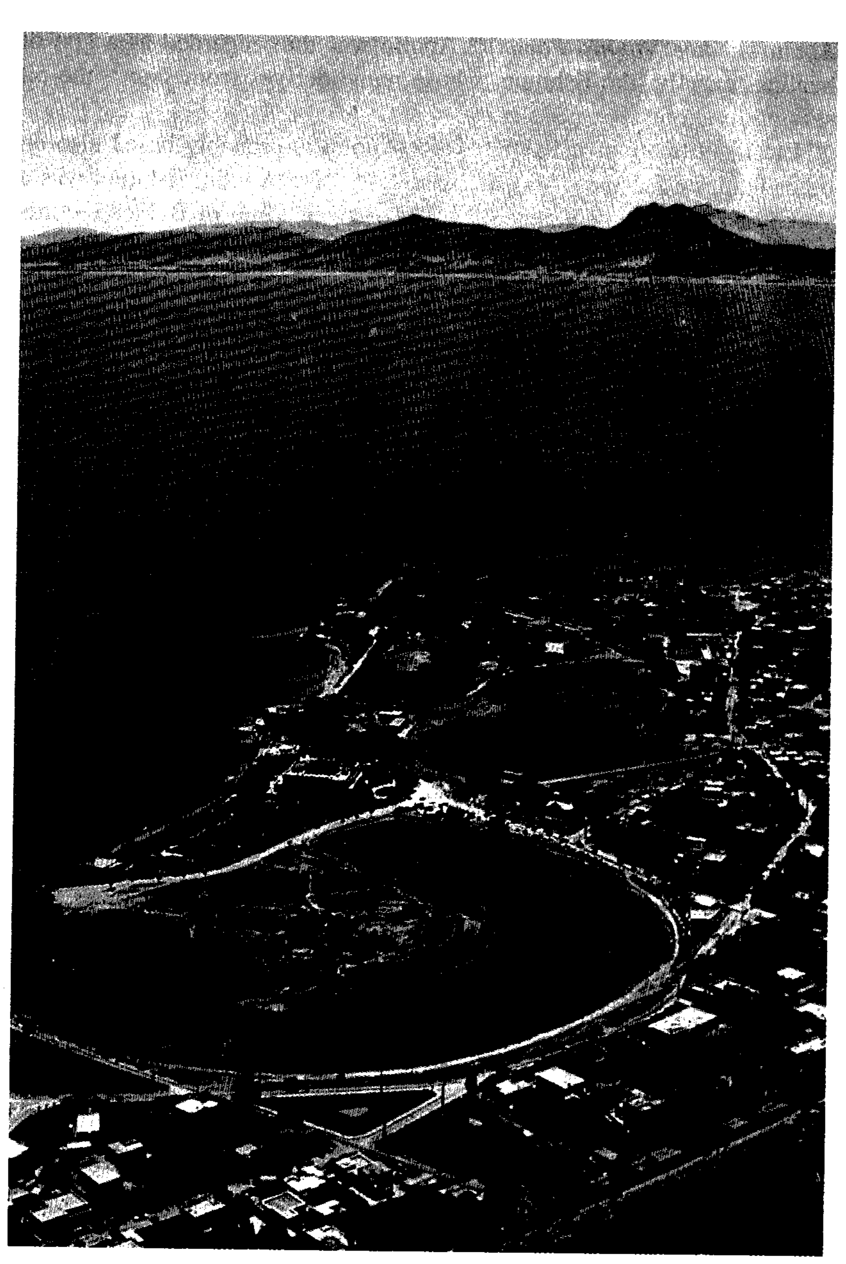
[50] LIVY, *Roman History* XXX, 10, 9.

[51] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 34; POLYBIUS, *History* XV, 2, 7.

[52] POLYBIUS, *History* VII, 9, 2. For this list of deities in general, see M. BARRÉ, *The God-List in the Treaty between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia* (Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies), Baltimore 1983. The identification of Apollo with Resheph can be safely discarded, since Resheph did not belong to the Carthaginian pantheon.

[53] BENZ, p. 70-75, 150-153, 278-279.

[54] LIVY, *Roman History* III, 63, 7.



The military circular harbour and the commercial rectangular harbour at Carthage with a view of the Bay of Tunis and of the Cape Bon.

off of pestilence with the epithet *Medicus*[55]. Vestals were invoking him: *Apollo medice*! *Apollo Paean*![56] Apollo was thus regarded as a god of healing, exactly like Eshmun, whose name derives from *šmn*[57], the oil serving to anoint sick people.

The identification of Eshmun with Apollo is probably based also on other features common to both characters. Like Apollo, Eshmun was a youth of most beautiful appearance. Moreover, Philo of Byblos records that "Sydyk, who is called the Just One", was the father of Asclepius/ Eshmun[58], and Damascius repeats this topic of the Phoenician mythology[59], which linked Eshmun with justice and equity. Also the Pythian Apollo is associated with principles of justice, approving codes of law[60] and inculcating high moral behaviour[61]. The similar conception of both divine figures in this particular case may explain why the temple of Apollo/Eshmun in Carthage was bordering the forum of the downtown[62], where judges were sitting in court[63].

In fact, there can hardly be any doubt that the temple of Apollo standing in the forum and containing a colossal gilded statue of the god[64] was dedicated to the Phoenician-Punic god Eshmun. His statue was transported to Rome in 146 B.C. and placed near the *Circus maximus*, where it stood still in the 2nd century A.D.[65] One can assume that the major temple discovered by the German archaeological mission led by F. Rakob at Carthage Dermesh, on the southern edge of the Ibn Chabâat

[55] For the development of Apollo's cult in Rome, one can always refer to J. GAGÉ, *Apollon romain. Essai sur le culte d'Apollon et le développement du "ritus Graecus" à Rome, des origines à Auguste*, Paris 1955.

[56] MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia* I, 17, 15.

[57] E. LIPIŃSKI, *Eshmun, "Healer"*, in *AION* 23 (1973), p. 161-183; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 43); ID., *Dieux et déesses*, p. 154-168, 196-198.

[58] EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Praeparatio evangelica* I, 10, 25; cf. 10, 38; *FGH* III C, §790, Frg. 2.

[59] DAMASCIUS, *The Life of Isidorus* 302, in R. HENRY (ed.), *Photius: Bibliothèque* VI, Paris 1971, p. 55 (Cod. 242, fol. 352b). The text is also available in *PG* 103, col. 1304-1305. An English translation and a recent commentary of the whole passage are provided by T.N.D. METTINGER, *The Riddle of Resurrection*, Stockholm 2001, p. 155-159.

[60] HERODOTUS, *History* I, 65.

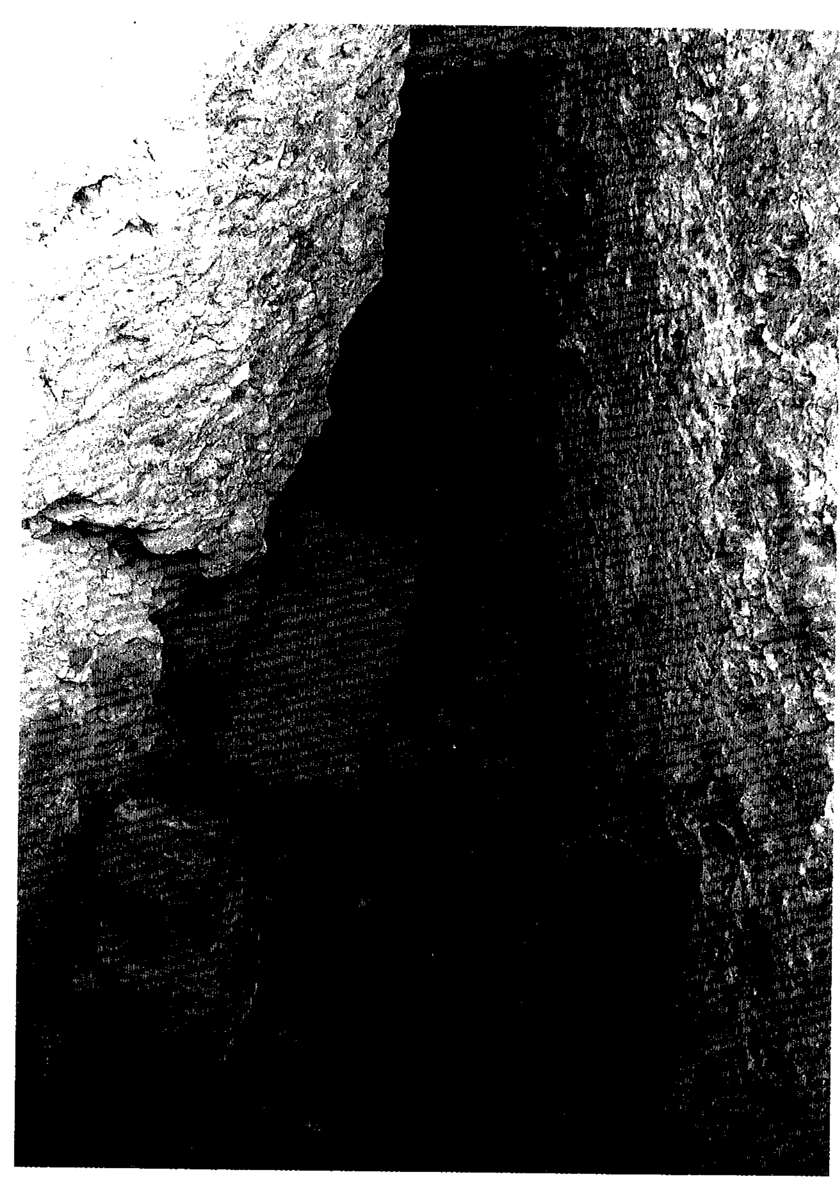
[61] HERODOTUS, *History* VI, 86γ; AELIAN, *Historical Miscellany* III, 44.

[62] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 127.

[63] LIVY, *Roman History* XXXIV, 61, 14-15, referring to the same event in 194 B.C. as APPIAN, *Roman History* XI. *The Syrian Wars* 8, who mentions the senate-house (βουλευτήριον), situated apparently close to the harbour (APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 91).

[64] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 127; VALERIUS MAXIMUS, *Memorable Doings and Sayings* I, 1, 18.

[65] PLUTARCH, *Titus Flaminius* 1.



Excavation of the Punic temple at Carthage.

street[66], was precisely the temple of Eshmun/Apollo[67], which possessed a rich archive, datable from the late 6th through the mid-2nd century B.C.[68] Several recovered seal impressions from this archive figure Apollo[69], two of them representing him with a snake as a god of healing[70], what would confirm his identification with Eshmun[71].

A second temple of Eshmun, equated in a later period with Asclepius, was built on the present-day hill of Byrsa[72], which was surrounded by a distinct defence wall[73]. One may assume that this happened in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C., when a new residential area was built on the southern slope of the hill[74]. The Carthaginian Senate, composed of three hundred members, and the Council of one hundred started then meeting in the precinct of Eshmun, on Byrsa[75].

[66] F. RAKOB, *Ein punisches Heiligtum in Karthago und sein römischer Nachfolgbau. Erster Vorbericht*, in *MDAIR* 98 (1991), p. 33-80 and Pls. 3-27; ID., *Un temple punique à Carthage et l'édifice qui lui succède à l'époque romaine. Premier rapport préliminaire*, in *CEDAC Carthage* 16-17 (1997), p. 53-82.

[67] By no means Resheph's, whose cult is not attested in North Africa, while the steles "de Sainte-Marie" dedicated to Tannit and Baal Ḥamon, found in that area, belong to the most recent level of the *tophet* of Salammbô, wherefrom they were taken apparently to pave public ways in the downtown. Cf. H. BENICHOU-SAFAR, *Les stèles dites "de Sainte-Marie" à Carthage*, in H. DEVIJVER - E. LIPIŃSKI (eds.), *Punic Wars* (Studia Phoenicia X; OLA 33), Leuven 1989, p. 353-364.

[68] Only the seals of the documents are preserved: D. BERGES, *Die Tonsiegel aus dem karthagischen Tempelarchiv*, in F. RAKOB (ed.), *Karthago* II, Mainz a/R 1997, p. 10-214, Pls. 6-128. A short presentation: D. BERGES, *Siegel aus Karthago - Spiegelbilder des Lebens. Die Tonsiegel aus dem Archiv eines punischen Tempels*, in *Antike Welt* 28 (1997), p. 407-414.

[69] D. BERGES, in *op. cit.* (n. 68), p. 124-125, 160-162, Pls. 15, 21, 59, 87, 88, Nos. 264-265, 517-525.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 161, Pls. 21, 87, 88, Nos. 524-525.

[71] The identification with Resheph, stated by D. BERGES, *ibid.*, p. 161, should be discarded, since the cult of Resheph is not attested in North Africa, as already recorded (see n. 52 and 67), and since Resheph is no healing deity. Asclepius appears only on a single seal impression: *ibid.*, p. 162, Pl. 88, No. 526.

[72] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 130; STRABO, *Geography* XVII, 3, 14; LIVY, *Roman History* XLI, 22; XLII, 24. Punic inscriptions from Carthage seem to distinguish the temple and the priests of Eshmun (*CIS* I, 2362; 4834-4837; 5594) from the temple and the priests of Eshmun-Astarte (*CIS* I, 245). There were three temples of Astarte at Sidon, in the 5th century B.C. (*KAI* 14 = *TSSI* III, 28). Therefore, the objection of GSELL, *HAAN* IV, p. 317, is not justified.

[73] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 95, mentions a "triple wall", revealing an ultimate Punic source which used the Semitic qualification "triple" in the sense of "very solid" or the like. Cf. E. LIPIŃSKI, *Trois hébraïsmes oubliés ou méconnus*, in *RSO* 44 (1969), p. 83-101 (see p. 93-101). Concerning the wall attributed to the rampart of Byrsa by G.G. LAPEYRE, *L'enceinte punique de Byrsa*, in *Revue Africaine* 75 (1934), p. 336-353, see S. LANCEL (ed.), *Byrsa* I (CÉFR 41), Rome 1979, p. 24-25 and Fig. 6.

[74] S. LANCEL, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 82.

[75] LIVY, *Roman History* XLI, 22 and XLII, 24, refers to night sessions of the Senate (in 174 B.C.) and of the Council (in 172 B.C.) in the temple of Asclepius. A meeting place in the downtown may instead be suggested in another circumstance by comparing LIVY, *Roman History* XXX, 24, 10, and DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XXXII, 6, 4, with APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 91.

Excavations conducted by G.G. Lapeyre just before the Second World War[76] revealed that a large esplanade with a thick mortar covering and traces of slabs extended behind the strong buttresses discovered by M. Beulé on the south-eastern slopes of the hill[77]. Next to the buttresses there were eighteen large columns, which belonged to a portico. French excavations in 1977-1980[78] have shown that these structures belonged to the *Platea Nova* of Victor Vitensis[79] and dated probably from the 2nd century A.D. Mentioned by St. Augustine, calling it *platea cum gradibus in media civitate*[80], this forum duplicated the old one, in the downtown, which was named *Platea Maritima* by Victor Vitensis[81]. Two public markets existed apparently in Carthage also in Late Punic times. There was, in fact, an esplanade, agora or forum, next to the harbour (*cothon*) and to the temple of Apollo[82], and another one on the hill, next to the temple of Asclepius. If "Byrsa" designates a level open space, as suggested by one of the hypotheses, this might explain the existence of a city quarter Βύρσα next to the harbour and of a more recent one on the present-day hill of Byrsa. In both cases, "Byrsa" would be the name of a public market or esplanade with a temple of Eshmun, "the son of Justice", who presided over forensic and legal proceedings.

[76] As summarized by A. ENNABLI - H. SLIM, *Carthage. A Visit to the Ruins*, Tunis 1974, p. 27.

[77] M. BEULÉ, *Fouilles à Carthage*, Paris 1861, p. 45-66 and Pl. I. For an analysis of these excavations, see S. LANCEL (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 73), p. 14-17.

[78] P. GROS, *Le forum de la ville haute dans la Carthage romaine d'après les textes et l'archéologie*, in *CRAI* 1982, p. 636-658, in particular p. 644-646; J. DENEAUVE, *Le tracé monumental de Byrsa à l'époque romaine. État actuel des recherches*, in *Cahiers des Études anciennes* 16 (1984), p. 88-106; P. GROS, *Byrsa* III. *Rapport sur les campagnes de fouilles de 1977 à 1980: la basilique orientale et ses abords* (CÉFR 41), Rome 1985. Photographs of a model on scale 1/200 are provided by P. GROS, *La Carthage romaine*, in *Pour la science. Dossier*, October 1999, p. 92-95.

[79] VICTOR VITENSIS, *History of the Vandalic Persecution in Africa* II, 13, ed. S. COSTANZA, *Vittore di Vita: Storia della persecuzione vandalica in Africa*, Roma 1981. Cf. S. LANCEL, *Victor de Vita et la Carthage vandale*, in A. MASTINO (ed.), *L'Africa Romana* VI, Sassari 1989, p. 649-661, in particular p. 652-653. For *platea*, colonnaded place or avenue, see L. ROBERT, *Études anatoliennes*, Paris 1939, p. 532-538; ID., *À travers l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1980, p. 128.

[80] St. AUGUSTINE, *Retractationes* II, 84.

[81] VICTOR VITENSIS, *History of the Vandalic Persecution in Africa* II, 5.

[82] APPIAN, *Roman History* VIII. *The Punic Wars* 127. This place may be referred to also by DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XX, 9, 4; 44, 3; XXXII, 6, 4 (ἀγορά); LIVY, *Roman History* XXX, 24, 10; XXXIII, 47, 10; 48, 10; JUSTINUS, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* XXII, 7, 8; XXXI, 2.3.6 (*forum*).

The identification of Eshmun with two different Graeco-Roman deities, viz. Apollo and Asclepius, is still perceivable at Mactar around 200 A.D., when a double inscription was dedicated there to these gods of healing[83]. This appears to have been the case in the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D. also at Bulla Regia and at Castellum Dimmidi, where the two deities are associated as well[84]. Both identifications must have been widespread and firmly anchored in the religious consciousness.

[83] A. CADOTTE, *Une double dédicace à Apollon et à Esculape en provenance de Mactar*, in *Epigraphica* 64 (2002), p. 93-106.
[84] *Ibid.*, p. 106, with references.

CHAPTER XII

"TYRIANS LIVING IN JERUSALEM ..." THE POPULATION OF JERUSALEM IN ANTIQUITY

Defining population plays a significant role in human history. How newcomers regard the former inhabitants of a country illuminates how they perceive their world and their place in it. Populations were no neutral entities in Antiquity. They were viewed as having a relationship with surrounding territories, pursuing different ways of life, practicing different cults. Certain areas, like Jerusalem, take on a special character due to complex historical, social, and cultural facts. This chapter does not summarize an architectural history of Jerusalem[1], but explores how ancient history can define the population dwelling and acting in Jerusalem, inclusive the "Tyrians living there ..." (Neh. 13, 16).

The earliest traces of human presence so far known in the area of Jerusalem have been assigned to the Lower Palaeolithic. Flint implements of the Middle Acheulean and Levalloisian types have been found in 1933 and 1962 southwest of the city, in the gravel beds of the Rephaim or al-Baq'a Valley[2], near the Abu Tōr quarter (Giv'at Ḥananyah). Some flint working shows affinities with the Jabrudian culture and the Mousterian, dated to *ca.* 50,000 B.C. Mousterian man in the Levant is close to the Neanderthal race, which has replaced the *Homo erectus*. He is well represented in Israel by a series of Neanderthaloid burials in the Mount Carmel caves.

The prevailing dryness of the following periods made life conditions more difficult for prehistoric man in the Jerusalem area and only scanty information is available from Mesolithic and Neolithic times. Some sherds of the Chalcolithic period (*ca.* 4300-3300 B.C.) were found in

[1] One can see E. STERN (ed.), *Jerusalem*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 698-804; K. BIEBERSTEIN - H. BLOEDHORN, *Jerusalem. Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit des osmanischen Herrschaft* (BTAVO B/100), 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1994; H. GEVA (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, new ed., Jerusalem 1994; G. AULD - M. STEINER, *Jerusalem I. From the Bronze Age to the Maccabees*, Cambridge 1996.
[2] The results of the excavations of 1933 and 1962 have been published respectively by M. STEKELIS, *Rephaim-Ba'ca: A Palaeolithic Station in the Vicinity of Jerusalem*, in *JPOS* 21 (1948), p. 80-97, and B. ARENSBURG - O. BAR-YOSEF, *Yacimento paleolítico en la Valle de Refaim, Jerusalén, Israel*, in *Ampurias* 29 (1967), p. 117-133.

clefts and natural pits in the bedrock on the slopes of the Southeast Hill[3], corresponding to the biblical "City of David" (II Sam. 5, 7.9; etc.). The whole rocky spur to the southeast of the present walled city is generally called Ophel, and this appellation, inclusive of "David's City", will be used in the present chapter. The Ophel was the nucleus of the pre-Judaean site. The advantage of this hill lies in its sharply descending slopes, easy to defend, and in its vicinity to the Gihon Spring, the 'Ayn Sitti Maryam or 'Ayn Umm ad-Darağ.

1. Bronze Age

There was certainly occupation in Jerusalem during the Proto-Urban period of the Early Bronze Age, for some of the most beautiful specimens of Proto-Urban B pottery come from a tomb discovered on the slopes of the Southeast Hill, the Ophel[4]. This pottery type is characterized by geometric weaving patterns painted in red thin lines by using a delicate brush. It occurs also at Tell an-Naṣbeh and 'Ay (at-Tell), in some of the Jericho tombs, in a later phase of Early Bronze I at Bāb aḏ-Ḏra', contemporary with the first permanent settlement at this site, and in one tomb in northern Jordan, at 'Arqub ad-Dahr[5]. Excavations on the slopes and summit of the Ophel ridge have produced more Early Bronze Age pottery, but only fragments of occupation levels, especially a part of a typical dwelling of Early Bronze I-II built on the bedrock. In this period, apparently, the settlement was not walled here[6]. Early Bronze I, the end of which can be placed at *ca.* 3050 B.C., was a creative period, characterized by cultural features, which seem to have been introduced by a new ethnic group. This can be identified confidently with Semites having "Egyptian connections". However, Jerusalem does not emerge during the Early Bronze Age into the full light of history and it is represented in the Early Bronze IV / Middle Bronze I period (*ca.* 2250-2000 B.C.) only by a one-period not-walled settlement with brick and stone houses, which was excavated southwest of the city, in the Rephaim or al-Baq'a Valley. The entire area of the site is *ca.* 5 hectares, but only half of it was built up and its population was thus estimated at 390 inhabitants[7].

[3] Y. SHILOH, *Excavations at the City of David* I (Qedem 19), Jerusalem 1984, p. 7 and 25.

[4] L.-H. VINCENT, *Jérusalem sous terre*, London 1911, p. 31-32, Pls. VII-XII; K.M. KENYON, *Excavations in Jerusalem, 1965*, in *PEQ* 98 (1966), p. 73-88 (see p. 74).

[5] A. MAZAR, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000-586 B.C.E.*, New York 1990, p. 102-103.

[6] Y. SHILOH, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 25.

[7] This low estimate of 156 inhabitants per built-up hectare is proposed by A. SASSON, *The Pastoral Component in the Economy of Hill Country Sites in the Intermediate Bronze and Iron Ages: Archaeo-Ethnographic Case Studies*, in *Tel Aviv* 25 (1998), p. 3-51 (see p. 25-26). He bases himself on the density coefficient of the village of Beit Duqqu, northwest of Jerusalem, in 1945. Only the settlement of the intermediate period Early Bronze IV / Middle Bronze I is taken into account, not the settlements of Middle Bronze IIB and of the Iron Age, uncovered by G. EDELSTEIN and E. EISENBERG, *'Emeq-Refa'im - 1985*, in *ESI* 4 (1985), p. 54-56; E. EISENBERG, *Naḥal Refa'im*, in *ESI* 7-8 (1988-89), p. 84-89; 9 (1989-90), p. 150-156; 12 (1994), p. 67-71; ID., *Naḥal Rephaim: A Bronze Age Village in South-Western Jerusalem*, in *Qadmoniot* 26 (1993), p. 82-95 (in Hebrew); E. EISENBERG - G. EDELSTEIN, *Rephaim, Naḥal*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. IV, p. 1277-1282; G. M. EDELSTEIN - I. MILEVSKI, *The Rural Settlement of Jerusalem Re-Evaluated: Surveys and Excavations in the Reph'aim Valley and Mevasseret Yerushalayim*, in *PEQ* 126 (1994), p. 2-23.

The presence of a Middle Bronze IIA settlement at Jerusalem seems certain in the light of the evidence provided by the Egyptian Execration Texts and by some archaeological material uncovered at the site of the Ophel hill[8]. In Middle Bronze Age IIA-B Jerusalem was a fortified town. The foundation of the massive city wall was assigned by excavators to about 1800 B.C.[9], i.e. to the period in which the Egyptian Execration Texts mention Jerusalem for the first time, but the transitional period of Middle Bronze IIA-B should be dated a century later, *ca.* 1700-1670 B.C.

In the Execration Texts, datable to the early 18th century B.C., the name of Jerusalem is spelt *3wš3mm*[10], which implies a pronunciation **Rušalimum*. However, the spelling *Urusalim* in the Amarna letters of the 14th century B.C.[11] seems to indicate that the initial vowel or syllable was not marked. Aphaeresis occurs in Semitic languages, but Egyptian orthography sometimes omits the initial vowel also in genuine Egyptian

[8] S.L. COHEN, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections. The Relationship of Middle Bronze IIA Canaan to Middle Kingdom Egypt* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 3), Winona Lake 2002, p. 84.

[9] K.M. KENYON, *Digging up Jerusalem*, London 1974, p. 83; Y. SHILOH, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 25; *Jerusalem*, in *ESI* 1 (1984), p. 49-51; Y. SHILOH, *The Material Culture of Judah and Jerusalem in Iron Age II: Origins and Influences*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations* (OLA 19), Leuven 1985, p. 113-146 (see p. 114-115).

[10] K. SETHE, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1926. Phil.-hist. Kl. 5), Berlin 1926, p. 53, *e* 27 and *e* 28; p. 58, *f* 18; G. POSENER, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire*, Bruxelles 1940, p. 86, *E* 45. The identification of *3wš3mm* can be considered as certain (W. HELCK, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* [Ägyptologishe Abhandlungen 5], 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971, p. 48), since the "weak" Semitic liquids *r* and *l* are often marked in Egyptian by *3*; cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, §2.4; §17.2.

[11] *EA*, 287, 25.46.61.63; 289, 14.29; 290,15. See W.L. MORAN, *Les lettres d'El Amarna* (LAPO 13), Paris 1987, and *The Amarna Letters*, Baltimore 1992.

words, like in *Bśt.t*, the goddess whose name is later pronounced *Ubasti*, or in *rwd*, "to be flourishing", that appears in Coptic as *ourot*[12]. The probable original form of the name "Jerusalem" should thus be *Urušalimum* or rather *Wurūšalimum*, as suggested by the later Hebrew form *Yərūšalēm*, where the characteristic Northwest Semitic development *w* > *y* in initial position has taken place.

The final *m* of the toponym is the mimation affixed to common nouns and to proper names; it generally disappears in the mid-second millennium B.C. As for *Wurū-šalim*, it seems to be a genitive compound name in which a noun *wurū* is qualified by *Šalim*, the Amorite name of the divine evening star. The noun *wurū* is apparently a derivative of the common Semitic root *wrw*, the basic meaning of which is likely to be "to launch", hence to "bring forward", "to lead", "to attack". It appears in the Qatabanic personal name *Wrw'l*[13], probably "Offshoot of El". Šalim appears in several Amorite personal names, such as *'Abu-Šalim*, *'Ila-Šalim*, *'Ammu-Šalim*, *Mut-Šalim*, *Yatar-Šalim* or *Yītur-Šalim*, *Yi'uš-Šalim*, *Yindub-Šalim*, *Yīṣi'-Šalim*[14]. However, the toponym **Wurū-Šalimum* does not designate a person but the rocky spur to the south of the present-day Old City, which was thus considered as a creation of this Amorite godhead: "Offshoot of Šalim" or, topographically, "Spur of Šalim"[15].

The earlier group of Execration Texts mentions two rulers of Jerusalem: *Yq3'mw* and *Śṯ'nw*[16]; one more appears in the slightly later group, but his name is illegible[17]. *Yq3'mw* is an Amorite anthroponym which appears as *Ḫa-mu-ia-qar* at Mari, in the 17th century B.C.[18] The inverted order of the components does not affect its meaning "the Ancestor is esteemed", *'Ammu-yaqar* or *Yaqar-'Ammu*, as authors commonly agree[19]. The second name *Śṯ'nw* is most likely Amorite as well,

[12] W. WESTENDORF, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965-77, p. 276.

[13] HARDING, *Arabian Names*, p. 641. Cf. Hebrew *Yrw'l*: I Chron. 7, 2 (Septuagint); II Chron. 20, 16.

[14] M. BIROT, *Noms de personnes*, in *ARM* XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 49, 101, 118, 158, 235; I.J. GELB, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (AS 21), Chicago 1980, p. 182. The divine name is written with the initial cuneiform sign SA which corresponds in Amorite names to a phonemic *ša*; cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 13.4-5.

[15] The often alleged meaning "foundation" for *yrw* is not attested so far in Semitic languages.

[16] K. SETHE, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 53, *e* 27 and *e* 28.

[17] G. POSENER, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 86, *E* 45.

[18] G. DOSSIN, *Deux listes nominatives du règne de Sûmu-iamam*, in *RA* 65 (1971), p. 37-66 (see p. 52, col. X, 62); M. BIROT, in *op. cit.* (n.14), p. 101.

[19] H.B. HUFFMON, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts. A Structural and Lexical Study*, Baltimore 1965, p. 214; W. HELCK, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 48.

as suggested by the hypocoristic suffix or afformative *-ānu*[20], but the basis *śṯ'*, which seems to correspond to *šassā'u*, "crier", "implorer", and to the verb *šasū*, "to shout", is attested so far only in Akkadian[21].

The situation and the topography of the Amorite city have been clarified to a large extent in the course of archaeological research. Scholars agree that the earliest city was situated only on the narrow Ophel spur and that its superficies amounted to *ca.* 4.4 hectares. If the demographic density coefficient is taken as 200-250 inhabitants per built-up hectare, the total population of Jerusalem at that time can be estimated at about 880-1,100 persons, women and children included. There is no reason to suppose that this population belonged to a tribal group different from the rulers', and it should therefore be considered as Amorite. The mention of this small city in the Egyptian Execration Texts can probably be explained by its good defensive position, its influence on the surrounding area, and its location on crossroads in the highlands of Canaan.

No archaeological evidence is available on the Ophel hill for the period extending from Middle Bronze IIA-B (17th century) to the final phase of Late Bronze II (12th century B.C.), but Egyptian finds from the end of the 13th century B.C., uncovered in the area of the St. Étienne monastery and Biblical School of the Fathers Dominicans, suggest that there was an Egyptian temple there in the Late Bronze Age II[22]. Its existence implies the presence of some Egyptian temple officials and other personnel in Jerusalem. In the same period, in the late 13th or in the 12th century B.C., the early nucleus of the Middle Bronze city wall was used for a great town-planning operation, in which a series of terraces were constructed on the northeastern slope of the Ophel[23], forming a massive substructure which added an area of some 200 m^2 to the top of the hill.

If these data are correct and if we neglect the few sherds scattered on the hill, we remain nevertheless with an archaeological gap of five hundred years in the history of the city, from *ca.* 1650 to *ca.* 1150 B.C.,

[20] H.B. HUFFMON, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 135-138.

[21] *AHw*, p. 1194-1197; *CAD*, Š/2, p. 144 and 147-167. The etymological basis of *šasū* can be *śs'*, since ancient Egyptian *ṯ* usually corresponds to Semitic *s*. The translation "der Kluge", proposed by W. HELCK, *op. cit.* (n. 10), p. 48, can hardly be justified.

[22] G. BARKAY, *A Late Bronze Age Egyptian Temple in Jerusalem?*, in *IEJ* 46 (1996), p. 23-43.

[23] H.J. FRANKEN - M.L. STEINER, *Urusalim und Jebus*, in *ZAW* 104 (1992), p. 110-111; M. STEINER, *The Jebusite Ramp of Jerusalem: The Evidence from the Macalister, Kenyon and Shiloh Excavations*, in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990*, Jerusalem 1993, p. 585-588; EAD., *Re-dating the Terraces of Jerusalem*, in *IEJ* 44 (1994), p. 13-20, correcting K.M. KENYON, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 95-97, and Y. SHILOH, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 16 and 26; ID., *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 115-117, but see p. 122.

since its hypothetical location on the Temple Mount (Ḥaram aš-Šarīf)[24] is so far not substantiated. Fortunately, archaeological evidence for the settlement of Jerusalem in Late Bronze I and II comes from the burial caves on the western slopes of the Mount of Olives, across the Kidron Valley, and in Naḥalat Aḥim[25], northwest of the Old City, as well as from a cistern on the grounds of the "Government House"[26], south of the city. Aegean, Cypriot, and Egyptian imported pottery, also an Egyptian scarab of the Eighteenth Dynasty, were found in these places and witness the relative importance of Jerusalem in the Amarna age[27], when the city ruler was corresponding with Pharaoh. His name is written ᵐARAD-*Ḫeba* in the Amarna letters[28]. Since the logogram ARAD, "servant", can be read *'abdu* in Westsemitic, the ruler's name is usually transcribed *'Abdi-Ḫeba*, "Servant of Ḫeba(t)", the Hurrian great goddess[29]. However, it might also be read *purame* in Hurrian[30], but no syllabically written Hurrian name is known so far with *purame* followed by a theonym[31]. In fact, the Hurro-Urartian basis of the word "servant"

[24] E.A. KNAUF, *Jerusalem in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages,* in *Tel Aviv* 27 (2000), p. 75-90. Nothing can be said about the Temple Mount, although thirty-seven subterranean cavities have been recorded there in the 19th century. It has been suggested by R. GONEN, *On Ancient Tombs and Holy Places: The Cave of Machpela and the Temple Mount,* in *Cathedra* 34 (1985), p. 3-14, especially p. 8-14 (in Hebrew), that some cavities may be tombs from the pre-Israelite period. This would place this area beyond the city walls. At any rate, there are now the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqṣā mosque on the Temple Mount, both being places holy to Islam, which effectively cut off the possibility of archaeological investigation.

[25] Mount of Olives: P. LEMAIRE, *Une tombe du Récent Bronze au Mont des Oliviers. Rapport préliminaire,* in *Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani* 5 (1954-55), p. 261-299; S.J. SALLER, *The Excavations at Dominus Flevit (Mount Olivet, Jerusalem). Part II. The Jebusite Burial Place* (Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 13/II), Jerusalem 1964. Mycenaean fragments and Egyptian faience belong to the contents of this large tomb. Naḥalat Aḥim: R. AMIRAN, *A Late Bronze Age II Pottery Group from a Tomb in Jerusalem,* in *Narkiss Volume* (ErIs 6), Jerusalem 1960, p. 25-37 (in Hebrew), with an English summary on p. 27*. The homogeneous material of this tomb dates from Late Bronze II.

[26] D.C. BARAMKI, *An Ancient Cistern in the Grounds of Government House, Jerusalem,* in *QDAP* 4 (1935), p. 165-167. An Egyptian scarab belongs to the material found in the cistern.

[27] N. NA'AMAN, *The Contribution of the Amarna Letters to the Debate on Jerusalem's Political Position in the Tenth Century B.C.E.,* in *BASOR* 304 (1996), p. 17-27.

[28] *EA*, 280, 17.23.34; 285, 2.14; 286, 2.7.61; 288, 2.63; 289, 2.48; 290, 3.19. Cf. W.L. MORAN, *op. cit.* (n. 11).

[29] M.-C. TRÉMOUILLE, ᵈ*Ḫepat, une divinité syro-anatolienne* (Eothen. Collana di studi sulle civiltà dell'Oriente antico 7), Firenze 1997.

[30] E. LAROCHE, *Glossaire de la langue hourrite* (= *RHA* 34-35 [1976-77]), Paris 1978-79, p. 205. The interpretation of ARAD is considered as uncertain by R.S. HESS, *Amarna Personal Names* (ASOR, Dissert. Ser. 9), Winona Lake 1993, p. 176-177.

[31] Abbreviated names are well written *Purame*: I.J. GELB - P.M. PURVES - A.A. MACRAE, *Nuzi Personal Names* (OIP 57), Chicago 1943, p. 118; N.J.J. ILLINGWORTH, *Inscriptions from Tell Brak 1986*, in *Iraq* 50 (1988), p. 87-108 (see p. 99, No. 23, 3.13.18); R. PRUZSINSZKY, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar* (Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 13), Bethesda 2003, p. 238; etc.

was **pōra-*[32], and this form appears in Hurrian proper names when it is determined by a second element, as apparently in *Pu-ra-Gu-uš* at Tell Taanach[33] and *Pu-re-Tešub* at Ras Shamra [34]. The Hurrian origin of the ruler is supported not only by the theophorous element Ḫeba(t), but also by the title EN-*ri* he attributes in one of his letters to Pharaoh[35]. In fact, this word should be read *ewri* in Hurrian, i.e. "lord", "(great) king"[36].

Hurrian rule seems to have lasted in Jerusalem until the 10th century B.C., like in the small state of Geshur on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee, where the ruler bore the Hurrian name Talmay in the 10th century B.C.[37] The cases of "Uriah the Hittite"[38] and of "the threshing-floor of Arauna"[39] suggest in fact that a Hurrian prince was ruling in Jerusalem until the occupation of the city by David. The name *'wryh* is a Hebraized form of the Hurrian noun *ewri*, "lord"[40], designating a ruler,

[32] I.M. DIAKONOFF - S.A. STAROSTIN, *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language*, München 1986, p. 16.

[33] Letter 3, 10, published by B. HROZNÝ, *Keilschrifttexte aus Ta'anek,* in E. SELLIN (ed.), *Tell Ta'anek*, Wien 1904, p. 113-122, Pls. 10-11 (see p. 117 ff.). Cf. *APN*, p. 182b. Since the name of the Hurrian Moon-god Kušuḫ can be abridged to *-Ku-ša/-Kz/-Kḏ* at the end of proper names (F. GRÖNDAHL, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* [Studia Pohl 1], Rom 1967, p. 237-238), while the sign GU may have the value ku_8 at Amarna and Boghazköy, one might suppose that *Gu-uš* stands for Kušuḫ, but this is uncertain as yet. Different opinions are quoted by A. GUSTAVS, *Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'annek*, in *ZDPV* 50 (1927), p. 1-18; 51 (1928), p. 169-218 (see p. 203-204).

[34] RS. 17.110, in J. NOUGAYROL, *Le Palais royal d'Ugarit* IV, Paris 1956, p. 178.

[35] *EA* 286, 7.15.32. Cf. W.L. MORAN, *op. cit.* (n. 11).

[36] O. LORETZ, *EN^ri* iwri *in EA 286*, in *UF* 6 (1974), p. 485; W.L. MORAN, *The Syrian Scribe of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters,* in H. GOEDICKE - J. ROBERTS (eds.), *Unity and Diversity. Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East,* Baltimore 1975, p. 146-166 (see p. 163, n. 52); E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 85-87. Older opinions are discussed by O. SCHRÖDER, *Zu Berliner Amarnatexten*, in *OLZ* 18 (1915), col. 293-296 (see col. 295-296). A.F. RAINEY, *The Scatterbrained Scribe*, in Y. AVISHUR - J. BLAU (eds.), *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to S.E. Loewenstamm*, Jerusalem 1978, p. 141-150, considers EN-*ri* as an erroneous transposition for LUGAL-*ri* = *šarri*, but such a mistake can hardly occur three times in the same letter.

[37] II Sam. 3, 3; 13, 37. Cf. F. GRÖNDAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 259-260; E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 253. One should also mention Shamgar, "the judge of Israel" (Judg. 3, 31; 5, 6), native from Beth-Anath in Upper Galilee. He bears the Hurrian name "the Sun-god gave", **Šimig-ar*; cf. F. GRÖNDAHL, *op. cit.*, p. 253-254.

[38] II Sam 11; 12, 9.10.15; 23, 39; I Kings 15, 5; I Chron. 11, 41.

[39] II Sam. 24, 16.18.20-24; cf. I Chron. 21, 15.18; II Chron 3, 1.

[40] Other Hurrian etymologies, like derivation from *ar-*, "to give", are less likely: A. GUSTAVS, *Hethitische Parallelen zum Namen* 'ūriyyāh, in *ZAW* 33 (1913), p. 201-205; W. FEILER, *Ḫurritische Namen in Alten Testament*, in *ZA* 45 (1939), p. 216-229 (see p. 219).

and the correct spelling of "Arauna" seems to have been *h-'wrnh*[41], which is likely to have been the determinative singular form *ewirne* of the same word[42]. It is still correctly translated by *h-mlk* in II Sam. 24, 23.

Now, the story of the murder of Uriah and taking possession of his wife, in II Sam. 11, appears as a tale based on an authentic record of David ordering the murder of the former ruler (*ewri*) and seizing the latter's harem. To indicate assumption of the throne, David thus takes possession of his predecessor's wife, like Absalom did when he went to his father's concubines (II Sam. 16, 21-22)[43]. The request of Adoniah for Abishag roused the wrath of Solomon (I Kings 2, 22) on the same grounds, which also provoked Ishbaal when Abner asked for Saul's concubine (II Sam. 3, 7-8). *Ewri*'s qualification *h-Ḥty* suggests that the man was regarded as a foreigner, but one might surmise that *Ḥty* was his proper name, viz. the frequent Hurrian name *Ḫutiya*. His wife *Btšb'* may also bear a Hebraized Hurro-Canaanite name with the theophorous element "Teshub" (**Bat-Teššub+'*). Her Hebrew name with *šb'* alludes instead to the oath sworn to her by David according to I Kings 1, 29-30. It belongs to the ingredients of the story of David's succession.

As for "Arauna", it is likely to have been no proper name at the outset, but the Hurrian qualification of a toponym: "the threshing-floor of the ruler". The original records, on which both stories are based, should of course go back to David's own days, but were not preserved.

[41] This spelling with the article occurs in II Sam. 24, 16 and is confirmed by the Septuagint transcription Ορνα, both in II Sam 24 (II Kings 24) and in I Chron. 21.

[42] E. LAROCHE, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 86. Cf. B. MAZAR, *'Arawnah*, in *EM* I, Jerusalem 1965, p. 552-553 (in Hebrew); C.H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Roma 1965, p. 354, No. 116. On the basis of the spelling *'rwnh*, instead, W. FEILER, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 222-225, proposes another Hurrian etymology, while H.B. ROSÉN, *Arawna — nom Hittite?*, in *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955), p. 318-320, relates the name to Hittite *arawanni-*. This word occurs also at Emar: M. YAMADA, *The Hittite Social Concept of 'Free' in the Light of the Emar Texts*, in *Altorientalische Forschungen* 22 (1995), p. 297-316 (see p. 308); J. IKEDA, *A New Contribution to Northwest Semitic Lexicography*, in *BiOr* 60 (2003), col. 263-279 (see col. 270). The former connection with the Indo-Aryan divine name Varuna, first proposed, as it seems, by M. GEMOLL, *Grundsteine zur Geschichte Israels*, Leipzig 1911, p. 345-346, does not take sufficiently into consideration either the Hebrew spelling without initial *w* or the historical context. It was nevertheless followed by E. BRÖGELMANN, *Arawna*, in *OLZ* 39 (1936), col. 727, and M.D. GOLDMAN, *Lexicographical Notes on Exegesis*, in *Australian Biblical Review* 1/3-4 (1951), p. 135-142.

[43] F. LANGLAMET, *Absalom et les concubines de son père. Recherches sur II Sam., XVI, 21-22*, in *RB* 84 (1977), p. 161-209. If Jerusalem was not conquered by David, but occupied by him with the assent of local authorities, as argued by Chr. SCHÄFER-LICHTENBERGER, *Stadt und Eidgenossenschaft im Alten Testament* (BZAW 156), Berlin 1983, p. 385-396, the former ruler (*ewri*) may have staid in the city, contrary to David who fled in front of Absalom's men.

The "Canaanisms" of the Jerusalem Amarna letters should not be attributed systematically to the dialect spoken in the city in the Late Bronze Age, since their scribe appears to have been of Syrian origin[44]. Even the usual linkage of the first person singular pronoun *a-nu-ki*, found in one of the letters[45], with Hebrew *'anōkī* cannot be accepted without qualification, since *'nky* occurs also in Śam'alian[46], an Early Aramaic dialect, and *'nwky* appears twice in a fragmentary law from Palmyra[47]. The presence of a Hurrian ruler and of a Syrian scribe in Jerusalem certainly implies settling of some exogenous families, but nothing indicates so far that the bulk of the Jerusalem population of some 1,000 individuals had changed ethnically or linguistically in the Late Bronze Age[48].

2. Iron Age

The Late Bronze Age terminates *ca.* 1130 B.C., at the end of the last phase of Egyptian domination in Canaan. In the late Ramesside period, however, Jerusalem is not mentioned in Egyptian sources[49] and only the Josh. 10, 1-15 narrative may refer to an event of the immediately following period of Iron Age IA (*ca.* 1130-1000 B.C.). The story records a war waged by Joshua against the league of five Amorite kings in the hill country under the leadership of the ruler of Jerusalem, called *'Adōnī-Ṣedeq*. The Mediaeval Masoretic vocalization of this name should probably be corrected into *'Adōnī- ṣaduq*[50], "My lord is righteous", as suggested by the parallel Amorite names *'Aḫī-ṣaduq*, *'Ilī-ṣaduq*, *'Ammī-ṣaduq(a)*, *Laḫiy-ṣaduq*[51]. The same element *ṣaduq* appears as the name of the priest Ṣadoq (*Ṣdwq*) at the time of David[52]. It is not a theophorous element[53], but

[44] W.L. MORAN, *art. cit.* (n. 36).

[45] *EA* 287, 66.69. Cf. W.L. MORAN, *op. cit.* (n. 11).

[46] *KAI* 215 = *TSSI* II, 14, 19.

[47] D.R. HILLERS - E. CUSSINI, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, Baltimore 1996, PAT 2767, lines 3 and 4.

[48] The rough estimate of 2,500 inhabitants proposed by J. WILKINSON, *Ancient Jerusalem. Its Water Supply and Population*, in *PEQ* 106 (1974), p. 33-51 (see p. 46), is too high. It is based on the available water supply and not on the built-up area.

[49] M. GÖRG, *Zu zwei angeblichen Belegen für Jerusalem*, in *BN* 85 (1996), p. 5-7.

[50] This name is attested also at Ugarit: *KTU* 4.129, 8.

[51] M. BIROT, in *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 99, 122; I.J. GELB, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 196. Such names occur also at Ugarit: F. GRÖNDAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 187.

[52] II Sam. 8, 17; 15, 24.25.27.29.35.36; 17, 15; 18, 19.22.27; 19, 12; 20, 25; etc.

[53] Contrary to the opinion of H.B. HUFFMON, *op. cit.* (n. 19), p. 93, 98-99, 257, followed by F. GRÖNDAHL, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 187. The writing with final *-a*, known with the

a stative adjective of the *qatul*-type[54], attested also in Amorite as a proper name *Ṣaduqum*[55], with mimation.

The Book of Judges preserves a conquest tradition of the military subjugation of Jerusalem by the tribe of Judah (Judg. 1, 8), but this is contradicted by another verse in the same chapter (1, 21) and by the narrative of II Sam. 5, 6-9, where Jerusalem is described as a Jebusite city until its capture by David around 970 B.C.[56] The ancient inhabitants of the city are called Jebusites in the Bible[57] and the Jebusites are included in the stereotyped list of the pre-Israelite populations of Palestine[58]. Judg. 19,10 and the Chronicler deduced from this appellation that Jebus was an ancient name of the city itself[59], but this deduction is not supported by any other source and the Jebusites are not recorded in any written document independent from the Bible. However, *Yabusi'um* is attested at Mari as an Amorite anthroponym[60]. One can assume therefore that *Yəbūsī* is the name of the Amorite clan or tribe that had settled in Jerusalem[61], just like *Yabasīy* is the name of a Ḫanaean clan mentioned in the Mari archives[62]. This tribal name does not derive from the root *ybš*, "to be dry", but from *būs*, "to trample upon", as indicated by Hebrew *Yəbūsī*, written with a *samek*.

No remains pointing at a distinct Jebusite material culture or witnessing the city's seizure by David were found in the excavations of the Ophel. The city was not destroyed and nothing suggests that its popula-

royal name Ammiṣaduqa, is an archaizing form, which preserves the *a*-ending of the predicative; cf. LIPIŃSKI, *Semitic*, § 32.4, 11.

[54] I.J. GELB, *La lingua degli Amoriti*, in *RANL*, 8th ser., 13 (1958), p. 143-164 (see p. 158, § 3.3.7.1.9). Instead, the *ṣaduq* of a Jerusalem Amarna letter (*EA* 287, 32) seems to be an imperative: *a-mur* LUGAL EN-*ia ṣa-du-uq a-na ia-a-ši*, "See, O king, my lord, be righteous towards me!".

[55] Th. BAUER, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, Leipzig 1926, p. 41.

[56] Higher dates, often proposed, are based on the assumption that the forty years of David's and Solomon's reigns are exact figures. This is certainly not correct.

[57] Josh. 15, 63; Judg. 1, 21; II Sam. 5, 6.8; I Chron. 11, 4.6 (cf. Zech. 9, 7).

[58] Gen. 10, 16; 15, 20; Ex. 3, 8.17; 13, 5; 23, 23; 33, 2; 34, 11; Deut. 7, 1; 20, 17; Josh. 3, 10; 9, 1; 11, 3; 12, 8; 24, 11; Judg. 3, 5; I Kings 9, 20; Ezra 9, 1; Neh. 9, 8; II Chron. 8, 7.

[59] I Chron. 11, 4-5.

[60] M. BIROT, in *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 214.

[61] The Jebusites can by no means be considered as Hurrians, as suggested by C.J. MULLO WEIR, *Nuzi*, in D. WINTON THOMAS (ed.), *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, Oxford 1967, p. 73-86 (see p. 82).

[62] J.-R. KUPPER, *Noms géographiques*, in *ARM* XVI/1, Paris 1979, p. 1-42 (see p. 37); I.J. GELB, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 102. The spelling LÚ *Ya$_8$-ba-si-i* occurs in H. LIMET, *Textes administratifs relatifs aux métaux* (ARM XXV), Paris 1986, No. 760, 6. There is also a geographic name *Ia-bu-šum*; cf. I.J. GELB, *op. cit.*, p. 600.



Fragment of a cultic stand from the Southeast Hill of Jerusalem, 10th century B.C. (Photo: Ilan Sztulman).

tion has changed drastically, although David's men[63] and the armed contingent of "Cherethites and Pelethites"[64] had to be located somewhere in the small city, which was enlarged only under Solomon's reign, later in the 10th century B.C. The phrase "Cherethites and Pelethites" would seem to refer to Cretans and Philistines[65], while David's men belonged to various tribal groups, including an Ammonite, a "Hittite", an Arab, a man from Ṣoba[66], very likely the Beqaʿ valley (Lebanon)[67], and a royal scribe who was probably Aramaean[68]. This diversity, as can be expected, did not leave any archaeological traces in Jerusalem, but it matches the general diversity of burial types in Iron Age Palestine[69]. Such a diversity reflects the presence of "different cultural groups"[70], but demographic considerations are usually hampered by the poor state of preservation of human skeletal remains.

There is little in the record, either literary or archaeological, to show that much progress in the field of urbanism was made during David's reign[71]. However, the stepped stone structure added to the Late Bronze II terraces, covering the slopes of the Ophel hill, and probably serving as a sort of huge supporting wall for a superstructure dates from the 10th century B.C.[72] and may correspond to David's "fortress of Zion", which is mentioned in II Sam. 5, 7 and I Chron. 11, 5. This structure prepared the great developments under Solomon, who expanded the city northwards, in the area of today's Ḥaram aš-Šarīf or Temple Mount.

63 II Sam. 23, 8-12.24-39; I Chron. 11, 10-14.26-47; 27, 2-15.

64 II Sam. 8, 18; 15, 18; 20, 7.23; I Kings 1, 38.44. They came from southern Philistia, as I Sam. 30, 14 seems to suggest.

65 J. Prignaud, *Caftorim et Kerétim*, in *RB* 71 (1964), p. 215-229; M. Delcor, *Les Kéréthim et les Crétois*, in *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978), p. 409-422. The name of the Pelethites seems to be a phonetic variant of "Philistines".

66 Ṣeleq the Ammonite: II Sam. 23, 37; I Chron. 11, 39. — Uriah the Hittite: II Sam. 11, 3-17; 23, 39; etc. — Obil the Ishmaelite, in charge of the camels: I Chron 27, 30. — Yigal, son of Nathan, from Ṣoba: II Sam 23, 36.

67 E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion* (OLA 100), Leuven 2000, p. 319-345.

68 Shay-Shi' the scribe: II Sam. 20, 25; I Kings 4, 3; I Chron. 18, 16; cf. *SAIO* II, p. 180-181.

69 E. Bloch-Smith, *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*, Sheffield 1992, p. 25-62; cf. her "Catalogue of Iron Age Burials", *ibid.*, p. 152-245.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

71 The modest archaeological data from the time of David are the result of the repeated utilization of the structures and they are consistent with the biblical accounts, which attribute major building operations only to Solomon. Cf. also N. Na'aman, *art. cit.* (n. 23).

72 M. Steiner, *art. cit.* (n. 23), in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990*, Jerusalem 1993, p. 585-588; Ead., *art. cit.* (n. 23), in *IEJ* 44 (1994), p. 18-20.

Nowadays, Ḥaram as-Šarif occupies a surface of about 480 by 300 metres, i.e. *ca.* 14 hectares, thus extending far beyond the dimensions given in the Mishna to the Temple Mount. The latter is described in *Middōt* II, 1 as a square of approximately 250 by 250 metres (500 by 500 cubits), i.e. about 6.26 hectares. If we take these measures as basis and add the Filling or Millo required to join the Ophel hill to the Temple Mount, the new Solomon's quarter with the Temple and palace precinct enlarged the superficies of the city up to *ca.* 13 hectares. This allows of an increase in urban population up to 2,600-3,250 inhabitants, if we keep using the demographic density coefficient of 200-250 persons per built-up hectare. However, the density was most likely lower in the relatively large space allotted to the Temple and the royal palace. A total population of about 2,500 inhabitants would thus correspond better to the expected situation in the new royal area. Even if Solomon's foreign wives of queenly status were fewer than seven hundred and the concubines fewer than three hundred, as stated emphatically in I Kings 11, 3, the cosmopolitan personnel of the royal palace and of the administration did certainly not leave much space for Israelites and Judaeans interested in settling near the centre of power.

The Deuteronomist, who *ca.* 550 B.C. wrote the history which reaches from Deut. 1 to II Kings 25[73], presents the building of the temple of Jerusalem as an enterprise achieved by Solomon with the help of Phoenician architects and craftsmen, who built it after a pattern then current in Syro-Phoenicia[74]. They participated in preparing the timber and the stones for the works at the temple (I Kings 5, 32) and also at the palace. In fact, the latter's hall was called "House of the Forest of Lebanon" (I Kings 7, 2), no doubt because of its rows of cedar pillars that had to be prepared and dressed by expert craftsmen. A craftsman in bronze is even mentioned by name in I Kings 7,13-14.

According to I Kings 6, 37-38, the building of the temple was completed in seven years, and the building of the palace was achieved in thirteen years (I Kings 7, 1). I Kings 9, 10 estimates the length of all these

73 M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, Königsberg 1943. Further studies distinguished a primary author, regarded as historian (DtrG), and one or more later redactors, interested in legal and ritual matters (DtrN). The dating of the core of the work to *ca.* 550 B.C. is generally maintained, for instance by J. Nentel, *Trägerschaft und Intentionen des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (BZAW 297), Berlin 2000, but later additions or re-workings can be dated as late as the end of the 5th century B.C. A good presentation of actual studies on the Deuteronomistic History can be found in T. Römer (ed.), *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History*, Leuven 2000.

74 A. Mazar, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 376-377.

works at twenty years. If Phoenician craftsmen were actively involved in both enterprises, they had to dwell in or around Jerusalem. Although they did not need to be numerous, some archaeological traces of their presence in the 10th century B.C. should be recovered. As for the total of 180,000 men from Israel employed as woodcutters, porters, and quarrymen (I Kings 5, 25-30), it is a symbolic number that says nothing about the real labour force. It can just indicate that no archival value should be attributed to I Kings 5, 27-30. Instead, Phoenician involvement at some point can hardly be doubted: the two bronze pillars of the temple (I Kings 7, 15) are most likely copies of the two pillars in the Melqart temple at Tyre[75] and the four rows of pillars in the "House of the Forest of Lebanon" are reminiscent of the 8th-century B.C. Phoenician temple at Citium on Cyprus, where there were four rows of pillars as well[76].

The historical value of the entire account is nevertheless shaken by internal contradictions. The most striking feature of the section reporting the alleged Solomon's partnership with Hiram of Tyre in the building enterprise is the mention of Sidonians and Byblians instead of the expected Tyrian craftsmen. The first sentence in question refers to the fetching of timber: "So now give the order that they may fell for me cedars from Lebanon, ... for you know that there is none among us skilled in tree-felling like the Sidonians" (I Kings 5, 20). The second sentence concerns preparation of building material: "and the Byblians carved ... and prepared the timber and the stones for the building of the House" (I Kings 5, 32). Hiram, king of Tyre, could not send Sidonians and Byblians to fell trees or prepare timber and stones to build a temple or a palace. This could be done only by an overlord. It appears therefore that the bulk of I Kings 5, 15-32 was elaborated by the Deuteronomist using an older text, which mentioned Sidonians and Byblians providing timber and participating by order of an overlord in the building of a temple or palace. The overlord in question could only be an Assyrian king, probably Tiglath-pileser III, since we know that Ahaz paid tribute to him, visited him in Damascus, and thereafter commissioned important works in the temple of Jerusalem (II Kings 16, 7-18). Considering that the building account of I Kings 6-7 rather suggests a re-decoration of the temple[77], it is quite possible that also these chapters are based in part on written information from Ahaz' time.

[75] Herodotus, *History* II, 44; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio evangelica* I, 10, 10-11.

[76] V. Karageorghis, *Kition*, London 1976, p. 118-119, Fig. 18.

[77] This was the interpretation of I Kings 6-7 advocated by K. Rupprecht, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem: Gründung Salomos oder jebusitisches Erbe?* (BZAW 144), Berlin 1977. However, the present writer believes that the works were commissioned by Ahaz, not by Solomon.

Additional striking features in I Kings 7, 13-47 are the craftsman Hiram, bearing the same name as Hiram, king of Tyre[78], and the phrase "for king Solomon", which reveals an overworking of the whole passage. The latter seems to have originally listed the bronze-work that "Hiram made for the House of Yahweh", not "for king Solomon in the House of Yahweh" (I Kings 7,40.45). The most prestigious artefact of the Tyrian craftsman was apparently the bronze "sea" (I Kings 7, 23-26), a kind of fountain comparable to the two large stone basins from Amathus in Cyprus[79]. Its "unveiling" is attributed in the source of II Kings 16, 17b to king Ahaz, who "made the Sea run down from upon the brazen oxen which were under it and overflowed the pavement of stone". The first part of the verse (17a) refers to the wheeled stands allegedly made by Hiram (I Kings 7, 27-39), but the text is corrupt, while the usual corrections probably distort the meaning of the passage. The latter seems to have recorded that "king Ahaz had made the frame-pieces and the stands being filed".

At any rate, we have to do in I Kings 7, 13-47 with an adaptation of an etiological story in order to boast the legendary magnificence of Solomon. Since no official annals existed at the time of Solomon[80], the Deuteronomist could find some information only in various stories and legends, possibly collected in the "Book of the Acts of Solomon" (I Kings 11, 41), or expand his description of the reign of Solomon by connecting it with events that have taken place in Jerusalem at a later period and were indicative of the city's splendour in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.[81]

The demographic situation of Jerusalem did not change significantly in the 9th century B.C., poorly represented in the excavations[82], except in the area immediately south of the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf. The breakdown of the

[78] The Chronicler, wanting to distinguish the two characters, changed his name into Huram-Abi (II Chron. 2, 12-13), a name not attested in anthroponymy.

[79] E. Lipiński, *Fertility Cult in Ancient Ugarit*, in A. Bonanno (ed.), *Archaeology and Fertility Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Amsterdam 1986, p. 207-216 (see p. 209-210 and 213-214, n. 15-25).

[80] E. Knauf, *King Solomon's Copper Supply*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *Phoenicia and the Bible* (Studia Phoenicia XI; OLA 44), Leuven 1991, p. 167-186 (see p. 173-174).

[81] A. Mazar, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 424.

[82] Y. Shiloh, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 27; E. Mazar - B. Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem* (Qedem 29), Jerusalem 1989, especially p. 58-60.

short-lived United Kingdom of David and Solomon, the Palestinian campaign of Shishak I[83], the protracted wars between Israel and Judah[84], and the probable dependence of Judah from Israel, culminating in Athaliah's seizure of power in Jerusalem[85], did certainly not favour the urbanistic development of the city. Besides, it appears from the events linked with Athaliah's overthrow that there was a clearly cut distinction in the 9th century B.C. between the population of the capital and the people of Judah. The account of the death of Athaliah and of the accession of Joash explicitly distinguishes "the people of the land", which is the name of the assembly of Judaean citizens[86], and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Following the enthronement of Joash, says the author, "all the people of the land rejoiced, and the city was quiet, and they killed Athaliah with the sword in the palace" (II Kings 11, 20).

Attention should be paid here to the burial chambers discovered in Siloam and on the eastern slopes of the Western Hill, near the southwest corner of the Temple Mount. The form of several of these tombs is foreign to Judah and was very likely inspired by Phoenician prototypes. These tombs express Phoenician influence in Jerusalem, perhaps due to the heterogeneous population of the city, and must date to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. As some of the Siloam tombs were not achieved, it was assumed that they have been commissioned by officials who had close ties with Phoenicia and whose influence came abruptly to an end, supposedly in the second half of the 9th century B.C.[87] However, they can also be related to the presence of Phoenician craftsmen in Jerusalem at the time of the works commissioned by Ahaz on the Temple Mount, as exposed above, while the works in the necropolis were interrupted by some event, for instance by Sennacherib's attack in 701 B.C.

The opposition between "the people of the land" and the inhabitants of the city, as mentioned above, should not be understood in the sense that Jerusalem and Judah were two comparable entities. According to an estimate based on a density coefficient of 250 inhabitants per built-up

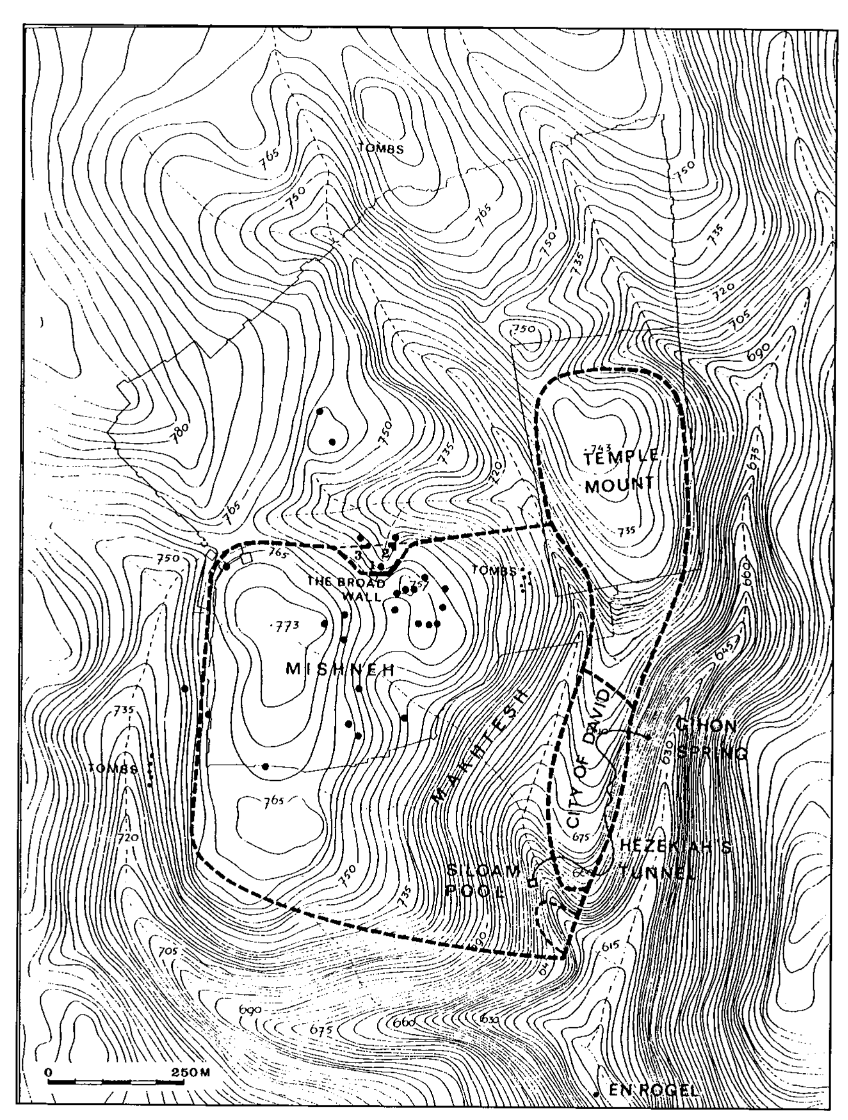
[83] Cf. K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*, 3rd ed., Warminster 1995, p. 293-302, 432-447, 575-576. The historical importance of this campaign is rightly stressed by I. Finkelstein, *The Campaign of Shoshenq I to Palestine. A Guide to the 10th century Polity*, in *ZDPV* 118 (2002), p. 109-135.

[84] I Kings 15, 16-22; II Chron.16, 1-6.

[85] II Kings 11; II Chron. 22, 9-23; 23.

[86] Cf. E. Lipiński, *Juda et "tout Israël": analogies et contrastes*, in E. Lipiński (ed.), *The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations* (OLA 19), Leuven 1985, p. 93-112, especially p. 104 and note 34 with literature on the subject.

[87] D. Ussishkin, *The Village of Silwan. The Necropolis from the Period of the Judean Kingdom*, Jerusalem 1993, in particular p. 331.



Jerusalem about 700 B.C.

hectare, the kingdom of Judah had a population of *ca.* 110,000, with a density of 22 per km^2 in the regions situated north of the Negev[88]. Even if we reduce this estimate to about 80,000 with a density of 16 per km^2, there is no common measure between these figures and the supposed 2,500 inhabitants of Jerusalem living in an area of about 13 hectares, inclusive the Temple and palace precinct.

Great changes took place during the late 8th and 7th centuries B.C., when the walled city of Jerusalem was considerably enlarged. A topographical reminder may be useful at this point. Thus, the eastern ridge of Solomonic Jerusalem, comprising the Temple Mount and the Ophel hill, was bordered on the west by a valley, later called Tyropoeon (al-Wad). The ridge to the west of this valley, known as the "Western Hill", comprises today's Jewish and Armenian quarters in the Old City, as well as "Mount Zion", outside the Ottoman city walls. This hill is bordered on the west and south by the Hinnom Valley (Wādī al-Rababah) and on the north by the so-called "Transversal Valley". Now, a segment of a 7 metres thick stone wall was discovered along this valley, witnessing the extension of the walled city to the Western Hill. This city wall, dated by the excavators to the late 8th century B.C., probably continued until just south of the present-day Jaffa Gate (Bāb al-Ḫalīl). From here its direction was most likely southward along the western crest of the hill, above the Hinnom Valley, until it swung to the east following the curve of the valley to join the southern corner of the Ophel hill, at the confluence of the Hinnom Valley, the Tyropoeon, and the Kidron Valley (Wādī al-Nar)[89]. The area encircled by this wall is about 50 or even 65 hectares. Houses seem to have spread over the entire Western Hill, as suggested by impressive amounts of broken pottery of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. found at several locations on the hill[90]. Besides, remains of constructions outside the city-wall, dating to the end of the 8th century, confirm the important growth of the city that may have counted at that time up to 15,000 inhabitants[91].

[88] M. BROSHI - I. FINKELSTEIN, *The Population of Palestine in Iron Age II,* in *BASOR* 287 (1992), p. 47-60 (see p. 54); M. BROSHI, *The Population of Iron Age Palestine,* in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Supplement*, Jerusalem 1993, p. 14-18 (see p. 15).

[89] H. GEVA, *The Western Boundary of Jerusalem at the End of the Monarchy,* in *IEJ* 29 (1979), p. 84-91; ID., *Excavations in the Citadel of Jerusalem, 1979-1980: Preliminary Report,* in *IEJ* 33 (1983), p. 55-71 (see p. 56-58); N. AVIGAD, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Nashville 1983, p. 31-60; Y. SHILOH, *art. cit.* (n. 9), p. 132-134; A. MAZAR, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 417-424; E. STERN (ed.), *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 705-706, 716.

[90] N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 35-36; A.D. TUSHINGHAM, *Excavations in Jerusalem, 1961-1967*, Toronto 1985, p. 1-24.

[91] The assumption that a middle size city of *ca.* 30 hectares already existed in the mid-



The 7-metres-wide city wall of Jerusalem looking northeast.
It was probably built by king Hezekiah towards the end of the 8th century B.C.
and is called "The Broad Wall" by archaeologists.

Large quantities of pottery found in two extramural caves on the eastern slope of the Southeast Hill, the City of David, and dated to the first half of the 7th century B.C.[92], as well as the relatively large number of Iron Age II sherds from the 8th-7th centuries B.C. encountered in the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-'Amūd) excavations[93], confirm the extensive occupation of the Jerusalem area at that time.

The same period is characterized by luxurious constructions, traces of which were uncovered in the excavations of the City of David, on the Southeast Hill. The Proto-Aeolic capital and the window balustrade reveal a Phoenician architectural style and ornamentation[94], which seem to imply the presence of skilful craftsmen in Jerusalem. The same kind of ornamentation and fine ashlar masonry are encountered in the palace erected in the early 7th century B.C. at Ramat Raḥel (Stratum VA)[95], about 4 km southwest of Jerusalem, where Hezekiah or Manasseh have built a "summer palace"[96]. Some of its architectural features, like elongated rooms, partitioned into short and longer areas[97], are reminiscent of Phoenician tradition, attested even in the colonies of the Western Mediterranean[98]. Ramat Raḥel is the best example of Phoenician workmanship and ornamentation discovered in a 7th-century B.C. site lying

8th century B.C. with a population estimated at 7,500 is not corroborated so far by concrete evidence. This opinion was expressed by M. BROSHI - I. FINKELSTEIN, *art. cit.* (n. 88), p. 51-52.

[92] I. ESHEL, *Two Pottery Groups from Kenyon's Excavations on the Eastern Slope of Ancient Jerusalem,* in *Excavations by K.M. Kenyon in Jerusalem, 1961-1967,* Vol. IV, Oxford 1995, p. 1-157. An earlier dating of both caves, respectively in the 9th century (Cave II) and in the 8th century (Cave I), was proposed by H.J. FRANKEN - M.L. STEINER, *Excavations in Jerusalem, 1961-1967,* Vol. II, Oxford 1990.

[93] H. GEVA - D. BAHAT, *Architectural and Chronological Aspects of the Ancient Damascus Gate Area,* in *IEJ* 48 (1998), p. 223-235 (see p. 223-225).

[94] Y. SHILOH, *The Proto-Aeolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry* (Qedem 11), Jerusalem 1979, p. 10-11, Pl. 15. The date of the capital should be lowered (see below, n. 95).

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 8-10 and 58, Pls. 11-14 and 29-30. The date should be lowered: R. REICH, *Palaces and Residences in the Iron Age*, in A. KEMPINSKI - R. REICH (eds.), *The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Period*, Jerusalem 1992, p. 202-222 (see p. 207-208, 211-213).

[96] For the 8th-7th centuries fashion of building a winter palace and a summer palace, see *KAI* 216 = *TSSI* II, 15, 17-20; Am. 3, 15; Jer. 36, 22. The lack of any tangible remains of Assyrian presence undermines the hypothesis of N. NA'AMAN, *An Assyrian Residence at Ramat Raḥel?*, in *Tel Aviv* 28 (2001), p. 260-280.

[97] R. REICH, *On the Assyrian Presence at Ramat Rahel*, in *Tel Aviv* 30 (2003), p. 124-129. Similar structures at Arslan Tash witness Phoenician influence as well, not Assyrian.

[98] For instance, the plan of the acropolis at Monte Sirai (Sardinia) with private dwellings on the western side of the settlement: A. PARROT - M.H. CHÉHAB - S. MOSCATI, *Les Phéniciens* (L'univers des formes), Paris 1975, p. 275, Fig. 346.



Proto-Ionic capital from Ramat Raḥel, 7th century B.C.
(Courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums).

outside the Phoenician coast[99]. One can suspect that comparable works were then executed in the temple of Jerusalem and that its description in I Kings 6-7 is inspired by its aspect in the 7th and early 6th century B.C.[100], not in Solomon's days.

The rapid and sudden expansion of Jerusalem in the 8th and 7th centuries cannot be explained by normal demographic or economic growth. It resulted most likely from the destruction of the northern Kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians and by the afflux of numerous refugees into independent Judah and its capital. A second wave of refugees was composed of Judaeans flying from their villages and towns when Sennacherib invaded the Kingdom of Judah in 701 B.C.[101] This unusual influx of people native from Israel and Judah radically changed the composition of Jerusalem's population.

[99] E. STERN, *The Phoenician Architectural Elements in Palestine during the Late Iron Age and the Persian Periods*, in A. KEMPINSKI - R. REICH (eds.), *The Architecture of Ancient Israel from the Prehistoric to the Persian Period*, Jerusalem 1992, p. 302-309; ID., *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* II. *The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Periods: 732-332 BCE*, New York 2001, p. 167-168.

[100] One can agree that the basic text of I Kings 6-8 was written between 597 and 587 B.C., not the final text, as suggested apparently by R. TOMES, *"Our Holy and Beautiful House": When and Why was I Kings 6-8 Written,* in *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 70 (1996), p. 33-50. The description of the temple in I Kings 5-8 is attributed to the Deuteronomist himself by J. VAN SETERS, *Solomon's Temple: Fact and Ideology in Biblical and Near Eastern Historiography,* in *CBQ* 59 (1997), p. 45-57.

[101] M. BROSHI, *The Expansion of Jerusalem in the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh,* in *IEJ* 24 (1974), p. 21-26 (see p. 23-26).

To understand the significance of this change one should remember that the distinction between Israel and Judah was by far older than the political schism which marked the end of David's and Solomon's United Kingdom shortly after Solomon's death, probably in 931/0 B.C.[102] The so-called Song of Deborah in Judg. 5, composed towards the end of the second millennium B.C., shows that, at that time, Judah was neither a part of Israel nor a tribal entity in close contact with the peoples of central and northern Canaan. The events, which led to David's accession to the throne of Judah and of Israel, the Israelite revolts against him, and Solomon's political and administrative measures show that Judah and Israel were two separate geopolitical entities even during the reign of those two kings. The historical background and evolution of these two nations was, in fact, quite different. Judah, which seems to have become a tribal entity only in David's times, originally stemmed from a few Rubenite and Simeonite clans and, above all, from some Kenizzite, Kenite, and Ephrataean tribes living in and around "the land full of ravines", *'ereṣ yəhūdā*, which gave its name to the tribe of Judah, when the latter came into existence as such and was given an eponym, who was subsequently integrated in the pan-Israelite framework of the patriarchal traditions.

If we accept the definition of a nation as a community bound together by common traditions, customs, civilization, idiom, and a determined geopolitical situation, it is clear that, in spite of the numerous religious and socio-cultural aspects they had in common, Israel and Judah were, from a historical point of view, two separate nations. In fact, besides the clear geographical boundary which existed between them, there were differences even in the traditions: those related to Abraham and Isaac, for instance, were typical of the Palestinian south, while those concerning Jacob-Israel were peculiar to the tribes of central Canaan. Likewise, the institution of a hereditary monarchy always met with a strong opposition in the traditionalist circles of Israel, whereas the people of Judah was devoted to the dynasty of David, the founder of Judah as a political entity. Furthermore, the Hebrew language spoken in Judah differed from the one spoken in Israel. And lastly, Judah's isolation can be seen also in its material culture, whose regional features gain in being studied from the viewpoint of rather radical differences between Judah and Israel.

[102] This date corresponds to Rehoboam's 5th year, probably 926/5 B.C. by reference to Shishak I's campaign in Palestine.

These differences show that the merger of populations native from Israel and Judah in the frame of the single city of Jerusalem and its suburbs had to lead to the formation of a new social contexture. Conservative and traditional forces seem to have finished by gaining the upper hand in this society living in a mountainous area, situated somewhat off the main international thoroughfare along the coastal plain. Josiah's reform[103], following the collapse of Assyria, corresponded undoubtedly to a trend towards isolationism, favoured by the geopolitical situation of Jerusalem and by a religious fervour, possibly inherited from the Israelite refugees, bearers of northern Elijah's and Elisha's prophetic traditions. The nostalgia for ancient days, that characterizes the Book of Deuteronomy, already prepares the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. was followed by the destruction of the city, ordered by the Babylonian commander Nabū-zēra-iddina: "He burned the Temple of Yahweh, and the royal palace, and all the houses of Jerusalem. Every notable's house he burned with fire,... and broke down the walls of Jerusalem all round,... and deported the people who were left in the city" (II Kings 25, 9-11). The disruption of life in Jerusalem was such that Gedaliah, the appointed governor, had to place his seat of government in Miṣpah, probably Tell an-Naṣbeh, 13 km north of Jerusalem. The complete destruction of the city is corroborated by archaeological findings[104], while the burning of the temple had a particular significance and religious implications[105].

[103] II Kings 23. See E. REUTER, *Kultzentralisation. Entstehung und Theologie von Dtn 12* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 87), Frankfurt 1993, p. 231-258; H. NIEHR, *Die Reform des Joschija. Methodische, historische und religionsgeschichtliche Aspekte*, in W. GROSS (ed.), *Jeremia und die Deuteronomistische Bewegung* (Bonner Biblische Beiträge 98), Weinheim 1995, p. 33-56; I.K. HANDY, *Historical Probability and the Narrative of the Josiah's Reform in 2 Kings*, in W. HOLLOWAY - I.K. HANDY (eds.), *The Pitcher is Broken. Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Åhlström*, Sheffield 1995, p. 252-275, where earlier literature can be found. One could also mention the reprint of E. WÜRTHWEIN, *Studien zum Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (BZAW 227), Berlin 1994, p. 188-216. For the account of the reform in II Chron. 34, see D.A. GLATT-GILAD, *The Role of Huldah's Prophecy in the Chronicler's Portrayal of Josiah's Reform*, in *Biblica* 77 (1996), p. 16-31.

[104] Y. SHILOH, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 29.

[105] W. MAYER, *Die Zerstörung des Jerusalemer Tempels 587 v. Chr. im Kontext der Praxis von Heiligtumszerstörung des Vorderen Orient*, in J. HAHN (ed.), *Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 147), Tübingen 2002, p. 1-22; R. ALBERTZ, *Die Zerstörung des Jerusalemer Tempels 587 v. Chr. Historische Einordnung und religionspolitische Bedeutung, ibid.*, p. 23-39; K.-F. POHLMANN, *Religion in der Krise — Krise einer Religion. Die Zerstörung des Jerusalemer Tempels 587 v. Chr., ibid.*, p. 40-60.

The low ebb of civilization in Judah, which lasts for the next three centuries or so, makes it difficult for archaeology to recover any evidence. In particular, we know virtually nothing of what happened in Jerusalem during the sixty or seventy years that followed the sack of the city. One reason, no doubt, is that it was mainly the backward peasantry that escaped deportation, and the impulse to restore Jerusalem, when it came, did not come from these survivors. The resettlement of the city and the rebuilding of the temple was initiated in the Achaemenian period by the descendants of Jerusalem's and Judah's upper classes deported to Babylonia in 597 and in 587 B.C.

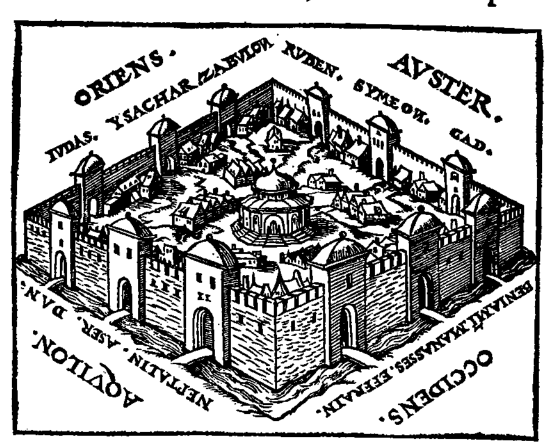
The Babylonians did not introduce a new population into the region, but the figure of nearly 50,000 Jewish resettlers given in the Bible[106] is nevertheless very high indeed. This figure must either include all the successive groups of returned exiles and their descendants, or more likely represent a census of the mid-5th century, which gives the total population of the Persian province of Judah in Nehemiah's day. This figure would amount to the half of the population of the Kingdom of Judah in Iron Age II[107], which is a fairly good estimate in the circumstances. However, a much lower figure was recently proposed for Judah in the later part of the Persian period. It was estimated at only 20,650 inhabitants[108].

3. Persian Period

Archaeological excavations supplied unequivocal evidence that the Western Hill of Jerusalem was entirely unoccupied during the Persian period[109] and that Nehemiah's wall was built on the eastern crest of the Ophel hill[110], thus backwards in respect to the older city wall. The similarity of the stone masonry at the southeast base of the wall of the Temple Mount with the Phoenician podium buildings at Byblos and Sidon led M. Dunand to identify this wall with Zerubbabel's wall from the end of the 6th century B.C. (Ezra 3, 8-10)[111]. In fact, the style of the stone

[106] Ezra 2; Neh. 7, 6-72; III Ezra 5, 4-45, with some variants in names and figures.
[107] See here above, note 88.
[108] C.E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period*, Sheffield 1999, p. 172-213.
[109] N. Avigad, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 62; E. Stern (ed.), *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 709, 720.
[110] K.M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jerusalem*, London 1974, p. 182-185; Ead., *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, 4th ed., London 1979, p. 306-308.
[111] M. Dunand, *Byblos, Sidon, Jérusalem. Monuments apparentés des temps achéménides*, in *Congress Volume. Rome 1968* (VTS 17), Leiden 1969, p. 64-70.

Totius terræ ſanctæ
VRBIVMQVE ET QVICQVID IN EIS
memoria dignum Actum geſtumue fuit: Secundum
Bibliacos libros ac diuum Hyeronimum, authore
Martino Brionæo Pariſienſi, elaborata Deſcriptio



PARISIIS PER GVLLIELMVM
de Boſſozel.

Cum priuilegio
REGALI AD DECENNIVM
1540

Symbolic woodcut of Jerusalem, inspired by Ez. 48, 30-35, on the title page of Martin Brionaeus' toponymical dictionary of the Bible, dedicated to King Francis I.

work at that corner of the Temple Mount suggests comparisons with structures of the Persian period in Phoenicia, especially in the temple of Eshmun at Bostān aš-Šayḫ, near Sidon, and at Byblos[112]. However, historical and archaeological reasoning does not favour this hypothesis and rather suggests the Hellenistic period[113]. At any rate, post-exilic Jerusalem had shrunk back to the summit of the eastern ridge and to the Temple Mount: it was even somewhat smaller than Solomon's city, with an area of about 12 hectares[114]. This situation did not change during the Early Hellenistic period, i.e. in the late 4th and in the 3rd centuries B.C. The demographic conclusion is that the population of Jerusalem could hardly exceed 2,500 persons in the 5th-3rd centuries, and even in the first half of the 2nd century B.C., at least up to the outbreak of the Hasmonaean revolt.

According to Ezra 2, 70 and Neh. 7, 72, the priests, the Levites, and some of the people had settled in Jerusalem. Now, the figures provided by the list give a total of 4,363 persons for the priestly and Levitic families alone[115]. If this is correct, it seems that the shrinking of Jerusalem cannot readily be explained by the sole fact that these relatively few exiles were not capable of repopulating a larger city. For some reason, the majority of those people had to live outside the city proper. A further question is raised by a sentence in Neh. 7, 4, which is referring in the present context to the condition of the city after Nehemiah's wall had been rebuilt: "The city was large and spacious, but there were few people in it and no houses had yet been rebuilt". This hardly seems appropriate in describing the 12 hectares city, and Nehemiah must have been alluding to the earlier town which had occupied the Western Hill as well. Different redaction layers should therefore be distinguished in this passage and verse 4 would thus refer originally to the situation at the time when Nehemiah was appointed governor of Judah and had arrived in Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes I, i.e. in 445 B.C.[116] From

[112] This opinion was expressed also by K.M. Kenyon, *Archaeology in the Holy Land*, *op. cit.* (n. 110), p. 240 and 306-308 (see also Pl. 77), who added however that "this corner must ... be at least as early as the pre-Herodian Maccabean period" (p. 306, 308).

[113] Y. Tsafrir, *The Location of the Seleucid Akra in Jerusalem,* in *RB* 82 (1975), p. 501-521 and Pls. XXXIII-XXXVII (see p. 515-521).

[114] M. Broshi, *La population de l'ancienne Jérusalem*, in *RB* 82 (1975), p. 5-14 (see p. 9-10). One can hardly see which are the archaeological foundations of a hypothetical "great Jerusalem" in the Persian period, advocated by E.M. Laperrousaz, *L'étendue de Jérusalem à l'époque perse,* in *La Palestine à l'époque perse*, Paris 1994, p. 123-156, with former literature by the same author.

[115] Ezra 2, 36-40; Neh.7, 39-43.

[116] Neh. 2, 1; 5, 14.

Nehemiah's statement in verse 4 we can then conclude that there were almost no settled inhabitants in Jerusalem up to his days. This does not prove, however, that Xerxes I (485-465 B.C.) had destroyed Jerusalem again after a revolt to which the letter quoted in Ezra 4, 8-23 would refer[117].

A significative reference to "Tyrians living in Jerusalem" occurs in Neh. 13, 16. Ancient critics have suggested to suppress their mention, but their commercial activity, especially their selling of fish and fish products, confirms the authenticity of the notice, since fish preparations were a Phoenician speciality. The presence of these traders in Jerusalem implies close relationship with Phoenician centres along the Mediterranean and may indicate that they were agents of great Phoenician enterprises[118]. Their activity seems to have been quite important, since a city gate of Jerusalem was then called Fish Gate[119]. Its exact location is uncertain. There is no proof, instead, that Sidonians and Tyrians have participated in the rebuilding of the temple, as stated in Ezra 3, 7. They are said to have fetched cedar-wood from the Lebanon to the roadstead of Jaffa, exactly as it was done when the first temple was built (II Chron. 2, 16). This undoubtedly indicates that Ezra 3, 7 was written by the Chronicler in order to show that the building of the second temple proceeded like the one of the temple of Solomon[120]. No historical conclusion can thus be drawn from this information.

4. Graeco-Roman Period

In the history of Jerusalem from the end of the Persian period and the death of Alexander the Great up to the rule of the Hasmonaeans, some demographic facts have to be referred to. Josephus Flavius mentions the Ptolemaic garrison in the citadel of Jerusalem[121], which, in all probabil-

[117] This hypothesis, first proposed by J. Morgenstern, *The Date of Ezra and Nehemiah,* in *JSS* 7 (1962), p. 1-11, has again been advocated by S.G. Sowers, *Did Xerxes Wage War on Jerusalem?,* in *HUCA* 67 (1996), p. 43-53. Instead, Morgenstern's hypothesis is not even discussed by L. Dequeker, *Darius the Persian and the Reconstruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 4, 24)*, in J. Quaebebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East* (OLA 55), Leuven 1993, p. 67-92.

[118] A. van Selms, *Ezra en Nehemia*, Groningen 1935, *ad loc.*, followed by W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia* (Handbuch zum Alten Testament I/20), Tübingen 1949, p. 207.

[119] Neh. 3, 3; 12, 39; II Chron. 33, 14; Zeph. 1, 10; Jer. 39, 3.

[120] A.H.J. Gunneweg, *Esra* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament XIX/1), Gütersloh 1985, p. 75.

[121] Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* XII, 3, 3, § 133 and § 138.

ity, was located north of the temple. After the Seleucid conquest of the town, Antiochus IV Epiphanes built a new fortress in the Lower City, where a Macedonian garrison was stationed[122]. The exact location of the Seleucid Acra or fortress is a controversial question in the topography of Jerusalem[123]. There is no direct archaeological evidence so far, except perhaps the hundreds of handles of Hellenistic wine amphorae, bearing Rhodian seal impressions, which were found in the excavations of the Ophel hill[124]. This was the core of the city in the early Hellenistic period and in the time of the Seleucid rule, thus also the centre of the Hellenization of Jerusalem described in I Macc. 1, 1-16, guaranteed by the presence of the Macedonian garrison, and culminating in the erection of a gymnasium.

Significative is the Greek interpretation of the name of Jerusalem that became Ἱεροσόλυμα with the first element ἱερο- suggesting the sacred character of the city, like Hiera- or Hieropolis[125]. This Jewish-Hellenistic pronunciation of the toponym must go back to the end of the 4th century B.C., since it appears already in the work of Hecataeus of Abdera, quoted by Diodorus of Sicily[126]. Its ancient and widespread use is confirmed by the Zeno papyri, which in 259 B.C. mention a halt ἐν Ἱεροσολύ[μοι]ς[127].

With the advent of Hasmonaean rule in the mid-2nd century B.C. the urban centre shifted again to the Western Hill and a new wall, called "first wall" by Josephus Flavius[128], enclosed the two ridges. Several

[122] *Ibid.*, XII, 5, 4, § 252.

[123] The question is discussed by L. DEQUEKER, *The City of David and the Seleucid Acra in Jerusalem*, in E. LIPIŃSKI (ed.), *The Land of Israel: Cross-Roads of Civilizations* (OLA 19), Leuven 1985, p. 193-210.

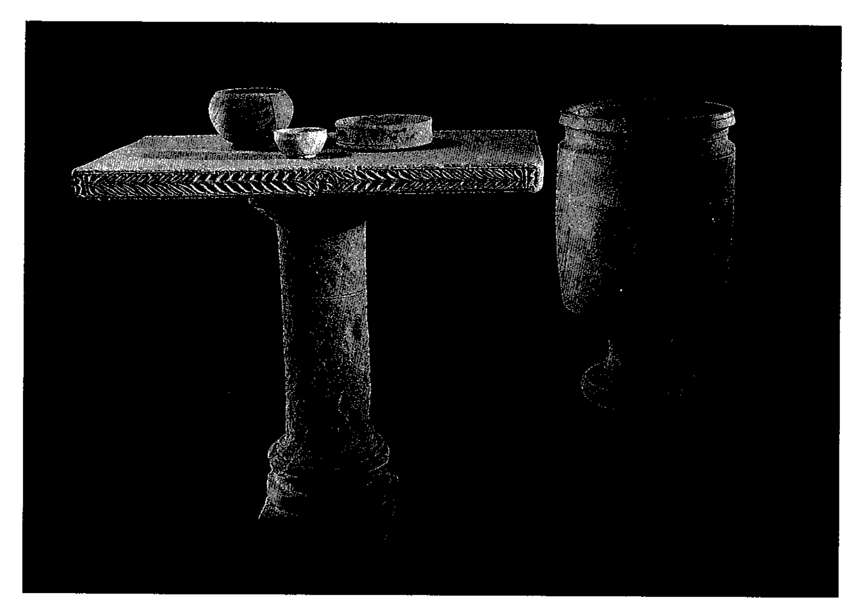
[124] R.A.S. MACALISTER - J.G. DUNCAN, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem* (Palestine Exploration Fund Annual 4), London 1926, p. 203-212; J.W. CROWFOOT - G.M. FITZGERALD, *Excavations in the Tyropeon Valley, Jerusalem 1927*, Jerusalem 1929, p. 86-89; A.D. TUSHINGHAM, *op. cit.* (n. 90), p. 60-61; D.T. ARIEL, *Excavations at the City of David 1978-1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh II. Imported Stamped Amphora Handles, Coins, Worked Bone and Ivory, and Glass* (Qedem 30), Jerusalem 1990, p. 13-98.

[125] B.Z. WACHOLDER, *Eupolemus. A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*, Cincinnati 1974, p. 203-213; M. HENGEL, *Jerusalem als jüdische **und** hellenistische Stadt*, in B. FUNCK (ed.), *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in der Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Tübingen 1996, p. 269-306 (see p. 271-274).

[126] DIODORUS OF SICILY, *Bibliotheca Historica* XL, 3; cf. M. STERN, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* I, Jerusalem 1974, p. 26, §11.

[127] V. TCHERIKOVER, *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum* I, Cambridge, Mass., 1957, p. 121-122, No. 2a, col. I, 3; cf. No. 2b, 2, 7. See the related comments by M. HENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 125), p. 281-282.

[128] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* V, 4, 2, § 142-145.



Stone table and vessels from the Upper City of Jerusalem,
1st century B.C.-1st century A.D.
(Courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums).

segments of this city wall have been discovered, including its northern line with a Hasmonaean tower[129], and the emerged picture makes it quite clear that the area of the walled city can be estimated at 65 hectares with a population of about 15,000 persons, like in the 8th-7th centuries B.C. The bulk of the inhabitants was obviously Jewish at the time, notwithstanding the Hellenization of the upper classes of the society[130]. However, it is remarkable that relatively few Rhodian stamped jar handles have been found on the Western Hill[131], included in the city after 150 B.C., while many hundreds of such handles have come to light on the Ophel hill[132]. This change obviously reflects the decline of

[129] N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 65-75.

[130] M. HENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 125), p. 282-292. This is forcefully expressed in II Macc. 4, 9-12, a passage which was recently compared with a new inscription quoting three letters by Eumenes II, king of Pergamon (197-159 B.C.): W. AMELING, *Jerusalem als hellenistische Polis: 2 Makk. 4, 9-12 und eine neue Inschrift*, in *Biblische Zeitschrift* 47 (2003), p. 105-111. The inscription was published by L. JONNES - M. RICL, *A New Royal Inscription from Phrygia Paroreios: Eumenes II grants Tyriaion the Status of a Polis*, in *Epigraphica Anatolica* 29 (1997), p. 1-30.

[131] N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 77-78.

[132] See here above, p. 520, note 124.

the ties between Judaea and Rhodes in the aftermath of the Hasmonaean revolt.

King Herod, who reigned over Judaea for thirty-three years (37-4 B.C.), completely transformed the external aspect of Jerusalem[133]. From the demographic point of view, the extension of the Herodian city is of paramount importance, but the population estimates must here take various factors into account, like the size of the temple esplanade (*ca.* 14 ha), which was not inhabited, the presence of gardens and of large mansions within the city walls, but also of at least two-story buildings. The size of the city depends from the course of the "second wall", referred to by Josephus Flavius[134], who mentions it as being traced from the Garden or Gennath Gate, at the point of juncture of the first and second walls, to the Antonia fortress. Its course most likely followed the shortest line from the Antonia fortress to Damascus street (Ṭāriq Khan az-Zayt), then turned to the south in the direction of David street[135], passing through the site of the Lutheran Church, where possible remains of the second wall have been uncovered[136]. In such a way the wall was enclosing the new quarter which had developed between the present-day Ḥaram aš-Šarīf and Damascus street (Ṭāriq Khan az-Zayt), bringing the total superficies of the walled city to about 75 hectares[137]. Considering the uninhabited space of the temple platform, it is doubtful whether the Herodian city would have had more inhabitants than the Hasmonaean one, i.e. about 15,000. A correct appreciation of this figure must reckon with life expectancy and child mortality. For the middle and upper classes of the Hellenistic and Herodian periods in Jerusalem, one can estimate the normal life expectancy at 30-50 years and the child mortality at 30%. The life expectancy was thus superior to both that of villages

[133] M. HENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 125), p. 292-297.

[134] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* V, 4, 2, § 146.

[135] Comp. Z.U. MA'OZ, *On the Hasmonaean and Herodian Town-Plan of Jerusalem*, in *Nahman Avigad Volume* (ErIs 18), Jerusalem 1985, p. 46-57 (in Hebrew, with an English summary on p. 66*-67*), especially p. 51-53 with a city map on p. 49. See also H.-P. KUHNEN, *Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, München 1990, p. 138.

[136] Despite the conclusions of U. LUX, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabung unter der Erlöserkirche im Muristan in der Altstadt von Jerusalem in den Jahren 1970 und 1971*, in *ZDPV* 94 (1972), p. 185-201; see also H.-P. KUHNEN, *op. cit.* (n. 135), p. 216; K.J.H. VRIEZEN, *Die Ausgrabungen unter der Erlöserkirche im Muristan, Jerusalem (1970-1974)*, Wiesbaden 1994.

[137] The larger superficies proposed by M. BROSHI, *art. cit.* (n. 114), p. 10, is based on the assumption that the Damascus Gate corresponds to a gate of the "Second Wall", as proposed by M. AVI-YONAH, *The Third and Second Walls*, in *IEJ* 18 (1968), p. 98-125. For this gate, see now G.J. WIGHTMAN, *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem*, Oxford 1989.

and of other Mediterranean populations in Roman times, and the rate of infant mortality was lower[138].

Although Herod the Great was Idumaean, he sought to win over the hearts of the Jewish population by rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem in a magnificent way. Josephus emphasizes Herod's financial contribution[139], but he also refers to the collective effort[140] and mentions the substantial gift of Alexander, the alabarch of Alexandria, Philo's brother[141]. Besides, a fragmentary Greek inscription, found south of the Temple Mount, records the donation made by a certain Paris, son of Akeson, from Rhodes[142]. His typically Rhodian patronymic 'Ακέσων[143] suggests that he himself or his family were recently converted to Judaism.

The richly ornamented houses excavated in Jerusalem, on the Western Hill, reflect the dominant Hellenistic fashion of the time, but the finds indicate that the Jewish laws of ritual purity and the prohibition of graven images were observed[144]. There is little doubt therefore that also the population of this rich city quarter was Jewish. The lower classes, influenced by the Pharisee faction, were instead opposing foreign influences and strictly followed ritual rules. It has recently been suggested that two of the thirty-seven subterranean cavities of the Temple Mount, examined in the 19th century, were ritual baths (*miqwā'ōt*) intended to be used by pious worshippers before they entered the hallowed area of the temple[145].

Some epitaphs from the Haceldama cemetery[146], situated just south of the confluence of the Kidron and Hinnom Valleys, bear names of Jews or proselytes native from Seleucia, Beirut, Apamea on the Orontes[147].

[138] P. SMITH - J. ZIAS, *Skeletal Remains from the Late Hellenistic French Hill Tomb*, in *IEJ* 30 (1980), p. 109-115.

[139] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* XV, 11, 3, §396; *The Jewish War* I, 21, 1, §401.

[140] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* V, 5, 1, §189.

[141] *Ibid.*, V, 5, 3, §205.

[142] B. ISAAC, *A Donation for Herod's Temple in Jerusalem*, in *IEJ* 33 (1983), p. 86-92, Pl. 9B.

[143] P.M. FRASER - E. MATTHEWS, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, London 1987, p. 23c.

[144] N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 81-204; E. STERN (ed.), *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 729-736.

[145] R. REICH, *Two Possible* miqwā'ōt *on the Temple Mount*, in *IEJ* 39 (1989), p. 63-65. A concise overview of more recent archaeological excavations and surveys on the Temple Mount is provided by G. AVNI - J. SELIGMAN, *The Temple Mount 1917-2001*, Jerusalem 2001.

[146] The cemetery is known also from Matth. 27, 7-9 and Acts 1, 18-19.

[147] T. ILAN, *The Ossuary and Sarcophagus Inscriptions*, in G. AVNI - Z. GREENHUT (eds.), *The Akeldama Tombs. The Burial Caves in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1996, p. 57-72. Cf. M. HENGEL, *art. cit.* (n. 125), p. 297-300.

Since they date from the 1st century B.C. or the 1st century A.D., down to year 70, they apparently name people who came from the Diaspora in Herodian times and settled in the Holy City. Similar cases occur in other cemeteries of Jerusalem. This is shown, for instance, by the bilingual epitaphs on the ossuaries of "Alexander, the Cyrenian", from the *Dominus Flevit* necropolis on the Mount of Olives[148], and of "Nicanor, the Alexandrian", also from a tomb on the Mount of Olives[149]. Greek inscriptions on ossuaries mention "Youdan, proselyte from Tyre", found in the same *Dominus Flevit* necropolis[150], or "Julia, Asian, Jewess", 'Ιουλία 'Ασιανή 'Ιουδί[151], certainly native from Anatolia, where important Jewish communities are attested in Roman times[152]. There are also inscriptions recording the transfer of the bones of the deceased to Jerusalem in order to inter them in the Holy City[153]. This is the case of the Aramaic inscription written in palaeo-Hebrew characters, found in 1971 in a burial chamber at Giv'at ha-Mivṭar, in Jerusalem. It reports that a certain Abba, born in Jerusalem and of priestly origin, was exiled to Babylonia and now returned to Jerusalem in order to inter the bones of a certain Mattathia in a sepulchre "acquired by a writ"[154]:

> "[1]I, Abba, son of the priest E[2]li'az[155], son of Aaron, the high (priest), I [3]Abba, the oppressed and the perse[4]cuted, who was born in Jerusalem, [5]and went into exile to Babylon, and brought up (to Jerusalem) Mattath[6]ia, son of Juda, I buried him in the [7]cave, which I acquired by the writ".

Another Aramaic inscription, engraved on an ossuary found in the cemetery on the Mount of Olives, records the transfer of the bones of a

[148] J.T. MILIK, in P.B. BAGATTI - J.T. MILIK, *Gli scavi del "Dominus flevit"* I, Jerusalem 1958, p. 70-109 (see p. 81); N. AVIGAD, *A Depository of Inscribed Ossuaries in the Kidron Valley*, in *IEJ* 12 (1962), p. 1-12 (see p. 9-11). See also K. BEYER, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Göttingen 1984, p. 344, with further literature.

[149] J.A. FITZMYER - D.J. HARRINGTON, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts* (Biblica et Orientalia 34), Rome 1978, p. 176-177 and 234-235, No. 108, with former literature.

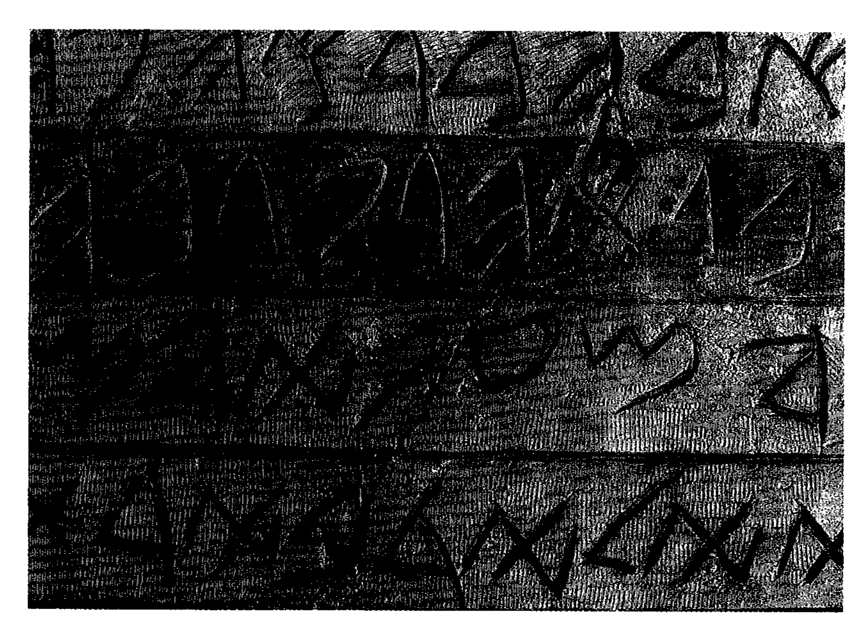
[150] É. PUECH, *Inscriptions funéraires palestiniennes: tombeau de Jason et ossuaires*, in *RB* 90 (1983), p. 481-533 and Pls. V-VII (see p. 519, No. 27).

[151] *Ibid.*, p. 522-523 and Pl. VI, 1-2, No. 32.

[152] E.S. GRUEN, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans*, Cambridge, Mass., 2002, p. 84-104 and 292-299, with former literature.

[153] Cf. I. GAFNI, *Reinterment in the Land of Israel: Notes on the Origin and Development of the Custom*, in L. LEVINE (ed.), *The Jerusalem Cathedra* I, Detroit 1981, p. 96-104.

[154] The inscription (IDAM, No. 71.330) was first published by E.S. ROSENTHAL, *The Giv'at ha-Mivtar Inscription*, in *IEJ* 23 (1973), p. 72-81, Pl. 19, and J. NAVEH, *An Aramaic Tomb Inscription Written in Paleo-Hebrew Script*, in *IEJ* 23 (1973), p. 82-91, Pl. 19. Further bibliography can be found in K. BEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 148), p. 346-347.



Section of the Aramaic inscription of Abba, found in a burial chamber at Giv'at ha-Mivṭar, in 1971.

women to the Holy City. The deceased was living somewhere in northern Mesopotamia. The inscription reads: "Joseph, son of Elasa Artiqa, brought the bones of Immakah, his mother, to Jerusalem"[156]. A similar situation may be alluded to in the Aramaic inscription of the tomb of Jason, son of Phinehas, if we follow, at least in part, É. Puech's reading and interpretation[157]: ... *šlm dy byt lk qbwr sb' hwh šlm byr*[*w*]*š*[*ly*]*m*, "Peace! For there is a house for you, an elder's tomb: Be at peace in Jerusalem!"

These examples show that Jerusalem served as a magnet. Some Jews of the Diaspora, also recent converts to Judaism and proselytes, felt a strong desire to be buried in Jerusalem. Most famous are the tombs of Helene of Adiabene and her family[158], but many inscriptions on ossuar-

[155] The editors correct this name into "Eleaz(ar)", although *'l'z* appears on several Hebrew bullae: N. AVIGAD, *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah. Remnants of a Burnt Archive*, Jerusalem 1986, p. 35-36, 42, 61-62, 70, Nos. 17-18, 28, 71-73, 90.

[156] É. PUECH, *art. cit.* (n. 150), p. 517-519, No. 26.

[157] *Ibid.*, p. 481-494. Architectural fragments from the tomb suggest dating it to the first half of the 2nd century B.C.: G. FOERSTER, *Architectural Fragments from 'Jason's Tomb' Reconsidered*, in *IEJ* 23 (1978), p. 152-156.

[158] The story of the royal house of Adiabene and its conversion to Judaism is told by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* XX, 2, 1-4, 3, §17-96; cf. *The Jewish War* V, 2, 2, §55; 3, 3, §119; 4, 2, §147.

ies and in burial places witness this desire: "Certainly a combination of factors are at work in such burials, including the wealth of the individuals, depth of commitment and opportunity"[159]. But Jerusalem was a powerful attraction pole also during the lifetime of many people[160]. As Philo of Alexandria observes in the early part of the 1st century A.D., Jerusalem was

> "the mother city not of one country Judaea, but of most of the others in virtue of the colonies sent out at diverse times to the neighbouring lands: Egypt, Phoenicia, the part of Syria called the Hollow and the rest as well, and the lands lying far apart, Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia up to Bithynia and the corners of Pontus, similarly also Europe, Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and most of the best parts of Peloponnesus"[161].

This list is reminiscent of the one in Acts 2, 9-11, which depicts Jews from across the Roman empire gathering in Jerusalem on Pentecost: "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabitants of Mesopotamia, of Judaea and Cappadocia, of Pontus and Asia, of Phrygia and Pamphylia, of Egypt and districts of Libya around Cyrene, visitors from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabs".

The large amount of Tyrian silver tetradrachms and didrachms from the 1st century B.C. found at Qumrān led to the hypothesis that later silver coins of Tyre were minted in Jerusalem[162]. In the 1955 excavations a hoard was found with 561 silver coins, 509 of which were Tyrian[163]. Besides, one Tyrian tetradrachm and three didrachms were brought to

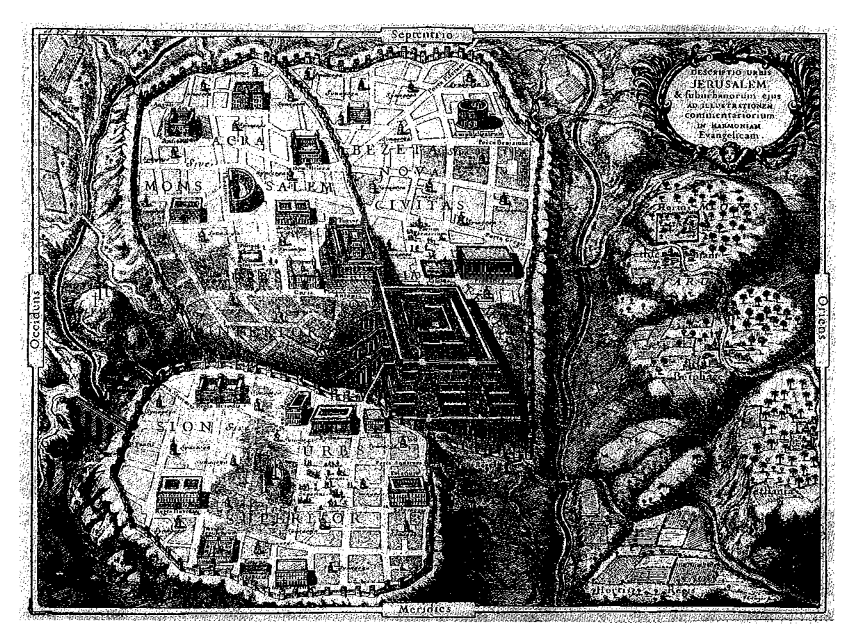
[159] D.R. Edwards, *Religion & Power: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greek East*, Oxford 1996, p. 83.

[160] S. Safrai, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, Neukirchen 1981, p. 65-97. No evidence supports the hypothesis that Herod the Great had encouraged the pilgrimages to Jerusalem for economic reasons, as assumed by M. Goodman, *The Pilgrimage Economy of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period*, in L.I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianism, and Islam*, New York 1999, p. 69-76.

[161] Philo of Alexandria, *On the Embassy to Gaius* 281-282, translated by F.H. Colson, *Philo* X, Cambridge, Mass., 1962, p. 142-143.

[162] Y. Meshorer, *One Hunderd Ninety Years of Tyrian Shekels*, in A. Houghton - S. Hurter - P.E. Mottahedeh - J.A. Scott (eds.), *Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg*, Wetteren 1984, p. 171-179.

[163] R. de Vaux, *Khirbet Qumrân*, in *RB* 63 (1956), p. 73-74; Id., *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân*, in *RB* 63 (1956), p. 533-577 and Pls. III-XIII (see p. 567 ff.); Id., *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford 1973, p. 34-35; M. Sharabani, *Monnaies de Qumrân au Musée Rockefeller de Jérusalem*, in *RB* 87 (1980), p. 274-284 and Pls. III-V; A.S. Arif, *A Treasury of Classical and Islamic Coins: The Collection of the Amman Museum*, London 1986, p. 15-21; J. Magness, *Two Notes on the Archaeology of Qumrân*, in *BASOR* 312 (1998), p. 37-44 (see p. 40-43).



Enfolding view of Jerusalem in Herodian times, as presented in the second part of B. Lamy's *Commentarius in harmoniam sive concordiam quatuor Evangeliorum. Tomo altero continetur apparatus chronologicus & geographicus cum praefatione in qua demonstratur veritas Evangelii*, Paris, Joannes Anisson, Typographiae Regiae praefectus, 1699.

light at Qumrān in other circumstances[164], while ten somewhat later silver coins of Tyre, dating from A.D. 35-36, were discovered at 'Ayn Feškha[165], and a Tyrian didrachm from A.D. 14 was found in 1935 in Jerusalem between St. Stephen's or Lions' Gate (Bāb Sitti Maryam) and the road toward Jericho[166]. Instead, only two Tyrian tetradrachms and two Tyrian didrachms were found at Masada[167]. They obviously have no relation to

[164] R. de Vaux, *Die Ausgrabungen von Qumran und En Feschcha IA*, Göttingen 1996, p. 129; M. Broshi - H. Eshel, *Residential Caves at Qumran*, in *Dead Sea Discoveries* 6 (1999), p. 328-348 (see p. 345-348), and *Excavations at Qumran, Summer of 2001*, in *IEJ* 53 (2003), p.61-73 (see p. 70-71).

[165] R. de Vaux, *Fouilles de Feshka*, in *RB* 66 (1959), p. 225-255 and Pls. I-XII (see p. 246).

[166] N. van der Vliet, *Monnaies inédites ou très rares du médailler de Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem. Phénicie*, in *RB* 57 (1950), p. 430-442 and Pls. VI-VII (see p. 436-437 and Pl. VI, No. 8).

[167] Y. Meshorer, *The Coins of Masada*, in *Masada I. The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Reports*, Jerusalem 1989, p. 71-132 (see p. 121-122).

the Qumrān hoard, and the same must be said about the older Tyrian bronze coin of Ptolemy II (285-247 B.C.), found at 'Ayn Fešḫa in 1958[168]. These discoveries do not seems to support the above-mentioned hypothesis. Tyrian coins were the Middle Eastern "dollars" of those times and their use in the Jerusalem area rather supposes that Jewish pilgrims from Phoenicia and other regions were bringing them to Jerusalem. Despite the pagan symbols represented on these coins, like Heracles and an eagle, the Temple authorities willingly accepted them as tithes because of their high silver quality[169]. Intentional defacing of heathen representations on coins seems to have begun in the period of the first anti-Roman revolt (66-73 A.D.) or shortly before its beginning[170].

Roman administration granted a large measure of autonomy to local Jewish institutions, not even disallowing the Greek inscriptions placed at the entrance of the sacred precinct on the Temple Mount and forbidding Gentiles under pain of death[171] to pass beyond that point. Two of these inscriptions, engraved on limestone plaques, have been discovered in 1871 and 1935. The one that is intact reads: "No Gentile shall enter inward of the partition and barrier around the Temple, and whoever is caught shall be responsible to himself for his subsequent death"[172]. They undoubtedly witness the presence of foreigners at Jerusalem in Roman times.

There is no mention of bloodshed in Jerusalem before the arrival of Pontius Pilate, the fifth Roman prefect of Judaea (26-36 A.D.)[173]. At the outset of his rule, he stationed in Jerusalem auxiliary troops, which were

[168] R. DE VAUX, *art. cit.* (n. 165), p. 249.

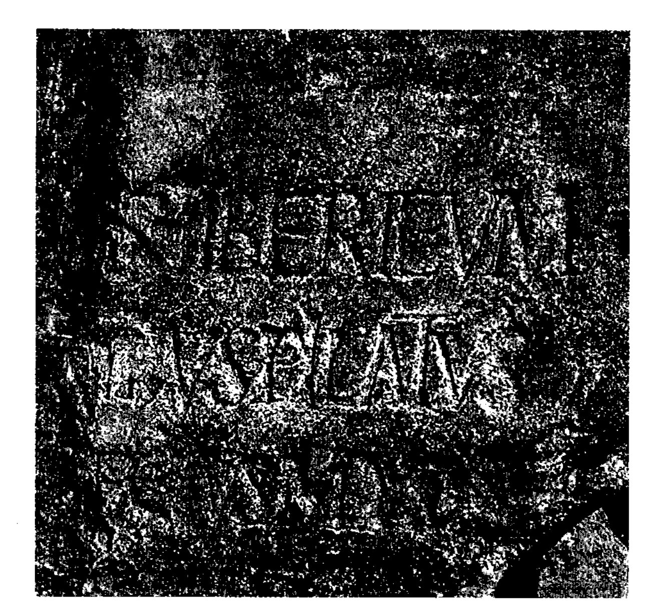
[169] A. BEN-DAVID, *Jerusalem und Tyros. Ein Beitrag zur palästinensischen Münz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte (126 a.C.-57 p. C.)*, Basel 1969, p. 5 ff.; E. SCHÜRER, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. -A.D. 135). A New English Version* by G. VERMES & F. MILLER, Vol. II, Edinburgh 1979, p. 63-64; U. RAPPAPORT, *Numismatics*, in W.D. DAVIES - L. FINKELSTEIN (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* I, Cambridge 1984, p. 25-59 (see p. 47-48); H.-P. KUHNEN, *Palästina in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, München 1990, p. 292. A different opinion is held by D.T. ARIEL, *A Survey of Coin Finds in Jerusalem (until the End of the Byzantine Period)*, in *Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani* 32 (1982), p. 273-326 (see p. 283-284).

[170] H. ESHEL - M. BROSHI, *art. cit.* (n. 164), in *IEJ* 53 (2003), p. 72.

[171] For a convincing interpretation, see P. SEGAL, *The Penalty of the Warning Inscription from the Temple of Jerusalem,* in *IEJ* 39 (1989), p. 79-84.

[172] The intact inscription is housed in the İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri and was published by Ch. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *Une stèle du temple de Jérusalem*, in *Revue Archéologique*, n.s., 23 (1872), p. 290-296; J.-B. FREY, *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum* II, Rome 1952, No. 1400. The fragmentary plaque is in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem (IDAM, No. 36.989), and was published by J.H. ILIFFE, *The* θάνατος *Inscription from Herod's Temple. Fragment of a Second Copy,* in *QDAP* 6 (1936), p. 1-3 , Pls. I (İstanbul) and II (Jerusalem); *SEG* VIII, 169.

[173] On Pontius Pilate, see K. JAROŠ, *In Sachen Pontius Pilatus*, Mainz a/R 2002, with former literature.



The inscription of Pontius Pilate,
discovered in the Roman theatre of Caesarea, in 1961.

usually inimical to the Jewish population and brought into the city their standards bearing the imperial symbols[174]. This led to disturbances, and Jews staged a mass protest before Pilate at Caesarea, the seat of the Roman prefects. Pilate had the standards removed from Jerusalem, but a worse outburst of popular anger was caused by his appropriation of Temple funds in order to build an aqueduct[175]. Roman soldiers fell then upon the demonstrators, killing and injuring many of them. Building activities of Pilate comprise a temple or palace of Tiberius, erected at Caesarea and called *Tiberieum* in the unique inscription of Pilate, so far discovered: [...]*TIBERIEUM* / [...*PO*]*NTIUS PILATUS* / [...*PRAE*]*FECTUS IUDA*[*EA*]*E*[176]. The stone was reused in a small staircase of the Roman theatre at Caesarea and was found in 1961.

[174] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* II, 9, 2-3, §169-174; *Jewish Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 1, § 55-59; PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA, *On the Embassy to Gaius* 38. Cf. C.H. KRAELING, *The Episode of the Roman Standards at Jerusalem,* in *HTR* 35 (1942), p. 263-289.

[175] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* II, 9, 4, §175-177; *Jewish Antiquities* XVIII, 3, 2, § 60-63.

[176] The inscription is presently housed in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (IDAM, No. 61.529). It was published by C.D. GERRA, in A. FROVA (ed.), *Scavi di Caesarea Maritima*, Milano 1965, p. 217-220.

The last Jewish prince to rule over Jerusalem under the Roman prefects was Herod Agrippa (A.D. 41-44), who began to build a new wall on the north side of the city, which was developing further in that direction, but he was forced to abandon it after having laid only its foundations[177]. This notice of Flavius Josephus is contradicted however by himself, since he actually describes this "Third Wall" of Jerusalem[178]. The probable admixture of two different accounts of building enterprises in the text of Josephus[179] does not solve the problem of the location of the "Third Wall". Besides, if it was a wall hastily built by the Zealots, as some authors suppose, its purpose may have been to offer a shelter to refugees coming from the countryside. In this case, the apparent growth of the city can hardly be significant from a demographic point of view. The same could be said if the new city area was aimed at sheltering the pilgrims who were streaming to Jerusalem at the time of the three major Jewish feasts. According to Acts 2, 5-11 and Philo of Alexandria, pilgrims were then coming from numerous countries, but it is uncertain how many of them settled in the city. Nevertheless, there was in Jerusalem a Synagogue of Freedmen, comprising Cyrenians and Alexandrians, and people from Cilicia and Asia (Acts 6, 9). But no figures can be proposed. In any case, the most likely location of the "Third Wall" is about 400 metres north of the Damascus Gate (Bāb al-'Amūd)[180], where Sukenik and Mayer have identified a defence line[181]. This wall and the Old City wall may have enclosed an area of 170 hectares, which normally could offer shelter to some 35,000-40,000 people[182], but the northern quarter seems to have been sparsely occupied.

[177] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Jewish Antiquities* XIX, 7, 2, § 326, attributes the stoppage to an order given by the Romans, but according to *The Jewish War* II, 11, 6, § 218-219, and V, 4, 3, § 152, Agrippa's death or fear was the cause of the abandon of the work.

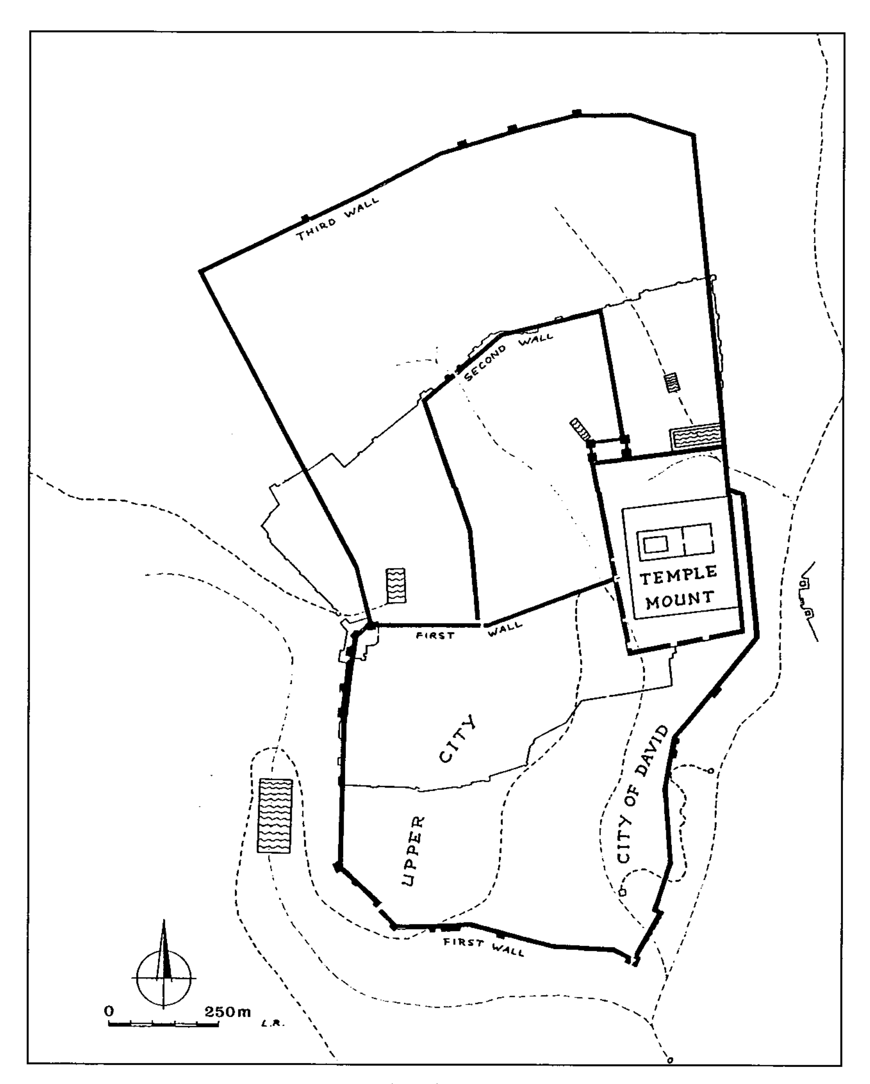
[178] JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* V, 4, 2-3, § 147-159.

[179] Z.U. MA'OZ, *art. cit.* (n. 135), p. 54.

[180] G. SCHMITT, *Die dritte Mauer Jerusalems,* in *ZDPV* 97 (1981), p. 153-170, with earlier literature. See also Z.U. MA'OZ, *art. cit.* (n. 135), p. 54; H.-P. KUHNEN, *op. cit.* (n. 135), p. 156-157; E. STERN (ed.), *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 744-745.

[181] E.L. SUKENIK - L.A. MAYER, *The Third Wall of Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1930, corroborated by S. BEN-ARIEH - E. NETZER, *Excavations along the 'Third Wall' of Jerusalem, 1972-1974,* in *IEJ* 24 (1974), p. 97-107. See also E. NETZER - S. BEN-ARIEH, *Remains of an Opus Reticulatum Building in Jerusalem,* in *IEJ* 33 (1983), p. 163-175, especially p. 171, where the building excavated is related to Herod's monument mentioned by JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* V, 3, 2, § 108, and V, 12, 2, § 507. One could hardly believe that the Sukenik-Mayer wall was built by the soldiers of the *Legio X Fretensis* after A.D. 70 as "a northern 'barrier wall' for their camp on the southwestern hill", as stated by G.J. WIGHTMAN, *op. cit.* (n. 137), p. 102.

[182] This figure corresponds quite well to the 97,000 captives taken by the Romans during the war, according to JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* VI, 9, 3, § 420. Other fig-



Jerusalem in 70 A.D.

Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans in A.D. 70. People had either been killed or had perished from hunger, and the survivors were sold into slavery or executed. The *Legio X Fretensis* remained however in the

ures, like 1,100,000 dead (*ibid.*) or 600,000 besieged in Jerusalem (TACITUS, *Histories* V, 13), simply cannot be taken into account.

city and the soldiers lived there with their families[183]. It seems that also some elderly people and women forced to prostitution by the Romans were living in the ruins[184]. Instead, Jewish pilgrims still coming to Jerusalem appear to have stayed in the nearby villages, like Bethphage[185] on the Mount of Olives. According to Eusebius, the Christians had left Jerusalem for Pella during the siege but returned to the city after the events of A.D. 70[186]. The only likely source for this information is Aristo of Pella[187]. Considering his origin, one might ask whether he was reporting a historical fact or laying a claim on behalf of his hometown. However, making boast of an early Christian presence at Pella does not diminish the credibility of Aristo's information, and one should not consider the flight of some Jerusalem Christians to Perea as a myth[188]. It is a safe assumption that most of these Christians in Jerusalem were Jews, whom the destruction of the Temple certainly hurried into a religious crisis[189], like other Jews. Indeed, it seems that even after the destruction

[183] E. DĄBROWA, *Legio X Fretensis* (Historia. Einzelschriften 66), Stuttgart 1993. Many tiles and bricks bearing the stamp of the *Legio X Fretensis* have been found in the area of Jerusalem: J.H. ILIFFE, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Museum,* in *QDAP* 2 (1933), p. 120-126 (see p. 124-125); N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 206-207; etc. There are also a few inscriptions: B. LIFSHITZ, *Légions romaines en Palestine,* in *Hommages à Marcel Renard* II (Collection Latomus 102), Bruxelles 1969, p. 458-469. A Latin inscription records that an officer of the Tenth Legion, Ti. Cl. Fatalis, lived in Jerusalem with his freedwoman Cl. Ionice: reedition by B. LIFSHITZ, *Jérusalem sous la domination romaine. Histoire de la ville depuis la conquête de Pompée jusqu'à Constantin (63 a.C.-325 p.C.),* in *ANRW* II/8, Berlin 1977, p. 444-489 (see p. 470-471).

[184] This is suggested by the speech of Eleazar, son of Yair, at Masada, in JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *The Jewish War* VII, 8, 7, § 377.

[185] Thus a pilgrim coming from Galilee to Jerusalem is said explicitly to have stayed at Bethphage: B. LIFSHITZ, *art. cit.*, in *ANRW* II/8, (n. 183), p. 471-472.

[186] EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Ecclesiastical History* III, 5, 3; IV, 5-6; V, 12. Cf. S.J. SOWERS, *The Circumstances and the Recollection of the Pella Flight,* in *Theologische Zeitschrift* 60 (1970), p. 305-320; J. VERHEYDEN, *De vlucht van de christenen naar Pella. Onderzoek van het getuigenis van Eusebius en Epiphanius*, Brussel 1988.

[187] EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 6, 3. Cf. G. LEUDEMANN, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity*, Minneapolis 1989, p. 205; J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR, *The Cenacle and Community: The Background of Acts 2: 44-45*, in M.D. COOGAN - J.C. EXUM - L.E. STAGER (eds.), *Scripture and Other Artifacts. Essays in Honor of Ph.J. King*, Louisville 1994, p. 296-310 (see p. 303).

[188] *Pace* J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR, *art. cit.* (n. 187), p. 303-304. R.H. Smith, the excavator of Pella, even regards the sarcophagus of the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D., found in a cist beneath the floor of the north apse of the west church, originally constructed about A.D. 400, as the grave of a Christian leader at Pella. Cf. R.H. SMITH, *Excavations at Pella of the Decapolis, 1979-1985*, in *National Geographic Research* 1 (1985), p. 470-789 (see p. 479 with Fig. 15).

[189] S. LÜCKING, *Die Zerstörung des Jerusalemer Tempels 70 n. Chr. als Krisenerfahrung der frühen Christen*, in J. HAHN (ed.), *Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum N. T. 147), Tübingen 2002, p. 140-165.

of the city in A.D. 70, the Jerusalem Church was made up principally of Jewish Christians. This is as good as confirmed by Christian writers recognizing that the bishops of the Jerusalem Christian community right up to the time of the Bar Kochba revolt were all circumcised Jews[190]. However, the Talpioth ossuaries from a suburb of Jerusalem, first published by E.L. Sukenik[191], cannot be regarded as early Christian records[192]: Ἰησοῦς αλωθ is likely to be "Jesus, the confectioner", *ḥālōṭ*[193], a frequent Jewish name[194] followed by the transcription of a professional qualification, while Ἰησοῦς ἰού means "Jesus, alas!", in correct Greek. Neither do Christian characteristics appear on the ossuary with the Aramaic inscription *Y'qwb br Ywsp 'ḥwy d-Yšw'*[195], which has been related to "James, the Lord's brother" in Gal. 1, 19, but is a forgery. Besides, due to a new study, the alleged Jewish-Christian tomb at Baṭn al-Hawa', in another suburb of Jerusalem, resulted to be a typical Jewish burial from early Roman times, but re-used in the Byzantine period[196].

[190] Y. LEDERMAN, *Évêques juifs de Jérusalem,* in *RB* 104 (1997), p. 211-222. Cf. EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Ecclesiastical History* IV, 6, 4. See also U. WAGNER-LUX - H. BRAKMANN, *Jerusalem* I, in *RAC* XVII, Stuttgart 1996, col. 631-718 (see col. 680, 690).

[191] E.L. SUKENIK, *The Earliest Records of Christianity*, in *AJA* 51 (1947), p. 351-365 and Pls. LXXVII-LXXXVIII.

[192] J. HEMPEL, rev. in *ZAW* 62 (1949-50), p. 273-274; B. LIFSHITZ, *art. cit.,* in *ANRW* II/8 (n. 183), p. 463-466, to be added to the bibliography given in J.A. FITZMYER - D.J. HARRINGTON, *op. cit.* (n. 149), p. 238-239.

[193] The verb *ḥālaṭ* means "to make a paste" in Mishnaic Hebrew and in Jewish Aramaic (JASTROW, p. 466-467), while the pattern *qāṭōl* is used in Mishnaic Hebrew to form names denoting profession or occupation: M. BAR-ASHER, *L'hébreu mishnique: études linguistiques* (Orbis. Suppl. 11), Leuven-Paris 1999, p. 7-8

[194] The name appears on Jerusalem ossuaries (J.A. FITZMYER - D.J. HARRINGTON, *op. cit.* [n. 149], Nos. 100, 106), and even in Demotic documents: W. CLARYSSE, *A Jewish Family in Ptolemaic Thebes*, in *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 32 (2002), p. 7-9. See also H. LUDIN JANSEN, *Notes on the Ossuary Inscriptions of Talpioth*, in *Symbolae Osloenses* 28 (1950), p. 109-110; B. LIFSHITZ, *La vie de l'au-delà dans les conceptions juives*, in *RB* 68 (1961), p. 401-411 (see p. 406-407, Nos. 4-6); M. SCHWABE - B. LIFSHITZ, *Beth She'arim* II. *The Greek Inscriptions*, Jerusalem 1974, Nos. 51, 138, 139, 140.

[195] A. LEMAIRE, *Burial Box of James, the Brother of Jesus,* in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 28/6 (2002), p. 24-33. It is well-known that one can make a modern inscription on stone appear old. Therefore, the tests referred to by E.J. KEALL, *Brother of Jesus Ossuary. New Tests Bolster Case for Authenticity*, in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29/4 (2003), p. 52-55 and 70, cannot be regarded as conclusive. The committee *ad hoc* stated unquestionably that the inscription is a forgery: U. DAHARI, *Summary Report of the Examining Committee for the James Ossuary and Jehoash Inscription*, in *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29/5 (2003), p. 27-31.

[196] Sh. GIBSON - G. AVNI, *The "Jewish-Christian" Tomb from the Mountain of Offence (Baṭn al-Hawa') in Jerusalem Reconsidered,* in *RB* 105 (1998), p. 161-175. Cf. L.-H. VINCENT, *Fouilles diverses en Palestine,* in *RB* 13 (1904), p. 584-591 (see p. 590-591).

Epiphanius (*ca.* 315-403), who was born near Eleutheropolis (Beit Ğibrīn) in Palestine, tells that Emperor Hadrian visiting Jerusalem in A.D. 129/130 there found only a few standing houses, but as many as seven synagogues and a small church[197]. One can doubt the accuracy of this information from the 4th century A.D. There is no doubt instead that Hadrian had decided to establish a Roman colony on the ruins of Jerusalem before the Bar-Kochba revolt of A.D. 132-135[198].

Aelia Capitolina, as sounded the name given to the new colony, was built after the suppression of the revolt in the shape of a square Roman camp. Our knowledge of the city is very scanty[199], but it was certainly much smaller than the present-day Old City. The built-up area was restricted to the northern part of the town, while *Legio X Fretensis* camped in the southwest. The only things certainly set up in the area of the present Ḥaram aš-Šarīf were two statues[200], and the excavated remains from the Byzantine period in the Jewish Quarter were always laying directly over the layer of destruction from A.D. 70, with no Roman stratum intervening[201]. Hadrian's edict excluding Jews from the

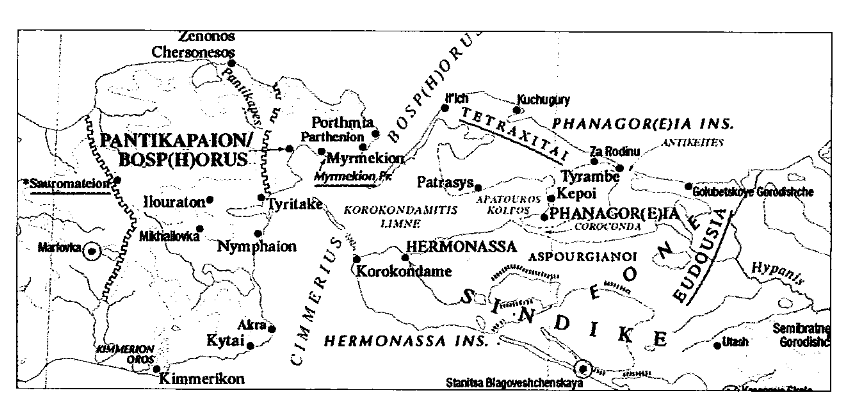
[197] Epiphanius, *De mensuris et ponderibus* 14. The seven synagogues are also mentioned in the *Bordeaux Itinerary* 592: 6-7 (P. Geyer, *Itineraria Hierosolymitana saec. III-VIII*, Wien 1898, p. 22; *Itineraria et alia geographica* [CCSL 175], Turnhout 1965, p. 16), but only one was left in A.D. 333: *Et septem synagogae, quae illic fuerunt, una tantum remansit, reliquae autem arantur et seminantur.* This sole remaining synagogue is mentioned also by Epiphanius, *loc. cit.*, who compares it to "a shanty in a vineyard". Contrary to the opinion of J. Murphy-O'Connor, *art. cit.* (n. 187), p. 298-299, there is no objective reason why this dilapidated structure, which does not even imply the presence of a Jewish community, should be considered as a Jewish-Christian worship place and identified with the Cenacle (cf. Acts 2, 44-45), described by *Egeria* XLIII, 3 as "being now used as a church", *alia modo ecclesia est* (P. Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 94; *Itineraria et alia geographica*, p. 85: 20).

[198] B. Lifshitz, *art. cit.* (n. 183), in *ANRW* II/8, p. 474-481, based mainly on the coins of the Bar-Kochba revolt. For these coins, see at present: L. Mildenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, Aarau 1984.

[199] However, see E. Stern (ed.), *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 758-766.

[200] St. Jerome, *Comment. in Es.* 2, 9 (M. Adriaen [ed.], *CCSL* 73, Turnhout 1963, p. 33): *ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Iovis idolum collocatum est*; Id., *Comment. in Mt.* 24, 15 (D. Hurst - M. Adriaen [eds.], *CCSL* 77, Turnhout 1969, p. 226): *potest autem simpliciter aut de Antichristo accipi aut de imagine Caesaris, quam Pilatus posuit in templo, aut de Hadriani equestri statua quae in ipso sancto sanctorum loco usque in presentem diem stetit.* The *Bordeaux Itinerary* 592: 4 (P. Geyer, *op. cit.* [n. 188], p. 22; *Itineraria et alia geographica*, *op. cit.* [n. 197], p. 16), the itinerary of a Christian pilgrim from Bordeaux, dated A.D. 333, mentions two statues of Hadrian. Whether a temple of Jupiter stood there, as contended by Dio Cassius, *Roman History* LXIX, 12, 1, is uncertain; cf. H.-P. Kuhnen, *op. cit.* (n. 135), p. 176-177. J. Wilkinson, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 36 and 157, n. 1, thinks that the area of the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf was a field of ruins from the 1st to the 7th century A.D.

[201] N. Avigad, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 207.



Bosporan kingdom (R.J.A. Talbert [ed.], *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton 2000, from map 87).

Jerusalem district is referred to by Eusebius, Orosius, and other Christian writers[202]. Even the small Christian community was forced to change its bishop of Jewish origin for a Gentile, namely Marcus of Caesarea[203]. The population of this insignificant provincial town was thus composed mainly of soldiers of *Legio X* and of their families, of Roman veterans, and of Hellenized Syro-Phoenician artisans and dealers. The exclusion of Jews would have remained in force throughout the Antonine period, until the end of the 2nd century A.D., when the rule is likely to have fallen into neglect.

The symbolic power of Jerusalem never completely faded among Jews of Palestine and of the Diaspora. Recent archaeological and epigraphic work at the northern Black Sea port of Chersonese has revealed the significance of Jerusalem even in that remote area. It is not certain when Jews reached the northern littoral of the Black Sea, but Greek inscriptions from Phanagoria (now Sennaja), Panticapaeum (now Kerch), and other sites clearly witness their presence in the former Bosporan kingdom[204] and the existence of synagogues there in the 1st

[202] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* IV, 6, 3; Orosius, *History* VII, 13; cf. J.R. Harris, *Hadrian's Decree of Expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem*, in *HTR* 19 (1926), p. 199-206, with further references to Christian literature. Eusebius' information about Jews in the Jerusalem area profits from being placed in the context of his theological views concerning Judaism: J. Ulrich, *Eusebius von Caesarea und die Juden. Studien zur Role der Juden in der Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea* (Patristische Texte und Studien 49), Berlin 1999.

[203] See here above, p. 533, n. 190.

[204] I. Levinskaya, *The Book of Acts in Its Diaspora Setting*, Grand Rapids 1996, p. 231-242; L. Ustinova, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom*, Leiden 1999, p.

century A.D.[205] A recently discovered Hebrew inscription, carved at Chersonese on a plaster wall, possibly associated with a synagogue and dated between the 2nd and 5th century A.D., apparently mentions Jerusalem in the first line[206].

5. Late Antiquity

Jerusalem was to rise again to prominence only with the advent of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire, when Constantine became master of Palestine in A.D. 324. Churches were built in the city, which then assumed a predominantly Christian character. There is every reason to think that Cyril, who became bishop of Jerusalem in 349, played a prominent role in boosting the importance of the Christian holy places[207]. This development was temporarily interrupted by the Emperor Julian (361-363 A.D.), who issued edicts of universal toleration[208] and used his imperial influence to favour the restoration of the ancient Graeco-Roman religion. In 363, he permitted the reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem[209], but his death on the battlefield in the very same year put an end to this project. According to St. Jerome (*ca.* 348-420), the prohibition against the entrance of Jews into Jerusalem was again in force in his days, with the exception of the 9th of Av, when Jews were allowed to lament over the Temple[210]. However, the Bordeaux pil-

177-283; E.L. GIBSON, *The Jewish Manumission Inscriptions of the Bosporan Kingdom*, Tübingen 1999, especially p. 159-172. In general: J. FORNASIER - B. BÖTTGER (eds.), *Das Bosporanische Reich. Der Nordosten des Schwarzen Meeres in der Antike*, Mainz a/R 2002.

205 *Corpus inscriptionum Regni Bosporani*, Moscow-Leningrad 1965, Nos. 70, 71, 73; cf. also Nos. 985, 1123, 1127; *SEG* XLIII, 510; B. LIFSHITZ, *Notes d'épigraphie grecque II. - Inscriptions juives du Bosphore*, in *RB* 76 (1969), p. 94-98 (see p. 95-96); D.A. DANSHIN, *Phanagorian Community of Jews*, in *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* 204 (1993), p. 59-72 (in Russian). It is uncertain whether some other inscriptions are Jewish or not: E.R. GOODENOUGH, *The Bosporus Inscriptions to the Most High*, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 47 (1956-57), p. 221-244; L. USTINOVA, *loc. cit.* (n. 204).

206 Reported by D.R. EDWARDS, *op. cit.* (n. 159), p. 84, referring to E. ESCHEL.

207 W.L. WALKER, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, Oxford 1990.

208 J. BIDEZ, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris 1930, p. 225-235.

209 F.-M. ABEL, *Histoire de la Palestine* II, Paris 1952, p. 282-283; K.L. NOETLICHS, *Die Juden im christlichen Imperium Romanum (4.-6. Jahrhundert)*, Berlin 2001, p. 111-115; J. HAHN, *Kaizer Julian und ein dritter Tempel? Idee, Wirklichkeit und Wirkung eines gescheiterten Projektes*, in J. HAHN (ed.), *Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 147), Tübingen 2002, p. 237-262.

210 St. JEROME, *Comm. in Prophetas Minores, Soph.* 1, 15-16 (M. ADRIAEN [ed.], *CCSL* 76A, Turnhout 1964, p. 673-674; cf. K.L. NOETLICHS, *op. cit.* [n. 209], p. 215-217). Cf. also ORIGEN, *Comm. in Iosuam* 17, 1 (W.A. BAEHRENS [ed.], *Origenes: Werke* VII

grim, whose *Itinerarium* was written down in 333 A.D., still mentions one remaining synagogue on Mount Zion[211]. There is no reason whatsoever to assume that the pilgrim made a mistake and confused a little church with a synagogue, since he also refers to Jews mourning every year along the Wailing Wall[212].

A growing number of Jews, who had settled in Jerusalem in the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., converted to Christianity. A translation of biblical and liturgical texts was made for them from Greek into the so-called Christian Palestinian Aramaic[213], a dialect closely related to Samaritan Aramaic and to Galilean Aramaic, with traces of Mishnaic Hebrew influence. Jerusalem seems to be the most likely home-town of this dialect, which was used from the 3rd/4th to the 8th/9th centuries, mainly in the area around Jerusalem, and also in the surroundings of Amman. The texts are written in Syriac script, like other Christian Semitic texts at the time, but the language and the area where they were used initially betray the Jewish origin of the speakers of that dialect.

The rabbinic immigration from Babylonia to Palestine during the Amoraic period, in the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., was directed to the main centres of Jewish learning at the time, i.e. to Tiberias and to Sepphoris[214], not to Jerusalem. Commoners immigrated from Babylonia also to Jaffa, Lydda, and Caesarea, which were among the centres of textile and dyeing industries in Palestine[215]. Jerusalem instead, which was appearing at the time as a Christian centre, did not attract Jewish immigrants from Babylonia. One of the reasons probably was the prohibition against the entrance of Jews, which was not lifted officially.

Around 438/9 the empress Eudocia Augusta visited Jerusalem for the first time[216]. Due to her intervention, Jews were again allowed to live in

[GCS 30], Leipzig 1921, p. 401-402). The *Bordeaux Itinerary* 591: 4-6 (P. GEYER, *op. cit.* [n. 197], p. 22; *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* [n. 197], p. 16) alludes to the same situation: *Est et non longe de statuas lapis pertusus* (the Wailing Wall), *ad quem ueniunt Iudaei singulis annis et unguent eum et lamentant se cum gemitu et uestimenta sua scindunt et sic recedunt.*

211 *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 197), p. 16 (592: 6-7).

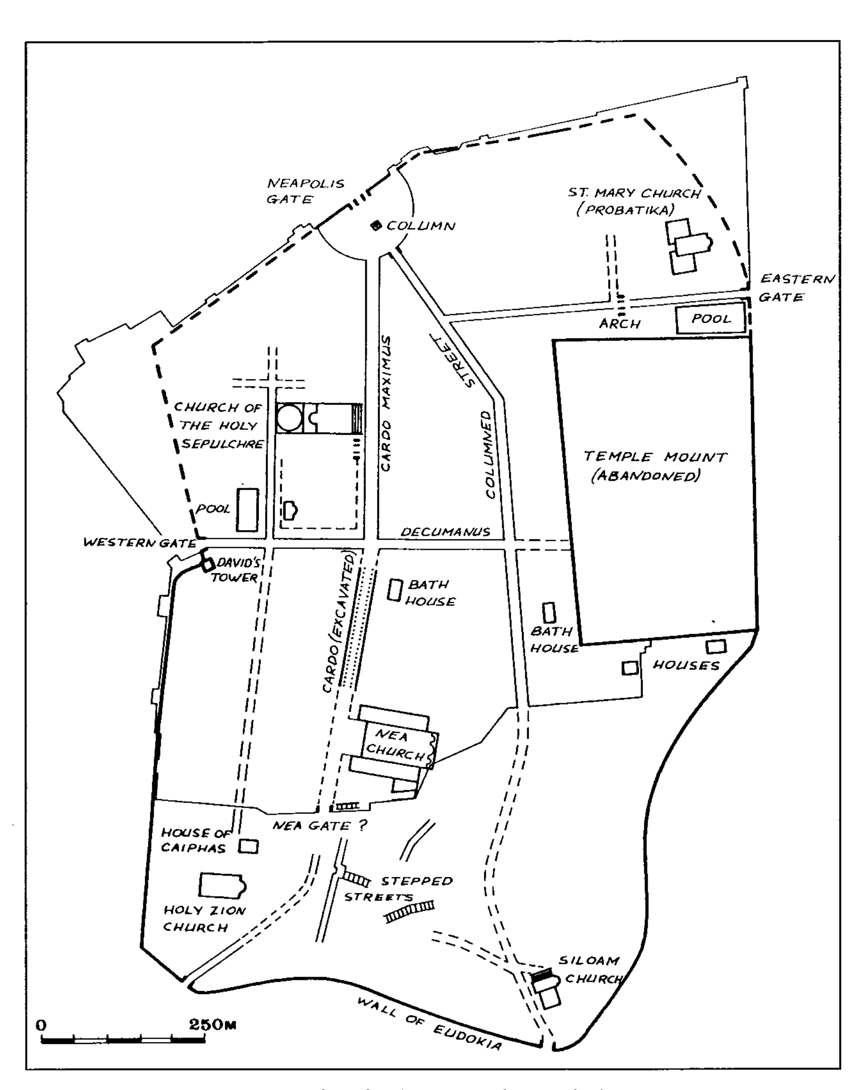
212 *Ibid.*, p. 16 (591: 4-6), n. 178; cf. n. 210.

213 General presentation in Chr. MÜLLER-KESSLER, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen. Teil I. Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre*, Hildesheim 1991, p. 1-3.

214 J. SCHWARTZ, *Aliya from Babylonia during the Amoraic Period (200-500 C.E.)*, in L. LEVINE (ed.), *The Jerusalem Cathedra* III, Detroit 1983, p. 58-69 (see p. 58-63).

215 *Ibid.*, p. 63-65.

216 The main sources for Eudocia's activity are JOHN MALALAS, *Chronographia* 14 (L. DINDORF [ed.], *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* [CSHB], Bonn 1831), the *Life of Barṣauma* (F. NAU, *Résumé de monographies syriaques [Barṣauma]*, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 18 [1913], p. 272-276, 379-389; 19 [1914], p. 113-134, 278-289, 414-440;



Jerusalem in the Byzantine period.

the city, at least according to the *Life of Barṣauma*[217]. After her separation from her husband Theodosius II, in 442/3, she settled permanently in Jerusalem until her death in 460, spending lavishly on churches and having a new city wall constructed, including the Siloam pool and the present-day "Mount Zion"[218]. The superficies of the walled city was thus extended to about 120 hectares, but the area of the Temple Mount (Ḥaram aš-Šarīf) probably was a wasteland[219]. The inhabited area amounted in consequence to some 100 hectares with a population of *ca.* 25,000. This estimate corresponds to the 23,000 people living inside the Old City walls in 1967[220], while the number of Jerusalem's inhabitants in

20 [1915-17], p. 3-32 [see 1914, p. 118, 126]; ID., *Deux épisodes de l'histoire juive sous Théodose [423 et 438], d'après la Vie de Barṣauma le Syrien*, in *Revue des Études Juives* 83 [1927], p. 184-202; ID., *Sur la synagogue de Rabbat Moab [422] et un mouvement sioniste favorisé par l'impératrice Eudocie [438], d'après la Vie de Barṣauma le Syrien*, in *Journal Asiatique* 210 [1927], p. 189-192), CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *The Life of Euthymios* (E. SCHWARTZ [ed.], *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, Leipzig 1939, p. 6-85), the *Life of Petrus Iberus* (R. RAABE [ed.], *Petrus der Iberer*, Leipzig 1895, p. 48-49), and JOHN OF BETH-RUPHINA, *Plerophoriae* (M.A. KUGENER [ed.], *Vie de Sévère, par Jean de Beth Aphtonia* [Patrologia Orientalis 8/2-3], Paris 1904, p. 39-43). For a general description and evaluation of the sources, see F. GREGOROVIUS, *Athenaïs: Geschichte einer byzantinischer Kaiserin*, Leipzig 1892; O. SEECK - L. COHN, *Eudokia 1.*, in *PW* VI/1, Stuttgart 1907, col. 906-912; H.G. BECK, *Eudokia*, in *RAC* VI, Stuttgart 1966, col. 843-847; K.G. HOLUM, *Family Life in the Theodosian House*, in *Kleronomia* 8 (1976), p. 280-292; ID., *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley 1982.

[217] F. NAU, *art. cit.* (n. 216), in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914), p. 122-123. The *Life of Barṣauma* was written between 550 and 650 according to E. HONIGMANN, *Le couvent de Barṣauma et le Patriarcat jacobite d'Antioche et de Syrie* (CSCO 146), Louvain 1954, p. 15.

[218] For the archaeological and historical evidence of Eudocia's building activity in Jerusalem, see M.-J. LAGRANGE, *Saint Étienne et son sanctuaire à Jérusalem*, Paris 1894, p. 61-73; L.-H. VINCENT - F.-M. ABEL, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, Paris 1914-26, p. 909-911. The southern section of this city wall was abandoned only in 1033, after a memorable earthquake: D.H.K. AMIRAN - E. ARIEH - T. TURCOTTE, *Earthquakes in Israel and Adjacent Areas: Macroseismic Observations since 100 B.C.E.*, in *IEJ* 44 (1994), p. 260-305 (see p. 268). Cf. J. PRAWER, *A Contribution to the Medieval Topography of Jerusalem - The Crusader Conquest of 1099*, in *A.J. Brawer Memorial Volume* (ErIs 17), Jerusalem 1984, p. 312-324 (in Hebrew), in particular p. 312-313. See also on the Byzantine period in general: E. STERN (ed.), *Jerusalem*, in *NEAEHL*, Jerusalem 1993, Vol. II, p. 768-784.

[219] The assumption that al-Aqṣā was built on the site of the Byzantine church of Mary (*EJ* 9, col. 1409) reflects an old archaeological folklore: the *Nea* was situated to the west of the mosque site.

[220] C. ROTH (ed.), *EJ*, Jerusalem 1971, vol. 9, col. 1507. This is practically the same figure as in 1870: 22,000 persons according to Y. BEN-ARIEH, *A City Reflected in Its Times* (in Hebrew), Jerusalem 1977, p. 403. See Y. TSAFRIR, *Some Notes on the Settlement and Demography of Palestine in the Byzantine Period: The Archaeological Evidence*, in J.D. SEGER (ed.), *Retrieving the Past. Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. Van Beek*, Winona Lake 1996, p. 269-284.

1845 was estimated at only 15,000[221]. Many aristocratic families of Roman descent settled in Jerusalem in the 4th-5th centuries, as well as an increasing number of Christian priests and monks, without counting the huge amount of pilgrims already referred to by Cyril of Jerusalem in A.D. 347[222]. The presence of Jews in Jerusalem after the middle of the 5th century is implied by the story of the monk Barṣauma[223] and by the *Life of Sabas*, written by Cyril of Scythopolis[224]. One might also refer to a legend preserved in Coptic, which gives the name of Eudocia to a sister of Constantine I the Great and attributes her the finding of Christ's tomb. The legend is that when visiting Jerusalem, she ordered assembling the Jews dwelling in the city and hanging them the head down until an aged Jew revealed her the site of the tomb. After the ground had been dug by Jews to a considerable depth, Christ's tomb was found[225].

There were of course in Jerusalem also Christians converted from Judaism, as indicated by the Christian Palestinian Aramaic texts, the oldest of which date precisely from that period[226]. Besides, a Hebrew inscription from the Byzantine period, engraved on the remaining western wall of the Herodian temple and quoting Is. 66, 14[227], has been attributed to a Jew visiting the ruins of the Temple at the time when masses of Christian pilgrims were arriving to Jerusalem.

From the 4th century on, also Armenian pilgrims are mentioned in the sources[228]. They were coming in groups numbered up to eight hundred persons. Information about their pilgrimages is chiefly concentrated on the period of the Persian conquest of the Holy Land and the following years. This increase in the number of Armenian pilgrims may reflect a special relationship between the Armenian Church and the Persian authorities, because of the former's conflict with Byzantium in religious matters. Nevertheless, there was an important Armenian monasticism in the Holy Land during the Byzantine period.

[221] C. ROTH (ed.), *EJ*, Jerusalem 1971, vol. 9, col. 1455. Prior to 1858, Jerusalem was wholly confined within its 16th-century walls.

[222] CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Catechetical Lectures* 17, 16, in A. PIÉDAGNEL (ed.), *Cyrille de Jérusalem: Catéchèses mystagogiques* (SC 126), Paris 1966.

[223] F. NAU, *art. cit.* (n. 216), in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 19 (1914), p. 119-123.

[224] E. SCHWARTZ (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 216), p. 54, 57.

[225] T. ORLANDI - B.A. PEARSON - H.A. DRAKE, *Eudoxia and the Holy Sepulchre. A Constantinian Legend in Coptic*, Milano 1980, p. 64-69, §67-78.

[226] See above, p. 537, n. 213.

[227] A. EITAN (ed.), *Inscriptions Reveal*, Jerusalem 1972, No. 171.

[228] M.E. STONE, *An Armenian Pilgrim to the Holy Land in the Early Byzantine Era*, in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, n.s., 17 (1985), p. 173-178; ID., *Holy Land Pilgrimage of Armenians before the Arab Conquest*, in *RB* 93 (1986), p. 93-110; M.E. STONE - R.R. ERVINE - N. STONE, *The Armenians in Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, Louvain 2002.



Aerial view of the Temple Mount (Ḥaram aš -Šarīf).

In the 6th century, Jerusalem had also a flourishing Georgian community. Their oldest institution was the monastery founded in the mid-5th century by Peter the Iberian (411-491)[229], i.e. the Georgian. Possibly it is the monastery situated in the area of David's Tower and linked to the name of a bishop, who purchased a cemetery for the Georgian monks outside the city wall, at the site of the present Y.M.C.A. complex[230]. His epitaph, written in Greek, reads: "Particular burial place of Sa[...], bishop of the Iberians and of his monastery of the David's Tower, (place) that they purchased"[231]. Better known is the Monastery of the Holy Cross, to the west of the Old City. According to a tradition, it was founded by the Iberian king Miriani (*ca.* 300-362), who had embraced Christianity. The monastery belonged to the Georgians at the time of the Crusaders and was still restored in 1644 by king Leontatian of Georgia[232].

[229] R. RAABE, *op. cit.* (n. 216).

[230] J.H. ILIFFE, *Cemeteries and a 'Monastery' at the Y.M.C.A., Jerusalem*, in *QDAP* 4 (1934), p. 70-80 and Pls. XL-LI (see p. 78-80 and Pl. XLVIII, 3).

[231] Translation based on J.T. MILIK, *La topographie de Jérusalem vers la fin de l'époque byzantine*, in *MUSJ* 37 (1961), p. 127-189 (see p. 188, n. 1).

[232] A survey of Georgian monasteries in Palestine, based on non-Georgian sources,

It is not possible to determine proportions between the various segments of Jerusalem's population at that time. Jews seem to have played a significant role in the capture of Jerusalem by the Sasanian Persian army of Chosroes II in 614, since they are reported to have mobilized about 20,000 men[233], and a Jewish leader known only under his symbolic name Nehemiah was then appointed as governor of Jerusalem[234]. It is doubtful however whether these Jews were settled in Jerusalem proper before 614, since Eutychius refers to the revolt of the Jews "in the Jerusalem mountains", thus in the area surrounding the city. According to literary sources, the Persian conquest led to the destruction of most of the churches in Jerusalem and to the massacre of a large part of its Christian population. The *Opusculum de Persica captivitate*, attributed to Modestus, vicar and successor of the patriarch Zacharias taken into exile, states that "up to 65,000" people have been killed then[235]. This figure corresponds approximately to the totals given by some manuscripts of the *Expugnatio Hierosolymae A.D. 614*, an account preserved in a Georgian and in an Arabic version, but other manuscripts of this work give totals reduced almost to the half[236]. These figures may give an idea of the Christian population in the municipal area of Jerusalem and in its surroundings. As for the city itself, a re-examination of the archaeological evidence for the Persian destruction of the main Byzantine street in the Tyropoeon Valley suggests relativizing the alleged degradations caused by the Persians and their allies. The street and the houses apparently saw continuous occupation from the Byzantine period into the Islamic period with no archaeological evidence for destructions in A.D. 614 or at the very end of the Byzantine period, in A.D. 630-638[237].

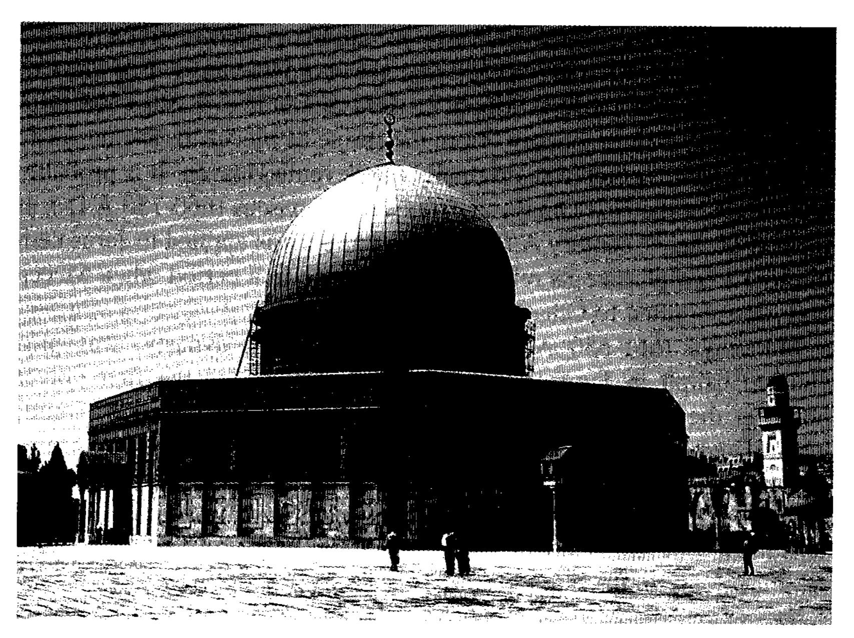
was prepared by G. PERADZE, *An Account of the Georgian Monks and Monasteries in Palestine*, in *Georgica*, Hertford 1937, p. 181-246.

[233] EUTYCHIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Annals* II, 5-7 (220-223); cf. J. SELDEN - A. POCOCK (eds.), *Contextio gemmarum*, Oxford 1858-59; J.P. MIGNE (ed.), *Eutychius, Contextio gemmarum*, in *PG* CXI, Paris 1864, col. 889-1232 (see col. 1084-1085); L. CHEIKHO, *Eutychii patriarchi Alexandrini annales* I (CSCO 50), Louvain 1906; M. BREYDY, *Das Annalenwerk des Eutychios von Alexandrien. Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa'id ibn Baṭriq um 935 A.D.* (CSCO 471-472), Louvain 1985 (see CSCO 472, p. 101-102, §270). On the author of this work, who was the Melkite patriarch of Alexandria and died in 940, see G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* II, Città del Vaticano 1947, p. 32-38.

[234] M. AVI-YONAH, *The Jews of Palestine. A Political History from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest,* Oxford 1976, p. 266.

[235] J.P. MIGNE (ed.), *Opusculum de Persica captivitate,* in *PG* LXXXVI/2, Paris 1865, col. 3235-3268 (see col. 3236B).

[236] See J.T. MILIK, *art. cit.* (n. 231), with the addition of G. GARITTE, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614* (CSCO 202-203), Louvain 1960; ID., *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614 recensiones Arabicae, I: A et B* (CSCO 340-341), Louvain 1973; ID., *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614 recensiones Arabicae, II: C et V* (CSCO 347-348), Louvain 1974, and of the results of the Jerusalem excavations: N. AVIGAD, *op. cit.* (n. 89), p. 208-246.



The Dome of the Rock.

The victories of the emperor Heraclius led to a return of the Byzantines and, on March 21, 630, the Emperor made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem[238]. He encouraged the indiscriminate slaughter of Jews and ultimately ordered their expulsion from the city[239]. Byzantine Jerusalem met its end a decade later, in March/April 638, when the patriarch Sophronius surrendered the city to the Muslim caliph Omar (634-644 A.D.). Omar visited Jerusalem shortly after its surrender and erected the first mosque in the eastern atrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre[240].

[237] J. MAGNESS, *The Reexamination of the Archaeological Evidence for the Sasanian Persian Destruction of the Tyropoeon Valley,* in *BASOR* 287 (1992), p. 67-74.

[238] For Heraclius, see G.J. REININK - B.H. STOLTE (eds.), *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641: Crisis and Confrontation* (Groningen Studies in Cultural Change 2), Leuven 2002.

[239] M. AVI-YONAH, *op. cit.* (n. 234), p. 272; A.P. KAZHDAN (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford 1991, p. 1040.

[240] H. BUSSE, *Die 'Umar-Moschee im östlichen Atrium der Grabeskirche*, in *ZDPV* 109 (1993), p. 73-82.

Jerusalem is not mentioned in the Qur'ān, not even by a hint. Only the Qur'ānic exegetical tradition referred the words *al-masǧid al-aqṣā* of Sūra 17, 1 to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. The passage refers to Mohammed's "night journey" from the shrine of Mecca to "the far-away worship place", which was originally the Seventh Heaven. It is probably at the time of the first Omayyad caliphs of Damascus (660-750 A.D.), at the end of the 7th century A.D., that the phrase was applied to Jerusalem in order to emphasize its religious significance in a period when Mecca was not submitted to Omayyad rule[241].

Mu'āwiya (661-680 A.D.), the founder of the dynasty, was proclaimed caliph in Jerusalem and he probably erected the first prayer house at the site of the al-Aqṣā mosque. The Frankish bishop Arculf, who visited Jerusalem *ca.* 680, describes the structure as a rather primitive building whose walls consisted of simple planks, but which was able to contain 3,000 men[242]. The great majority of the inhabitants of Jerusalem was still Christian at that time, with some seventy Jewish families living in the quarter southwest of the Temple area[243].

The Dome of the Rock (Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra), on which Mohammed is believed to have placed his feet on his "night journey", was built by 'Abd al-Malik (685-705 A.D.). Its construction was completed in 691 A.D., as can be seen from the inscription on the building, but its shape and the origin of its architect raise an intriguing question, as its double octagonal structure is paralleled exactly by the Tomb of Diocletian (281-305, dead in 313 A.D.) in Split, Croatia.

Muqātil b. Sulaymān, who was active in the first part of the 8th century A.D. (died about 767 A.D.), interpreted another Qur'ānic verse (Sura 50, 41) as referring to Jerusalem. He suggested that the words "the day whereon the crier shall call from a nearby place" concern the Archangel who on the Day of Resurrection would call from Jerusalem, the Holy City being the "nearby place", *min makānin qarībin*. This interpretation was already widespread in the 8th century A.D., since a rock inscription in the Negev, dated from *ca.* 785 A.D., replaces these words of the Qur'ānic verse by *min Ilyā*, the Arabic form of the Roman name

[241] R. BLACHÈRE, *Le Coran*, Paris 1966, p. 305-306; M.J. KISTER, *Studies in Jāhiliyyah and Early Islam* (Variorum Reprints), London 1980, XIII, p. 184-185.
[242] The narrative of the bishop's journey was written by Adamnan, abbot of Iona, shortly after Arculf's return: *Itineraria et alia geographica, op. cit.* (n. 197), p. 186, §14.
[243] E. ASHTOR - H.Z. HIRSCHBERG, *Jerusalem. Arab Period*, in *EJ*, Jerusalem 1971, Vol. 9, col. 1405-1415 (see col. 1409).

Aelia Capitolina[244]. Arabic "Praises of Jerusalem" probably existed already at that time and a compilation of *Faḍā'il* dedicated to the Holy City was achieved by al-Wāsiṭī in 1019 A.D. and read by him in the al-Aqṣā mosque[245].

[244] M. SHARON, *The "Praises of Jerusalem" as a Source for the Early History of Islam*, in *BiOr* 49 (1992), col. 56-67, in particular col. 56-57.
[245] I. HASSON, *Al-Wāsiṭī, Faḍā'il al-Bayt al-Muqaddas*, Jerusalem 1979.

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